HIREN MUKERJEE IN PARLIAMENT

A Commemorative Volume

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
New Delhi

Hiren Mukerjee was an exceptional figure whose influence on Indian parliamentary system cannot be quantified. A deep thinker, versatile genius, exceptionally gifted orator and an eminent academician, Prof. Mukerjee was a brilliant political leader and an outstanding parliamentarian. He was among the first five leaders of the Communist Party of India who were elected to the First Lok Sabha in 1952. This publication takes an account of his firm conviction, clear thought and creative ideas. A comprehensive pictorial portrait containing Hiren Mukerjee's early life, his family, education, marriage, lifestyle and overall personality is also provided in the publication.

It also throws fresh light on Hiren Mukerjee as a distinguished parliamentarian who possessed an in-depth knowledge of varied subjects like the national budget, foreign policy, procedural matters in Parliament, judiciary, education, sports, archaeology, environment and film industry. His speeches on an array of subjects were full of critical analysis and constructive criticism which made several parliamentarians better informed and clearer in perception. In fact, Prof. Mukerjee was one of the prominent leaders of the Communist Party of India who steered the party in the forum of Parliament and endeavoured to strengthen Indian democracy. As a committed Comrade, he consistently and continuously analysed Government policies and programmes intended for the workers, the peasants, the downtrodden and the underprivileged and advocated for their betterment. He directed a focus on the leftist economic policies particularly on the welfare of the have-nots. To him, only a socialist mode of society was the basic guarantee of democracy.

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A COMMEMORATIVE VOLUME

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LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
2004

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FOREWORD

Shri Hirendra Nath Mukerjee, Professor of History and Political Philosophy, Master of Arts, Doctor of Literature, Barrişter from Bench of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, London and the Member from the First to the Fifth Lok Sabha, was one of such great intellectuals who has had the Midas touch in different spheres of his activities—educational, political, social or as a political thinker and activist. He excelled in all of them.

A leader of firm convictions, a champion of masses, a veteran Marxist, a renowned educationist, a deep thinker and a promoter of the Left ideology, who fought tirelessly for the establishment of a socialistic order particularly in Bengal, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was a rare political leader who never allowed dogmatism to dominate over his liberal outlook. His Oxonian accent, cogent arguments and deep commitment to Socialism, and to the values of the Communist Party and leftist ideology and intellectual acumen made him one of the most illustrious orators the Indian Parliament has ever seen. So great was his ability to speak with eloquence that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who himself was a brilliant orator, would instantly leave his office in South Block to listen to him in Lok Sabha, as soon as he learnt Hiren Mukerjee was going to speak. He believed in observing the strictest propriety while dealing with parliamentary affairs and was very punctilious about parliamentary etiquette and manners. Indeed, he was often deeply hurt when members intervened in or disturbed overzealously the speech of another member. He believed in discipline and respected his colleagues irrespective of their party affiliation.

Despite belonging to a quite well-to-do family, Prof. Mukerjee chose to become a champion of the poor and the down-trodden. After his studies at St. Catherine's College at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, he did not choose an easy life but decided to work throughout his life for the betterment of the needy and deprived sections of the community. It was during his stay in England that he first came in contact with Communist ideology. Thereafter, till he left for India in 1936, he spent much of his time and energy in politically organizing the students of Oxford and Cambridge. Later, even after the division of the Party, he remained a bridge between the CPI and the CPI(M). By virtue of possessing rare qualities of head and heart, he endeared himself to his friends and opponents alike. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was one of Pandit Nehru's closest friends and yet one of the sharpest critics of his policies. Upon Pandit Nehru's demise, he was appointed as the Founder Trustee of

the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. His book, *"The Gentle Colossus—A Study of Nehru"* is considered one of the most authoritative writings on Pandit Nehru's turbulent life.

In life, the man who called himself as an *"unrepentant Communist"* was one of the true heroes of the Communist movement in India, while in death, he is one of its most revered legends. Starting his political career as an humble student activist and later emerging as a strong leader of the trade unions and a stalwart for upliftment of the weaker sections and common man, Prof. Mukerjee had always stood by the ideals of equality and social justice.

Hiren Babu was of the opinion that socialism and democracy are not incompatible to each other, rather, socialism is the only panacea to solve the age-old problems the mankind has been suffering from. He always regarded the Left as a major political, social and ideological force in Indian politics. An enthusiastic supporter of the *"Bolshevik Revolution"* in Soviet Union, he founded the *"Friends of the Soviet Union"*. In fact, he was one of the architects of Indo-Soviet friendship.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee has been known as the most sparkling instrument in the armoury of Indian Parliament in its formative years. It has often been said that Prof. Hiren Mukerjee's eloquent speeches in Parliament affected Indian foreign policy just as much Pandit Nehru's own thoughts. His speeches though never equivocal or ambiguous contain references from sources as varied as the *Illiad,* the *Bhagvad Gita,* the *Mahabharata,* the holy *Bible,* the *Quran* and the *Communist Manifesto.* Though Bengali was his mother-tongue, his speeches were often accentuated with Sanskrit *slokas* and couplets. A firm believer in providing a constructive opposition, Prof. Mukerjee always presented his thoughts in a candid and cogent yet gentle and suave manner, so as to always convince but never offend. He led a busy political and parliamentary life serving in a number of Parliamentary Committees, Boards and Councils where his erudition was very much in demand. As Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC), he worked tirelessly for an effective scrutiny of the subjects under review and his contributions to the PAC were exemplary. He served with distinction as the First Honorary Advisor to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training (BPST) of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. He had a great respect for and mastery of the Rules and Procedures of Parliament. During his tenure in five Lok Sabhas, he spoke almost on every important subject more particularly on General Budget, External Affairs, Education, Constitution Amendment Bills, Five Year Plans, Parliamentary Matters, Sports and Archaeology. His deep knowledge and understanding of these varied subjects is a testimony to his multi-faceted personality. Indeed, he called himself, *"a jack of many incompatible trades"*.

I remember Hiren Babu as a great orator and a prolific writer whose intellect and sense of social responsibility was brought out in the incredible diversity and authenticity that came to characterize his books. He wrote on everything from Indian politics and the freedom struggle to literature and history. He wrote equally well both in English and Bengali. His noted works, *inter-alia* include: *"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)"*; *"Portrait of Parliament"*; *"An Introduction to Socialism"*; *"India and Parliament"*; and *"India Struggles for Freedom"*.

Prof. Mukerjee conferred with *Padma Bhushan* in 1990 and *Padma Vibhushan* in 1991, was one of the select few who had left an indelible mark on Indian Parliament. He will be remembered not only for his scholarly erudition but also for his love for the weaker sections of the society. Hiren Babu, a committed social activist, a true Communist, fought both inside and outside the Parliament for a society essentially free from hunger and deprivation.

The present publication attempts to recapitulate and place on record, the various aspects of his versatile personality and of the yeoman's services rendered by him in building up the healthy democratic traditions in our political and parliamentary life. I have had the good fortune of watching Prof. Hiren Mukerjee's activities closely over several years. I count and cherish the frequent dialogues I have had with him as among my most rewarding experiences. He was one of the first persons to congratulate me on my election as the Speaker by a letter written in his own hand which is now one of my prized possessions.

I hope this publication will be of immense value to the researchers, academics, students, parliamentarians and all others who are interested in the study of the parliamentary institutions. I congratulate Shri Abhijit Mukerjee, son of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and also Shri G. C. Malhotra, Secretary-General, Lok Sabha and his team of officers of the Lok Sabha Secretariat associated with this project for bringing out a publication of this nature on Hiren Babu in such a short time.

New Delhi
November 2004

SOMNATH CHATTERJEE,
Speaker, Lok Sabha

PREFACE

Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee was an extraordinary public figure of the twentieth century. He was one of the five members of the Communist Party elected to the First Lok Sabha in 1952. He continued in Lok Sabha for a quarter century having won elections five times consecutively. Hiren Mukerjee, a sharp intellectual, visionary, erudite scholar, great parliamentarian, veteran leader and a trade unionist was a unique personality who possessed admirable qualities which are a source of inspiration to the future generations. He made remarkable contributions in enriching our parliamentary institutions and overall development of our nation.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee dominated Indian parliamentary politics in his times. Whether in or outside the Parliament, he was always in the news. His farsightedness and astute stewardship made him one of the most popular comrades in India, particularly in West Bengal. While participating in the debates in Parliament, Prof. Mukerjee endeared himself to the members from both Treasury and Opposition benches, including the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for his oratorical skills. He was the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party of India in the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1964 and 1967 to 1971. From 1964 to 1967, Prof. Mukerjee became the Leader of his Party in Parliament. He also became the Chairman of one of the most prestigious financial committees in Parliament—the Public Accounts Committee and stressed that the accountability of the Executive should be increased.

As early as in 1962, in his book on *'India and Parliament'*, Prof. Mukerjee opined that democracy should grow 'from below' and that decentralization is the primary need of today. He thought that without decentralization, economic planning which is so imperative for India's well being, can not succeed. Participation of people at various levels, from the village panchayat to Parliament was, according to him, the essence of parliamentary democracy.

He was determined to optimally utilize the forum of Parliament for redressal of grievances of the people. Prof. Mukerjee always stressed the point that, "It is not for relaxation but for serious work and in Parliament, there is more than plenty to do." He believed that the aspirations of people should be reflected on the floor of Parliament through their representatives. He always felt that as long as parties function in Parliament, certain standards of conduct and mutual relationship should be carefully maintained.

In Parliament, Prof. Mukerjee was determined to challenge those Government policies and programmes which were not people-oriented. In several instances, he offered his own interpretation. Hiren Mukerjee spoke on almost every important subject under the sun. However, Foreign Affairs, Economic issues, Labour Problems, Education and Culture were the subjects close to his heart. His speeches were logical; thought provoking as well as analytically inspiring. He used English words, phrases and expressions unknown to many.

His regard for Marxism-Leninism did not prevent him from speaking highly of Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. As a prolific writer, his books on the three leaders—*'Gandhiji—A Study'*; *'The Gentle Colossus—A Study of Nehru'* and *'Bow of Burning Gold' (A Study of Subhas Chandra Bose)* bear testimony to his respect for those who did not endorse his brand of politics. It is always inspiring to read his autobiography *Tari Hotey Teer* (from Boat to the River Bank) besides his other Bengali books.

This publication is a humble tribute on our part to Prof. Hiren Mukerjee who died recently and whose 97th birth anniversary falls on 23 November 2004. We are deeply beholden to the Hon'ble President of India, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, the Hon'ble Vice-President of India, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Hon'ble Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, Hon'ble Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, Shri K. Rahman Khan and Hon'ble Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, Sardar Charanjit Singh Atwal for acceding to our request to send their messages for this Publication. This has undoubtedly enriched the value of the publication.

The publication comprises *four parts* : Part I of the publication, *'Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee—A Profile'* gives us a valuable understanding of the life and works of Prof. Mukerjee. The profile can best be described as a full and persuasive account of the inside story of a distinguished politician who was deeply involved with the evaluation process of Indian political, economic, parliamentary and social system. We have not only presented an account of his eventful life, the causes he advocated and adhered to but also his splendid achievements and the deep impact he had left on Indian parliamentary democracy as a leading member of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha.

Part II, *'Articles'* carries reminiscences and memories of Prof. Mukerjee penned by his contemporaries and close associates. Among our honoured contributors, we have Governors, former Speakers of Lok Sabha, former and present Chief Ministers, former and present members of Parliament, other eminent leaders and journalists. I am grateful to each one of them for having responded to our request and helped us in bringing out this publication.

We would, however, like to emphasize that the views expressed in various articles are those of the individual authors and the Lok Sabha Secretariat does not assume any responsibility for the opinions expressed by the authors or the facts cited by them.

Part III, *'His Select Speeches in Parliament'* incorporates the selected speeches of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee delivered on the floor of the Lok Sabha which give a glimpse of his in-depth knowledge of subjects, his suggestions to solve the problems of Indian economy, particularly faced in the early fifties and sixties and above all his eloquence and excellence of language and brilliant oratorical skills. The speeches included in the present publication have been selected with due care and objectivity. The publication, however, does not claim to cover all the outstanding or memorable speeches of Prof. Mukerjee. Within this modest volume, utmost attention has been paid to include the representative speeches on as many subjects as possible. The criteria employed has been the historical, national and international importance of the speeches and the lasting value of their contents. During his parliamentary career, Prof. Mukerjee paid homage to his fellow parliamentarians and others. The homages included indicate how a great leader appreciated the qualities of others cutting across the party lines. Original language of his speeches has been retained except where it was absolutely essential to make some changes to maintain continuity. The speeches have been arranged subject-wise and in the chronological order.

Part IV contains rich tributes paid to him in and outside Parliament by eminent personalities, his close comrades, friends, journalists and others on his passing away on 30 July 2004. In his parliamentary career spanning 25 years, his aim was to give expression to the unspoken thoughts of less articulate people, their dreams and aspirations for a better social order rooted in our democratic system. Incidentally, the number of occasions Prof. Mukerjee has participated in the debates and proceedings of the Lok Sabha comes to a staggering total of about eleven hundred. The publication carries a *'List of Speeches delivered by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee in Parliament'*. A Comprehensive Index also finds place in the publication.

We express our sincere gratitude to esteemed Shri Somnath Chatterjee, himself an outstanding parliamentarian and presently adorning the Office of the Speaker of Lok Sabha, for his initiative, guidance, direction and constant encouragement in this moderate endeavour of ours. I profoundly thank him for writing an inspiring and illuminating Foreword to this publication and also for contributing a memorable piece of work *'Hiren Mukerjee—A Role Model for Parliamentarians'*.

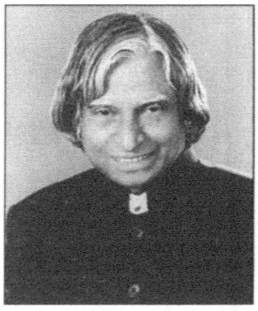
We would like to place on record the unstinted cooperation received from Shri Abhijit Mukerjee, son of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, for making available rare photographs of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee's personal life and other useful and enriching information for inclusion in the publication.

This publication has been brought out within a short span of about two months. I am thankful to Shri John Joseph, Additional Secretary, Shri N. K. Sapra, Joint Secretary, Shri R. T. Pillai, Director, Smt. Sadhna Gupta, Joint Director, Smt. Kalpana Sharma, Deputy Director, Shri Harsh Chaturvedi and Shri B. Phani Kumar, Assistant Directors, Shri Sebastian Mathew and Shri Prasanta K. Mallick, Research Officers and Shri B. Mohapatra, Research Assistant for their dedicated work in realizing this project. We are also thankful to the Parliamentary Museum and Archives and the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training of the Lok Sabha Secretariat for providing good quality photographs of Prof. Mukerjee which are published at several places in the Publication. Thanks are also due to Shri Radhey Shyam, Controller of Printing and Publications, Lok Sabha Secretariat and Messrs. Jainco Art India, the printer for the excellent job they have done in so short a time.

We hope that this publication will be read with interest by members of Parliament and State Legislatures, political scientists, research scholars and all those who have interest in the contemporary history of our country.

New Delhi
November 2004

G. C. MALHOTRA
Secretary-General
Lok Sabha



सत्यमेव जयते

राष्ट्रपति
भारत गणतंत्र
PRESIDENT
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

MESSAGE

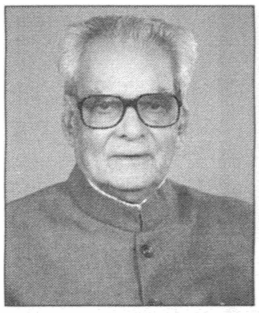
I am happy to know that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is publishing a Monograph on the occasion of the birth anniversary of late Shri Hiren Mukerjee, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha, on 23 November 2004.

Shri Hiren Mukerjee who served as a Member of Parliament for twenty-five years was an illustrious leader and an eminent parliamentarian. His continuous membership of the Lok Sabha for a quarter century reflected his esteem amongst the people. His services to the nation will be remembered with respect and honour.

I extend my greetings and felicitations to all those associated with the Monograph and pay my tribute to late Shri Hiren Mukerjee.

New Delhi
21 October 2004

(A.P.J. ABDUL KALAM)



सत्यमेव जयते

उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत
VICE-PRESIDENT OF INDIA

MESSAGE

I am happy to know that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph on Prof. Hiren Mukerjee on the occasion of his birth anniversary on 23 November 2004.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was a parliamentarian *par excellence*, symbolising the golden era of India's parliamentary democracy. He was gifted with a brilliant mind, the power of articulation of ideas, the ability for scholarly erudition and above all a great sensitivity for the dispossessed and the downtrodden. He had a multi-faceted personality and as a young student leader, a trade union activist, an outstanding parliamentarian, a political agitator, a progressive writer and crusader, Prof. Mukerjee left an indelible imprint on our public life. In an era blessed with a galaxy of towering public figures, he had carved for himself his own distinctive niche. Throughout his life, he had a rare sensitivity to the cause of serving the humanity. Truly, he was a great man with a fervent passion for new ideas; a perceptive observer of society and politics; one of the foremost champions of India's democratic traditions.

I pay my respectful homage to the sacred memory of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and hope that the Monograph will become a viable medium for his large circle of friends and admirers to reflect on his multi-faceted personality and derive inspiration from his life and ideals.

New Delhi
27 September 2004

(BHAIRON SINGH SHEKHAWAT)

सत्यमेव जयते

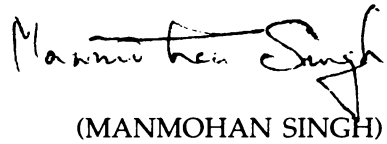
प्रधान मंत्री
PRIME MINISTER

MESSAGE

Rarely in public life one comes across the personality of the stature of Professor Hiren Mukerjee who while professing communist ideology never hesitated to proclaim himself as a devotee of Mahatma Gandhi. A veteran leader commanding admiration and respect of our people, he fascinated the world by blending the philosophy and practice of dialectical materialism with humanism and assimilative aspects of Indian civilization. A multi-faceted personality, his contributions as activist, scholar, writer, parliamentarian and above all as a fine human being had infused fresh thinking to our approach to nation building. His masterly performance as a parliamentarian remained one of the distinguishing features of his eventful life and influenced the general public and the Government to critically reflect on our policies and implementation strategies.

A critique of the Government and its leaders, his criticism was born out of an approach which is constructive with the objective to point out lapses and failures without in any way pontificating. He examined Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's programmes and policies, and assailed them, but at the same time, hailed him as a gentle colossus. Adoption of such a strategy to oppose was characteristic of the inclusive approach, the spirit of which needs to be recaptured for smooth and effective functioning of our parliamentary democracy. With rare insight, he saw the trend of criminalisation of public life which he called "hoodlum politics" and appealed to the people and the leaders alike to nip it in the bud lest it would assume alarming proportions polluting the body polity. How true he was and how significant are his utterances for the challenges we confront to clean our public life! Revered and hailed as the Communist Rishi, he left lasting impressions on our national life through service, character, values and rectitude.

It is noteworthy that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph on Professor Hiren Mukerjee encapsulating various facets of his life and highlighting his role as one of the all time great parliamentarians of our country. I compliment the Lok Sabha Secretariat for bringing out the volume, which I am sure, will be an imporant source for the present and future generations to understand and explore the depth, content and vast range of his ideas. On this occasion, I have great pleasure in extending greetings and good wishes to all those associated with the Monograph for its success.



New Delhi
2 November 2004

(MANMOHAN SINGH)

सत्यमेव जयते

उप-सभापति
राज्य सभा
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
RAJYA SABHA

MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph on late Shri Hiren Mukerjee, the noted communist leader of India.

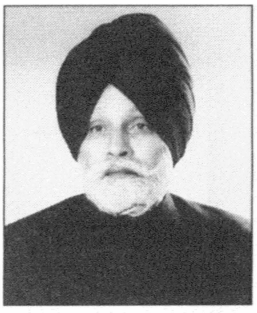
A passionate revolutionary, a communist ideologue chiselled in the marxist mould, he always remained loyal to the cause of the poor and the exploited. An effective communicator, Shri Mukerjee, through his prolific writings and exceptional oratory pulled many into the communist fold forever. His practical approach and articulate ways were so compelling that many noted communists of today term him as their mentor. Still others have bestowed on him the epithet—'conscience of the Left.'

An unrepentant communist, by his own admission, he was a nationalist at heart. He did not allow his ideology to cloud his liberal nationalistic ideology and participated in elections to become a Member of Parliament. During his long innings in Lok Sabha, he won accolades for his learned interventions in the discussions. He was acclaimed as a great parliamentarian who has contributed significantly towards instilling parliamentary traditions in our polity.

A leading figure in the political and cultural life of the country, he will always be remembered for his sterling qualities and his diverse contributions towards enriching our polity and society. Today, on his birth anniversary we offer our salutations to this distinguished son of India.

New Delhi
25 October 2004

(K. RAHMAN KHAN)



सत्यमेव जयते

DEPUTY SPEAKER,
LOK SABHA

MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out a Monograph on Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, an eminent Parliamentarian and an erudite scholar to commemorate his 97th birth anniversary on 23 November 2004.

A doyen among the parliamentarians of our country—Prof. Mukerjee by his sharp intellect, brilliant exposition, effective articulation and cogent reasoning has left a deep imprint on our nation's parliamentary and political life. Undoubtedly, Prof. Mukerjee is a bright star in the galaxy of eminent parliamentarians our country has produced. A first generation parliamentarian in our country, Prof. Mukerjee played a pivotal role in the formulation of parliamentary processes and procedures and establishing sound conventions.

The gamut of issues he raised on the floor of the House amply demonstrate how effective and constructive the Opposition can be in a parliamentary polity—keeping the Executive accountable and responsive to the developmental challenges before the nation.

I am sure this publication would be received well and read with interest by all those interested in the working of parliamentary democracy in India since 1952 and more particularly the budding parliamentarians who can benefit immensely from the inspiring speeches of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee. I am sure his ideas and ideals would continue to inspire the future generations and help inculcate the values of parliamentary democracy in the leaders and people of our country.

Charanjit Singh

New Delhi
November 2004

(CHARANJIT SINGH ATWAL)

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PART-IV

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All-India Congress Committee
AIKS	All India Kisan Sabha
BPST	Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CLA	Central Legislative Assembly
CMPO	Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation
CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
DCM	Delhi Cloth Mills
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
FAO	Food & Agriculture Organisation
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IATCO	Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement
ICICI	Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IDRA	The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act
IISC	Indian Iron and Steel Company
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INA	Indian National Army
IPTA	Indian People's Theatre Association
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
JPI	Journal of Parliamentary Information
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
L.S. Deb.	Lok Sabha Debates
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organisation
MP	Member of Parliament

MRTP	The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCAER	National Council of Applied Economic Research
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NPC	National Planning Committee
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PAC	Public Accounts Committee
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
RBI	Reserve Bank of India
RSS	Rashtriya Swayam-Sevak Sangh
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
SRC	States Reorganisation Commission
TELCO	Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UTI	Unit Trust of India

Part I
PROFILE

PROF. HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE—A PROFILE

Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee, popularly known as Hiren Mukerjee, a distinguished and a veteran Communist leader, freedom fighter, a parliamentarian *par excellence*, a gifted orator and a prolific writer has left a deep imprint on the Indian political life. Prof. Mukerjee was among the galaxy of distinguished parliamentarians, who have had the historic opportunity to be elected to the First Lok Sabha. Serving from the First Lok Sabha to Fifth Lok Sabha, Hirendra Nath Mukerjee symbolised the golden era of Indian parliamentary politics. He excelled with his enlightening speeches in Lok Sabha. His opinion was always held in high regard. Those who had been with him in politics admit that his eloquence and debating skills were unparalleled and he proved to be among the most gifted parliamentarians the country has ever produced.

Born and brought up during the British rule in India, Hiren Mukerjee chose to become a freedom fighter. He was considered one of the top intellectuals of our country even in those days. In the post-Independence India, he became one of the outstanding parliamentarians who made significant contributions towards the development and strengthening of parliamentary democracy. His speeches and debates in Parliament had attracted the attention of one and all and were of the highest order with his masterly eloquence and exuberance of ideas. His legacy epitomizes the sagacious contributions made by the parliamentarians in nurturing and strengthening India's parliamentary system and constitutionalism. He contributed substantially to provide an effective and vigilant opposition in Parliament. His intellectual honesty and objective viewpoint added lustre to his parliamentary life. One of the few parliamentarians of the vintage mould to live long enough to see the dawn of the new millennium, Prof. Mukerjee has left an indelible imprint in the annals of Indian Parliament owing to his varied contributions.

Prof. Mukerjee's brilliance has left its distinct class in several fields. A true nationalist, he joined the freedom movement at a young age and started participating actively in the mass movements and struggles. As a pioneering leader of the Communist movement in the country, his brilliant ideas and thoughts, leadership and role as a parliamentarian were of vital support to the movement. Communist ideology was his passion. As a committed worker and leader of the Communist Party of India, he found his mission in life to

help the working class, peasants and the weaker sections. He has been widely acknowledged as he described in his own words, *"as an unrepentant Communist"*. He was a relentless fighter for the cause and ideals he believed in.

Since his early life his exceptional erudition shone through his political convictions. His entry in politics itself was a remarkable step given the political scenario in the pre-Independence India. He joined the Communist Party in 1936, which was then banned. But, he never restricted himself to the world of the Communist movement alone as evidenced by the wide range of intellectual pursuits he carried on. In his active public life spanning more than 50 years, various facets of his persona—scholar-intellectual, communist ideologue and parliamentarian—were in full bloom. For his contemporaries, it was difficult to decide whether he was a better political leader or a better scholar. For Prof. Mukerjee his unwavering belief in the Marxian thought, his convictions and determination to strive for ensuring good governance, progress and welfare of the people and building an egalitarian society were the driving force for his diligent endeavours in public life.

He has been a prolific writer in both English and Bengali. Besides innumerable articles, he has authored a large number of books on varied topics and themes. He has authored books which cover a wide spectrum of issues and personalities, including Mahatma Gandhi, Karl Marx, Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. An educationist, historian and a literary enthusiast, Prof. Mukerjee explored in detail the cultural heritage and ethos of our country.

EARLY LIFE

Born in the Taltala area of Kolkata on 23 November 1907, Hirendra Nath was the fourth of the ten children of Shri Sachindranath Mukerjee, a close associate of Shri Surendranath Banerjee, who had been connected with the *Indian Mirror*. In *Tari Hotey Teer*, Hirendra Nath's memoirs, he noted that few Indians could speak English more fluently than Sachindranath. The son inherited the father's eloquence.

At the age of 13, Hirendra Nath had his *"Upanayan"* ceremony like any Brahmin child, an event the atheist Marxist of later life never failed to recall with gentle mockery. He became his grandmother's favourite for being able to recite long passages from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. His grandfather used to take the boy to the discussions on the *Gita* and that was how Hirendra Nath came to memorise a number of *slokas*. He was one of the brilliant students of his days. He matriculated at the young age of 14 in First Division with star marks (80 per cent) in five subjects and earned a scholarship.

He was enrolled at the Presidency College after matriculating from Taltala High School in 1922 with a monthly scholarship of Rs. 10. The Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920 had an immediate impact on his mind, so much so that even as a teenager he refused to go and see the illumination of Kolkata to mark the visit of the Prince of Wales on 24 December 1921. Since his early life he was attracted by certain eminent personalities of India's freedom movement. By this time, he had made a hobby of collecting information on great Indians of the past and wrote his first article on the glory of ancient India. He was profoundly moved by Nazrul Islam singing *"Ei shikal para chal"* at a college function.

Hirendra Nath stood first in the Intermediate Arts Examination in 1924. He repeated the performance in the B.A. Examination in 1926, winning the *Ishan Scholarship* and scoring record marks in History, his honours subject. In each of the eight papers in the M.A. (History) Examination in 1928, he topped the list. As an M.A. student, Hirendra Nath had become the Secretary of the Presidency College Union. In 1927, Hirendra Nath also won the Gold Medal in an All-India Debating Competition organised by the Banaras Hindu University. Among his good friends, some of the noted ones were: Surendranath Dasgupta, Jagdish Chandra Basu, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Abanindranath Tagore, Humayun Kabir and Uday Chand Mahtab. One of the most memorable events of his college life was his meeting with Rabindranath Tagore.

Hirendra Nath went to the St. Catherine's College at Oxford on a State Scholarship in September 1929 and received a B.Litt in 1932 and later passed the Bar-at-Law Examination from Lincoln's Inn in 1934.

After his return from abroad in 1934, Hirendra Nath's intellectual talent was noticed by eminent scholar and academician, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who invited him to join the Andhra University to teach history and political philosophy. He joined Andhra University as a Lecturer and remained there for a year. He became the Head of the Department of History at the Ripon College (later known as Surendranath College, Kolkata) in 1936 and adorned the position till 1962. He also remained a Professor of History and Political philosophy in the same college from 1940 to 1944.

A POLITICAL THINKER

Prof. Mukerjee's political views and thoughts were deeply rooted in his belief in the Marxian thoughts and Communist ideology. He believed that the Communist ideology can offer remedies to the socio-economic ills existing in the Indian society and genuinely endeavoured to propagate the ideology in the country for promoting the welfare of the working class, the peasants, the downtrodden and the have-nots. His books, articles and speeches in

Parliament were enriched by his political thinking and views, and reflected the realities of the society. He had undertaken studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders and analysed their contributions impartially in his books. Born and brought up during the freedom struggle, the Gandhian philosophy and the policies of the Indian National Congress obviously provided the broader socio-political milieu in which he grew up as a political activist and thinker.

A DEDICATED LEADER AND A PARTY WORKER

Prof. Mukerjee, who jocularly referred to himself as *"a jack of several incompatible trades"*, was considered a legendary figure in the Indian Communist Movement that brought him close to the stalwarts of Indian politics like Shri P.C. Joshi, Dr. Ranen Sen, Shri Bhabani Sen, Shri S.A. Dange, Shri Somnath Lahiri, besides Shri Muzaffar Ahmed and Shri Hashim Abdul Halim.

On his return to India he joined the Communist Party of India (CPI) in 1936, which was banned at that time. In keeping with the 'popular front' policy of CPI he served as a member of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) in 1938-39. Later, he became the Joint Secretary of the Bengal Unit of the Congress Socialist Party. He was on the National Council of the CPI from 1958 to 1966. After the split in the Communist Party in 1964, he remained with the parent party till his last breath.

A senior CPI leader recalled that *"he had got his party membership renewed every year. A little delay on our part to send the renewal form to his residence, would provoke him to call us and ask, if we had decided not to renew his membership"*.[1] Obviously for leaders like Prof. Mukerjee, party remained above everything else in life, all their endeavours being channelised to serve the cause of the party and its ideology.

AN OUTSTANDING PARLIAMENTARIAN

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was one of the five Communist members of Parliament elected to the First Lok Sabha from West Bengal in 1952 and he remained a member till the end of the Fifth Lok Sabha. He represented the Calcutta North-East Parliamentary Constituency of West Bengal in the First, Fourth and Fifth Lok Sabhas, *i.e.* from 1952 to 1957 and again from 1967 to 1977. The Calcutta Central Parliamentary Constituency elected him for the Second and Third Lok Sabhas, *i.e.* from 1957 to 1967. He was the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party of India in Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1964 and also for the years 1967 to 1971. From 1964 to 1967, Prof. Mukerjee became the

[1] *Indian Express*, 31 July 2004.

Leader of his Party in Parliament[2]. Prof. Mukerjee formed part of the great team in Parliament from the Communist Bloc that included A.K. Gopalan, Jyotirmoy Basu and Bhupesh Gupta.

A versatile genius, Prof. Mukerjee belonged to the genre of people who revered parliamentary democracy. One of the most distinguished parliamentarians of India, Prof. Mukerjee was highly respected in parliamentary circles for his enlightening contribution of the deliberations of the House. He was known for his respect for and mastery over the rules of procedure and also for his vast knowledge, brilliant and well-researched speeches, incisive and logical arguments and legendary oratorical skills, which kept the listeners spellbound for hours together. The gamut of issues raised by Prof. Mukerjee within and outside the House had a holistic perspective. Through his speeches, he unfailingly articulated a national vision[3].

As a member on the Opposition benches, Prof. Mukerjee played a key role in providing a responsible and constructive opposition essential for the meaningful working of Parliament.

As a dynamic leader of Opposition benches he felt,

> "It is good to remember that more often than not, opposition groups in Parliament, in spite of undeniable internecine differences, could effectively combine, not, of course, winning divisions in the House but the laurels of debate. To muster more than a hundred votes on a cut motion against government, as happened once in the first session, was an achievement repeated no more than a very few times in the last twenty-four years. We had our differences and difficulties but avoidable acrimony was usually shed and the results, in parliamentary terms, were commendable".[4]

His acclaimed parliamentary career is rather highly coveted. There was a huge fan club of Prof. Mukerjee in Parliament which included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who took care not to miss his speeches. From experience it was obvious for everyone that listening to Prof. Mukerjee's speech would make them better informed, clearer in perception and aware of the expected action from the Government on various issues. Definitely he was one who knew well his duties as a parliamentarian and accomplished them with great responsibility. Outstanding parliamentarians like Prof. Mukerjee were instrumental in setting high standards in debates and of conduct in Parliament. The parliamentary debates of those times bear testimony to the role played

[2] *L.S. Deb.*, 16 August 2004.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Portrait of Parliament*, by Prof. Hiren Mukerjee (1978).

by the parliamentarians in keeping a surveillance over the Executive and ensuring its accountability to Parliament.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee felt strongly for improving the working of Indian Parliament and converting it into a more result-oriented body. While suggesting ways and means of its improvement, Prof. Mukerjee wrote,

> "It is by no means enough to take some steps for turning Parliament from the talking shop it too often is into a working body. This could be attempted by augmenting work in committee, every ministry having attached to it a standing committee with powers now held only by the three financial committees (Public Accounts, Estimates, and Public Undertakings), at the same time improving their procedure and ensuring regular parliamentary discussion and executive implementation of their reports. One would get thereby a better exposure of deficiencies and of scandals, but what is basic is not only such exposure (and commensurate action to follow) but fundamental structural examination (by no means merely "psychological and moralistic") of the roots of such chronic ills as corruption and unjust administration congenital to class society which cannot be wished away by Jayaprakash's or anybody else's "saintly" expostulation. Will serious effort be made in that direction in the immediate future?"[5]

He successfully used various parliamentary tools like Question Hour, Calling Attention, Adjournment Motion, Half-an-Hour Discussion, etc. to challenge Government decisions and policies. While commenting on the importance of 'Question Hour', he said,

> "It was Question Hour which daily highlighted the power and value of the legislative rapier. Ten questions on an average, along with supplementaries, could be answered in the time, and since one did not then make long prefaces and juxtapose too many points together, the exchange could often be crisp and meaningful. Members with a standing in the House would get up to ask questions rarely but when they did, were almost sure of catching Mr. Speaker's eye. While a few assiduous members soon made a mark during question hour, they did not (and perhaps did not) even manage a near-monopoly of the job to the detriment of less strident aspirants. .....Members of all parties had thus a fair opportunity of showing their mettle, junior Congress members, later drafted into ministries, almost invariably earning recognition in their ways."[6]

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[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*

Prof. Mukerjee entered Parliament at a time when Communism had become a major force worldwide. It goes without saying that Prof. Mukerjee was one of the prominent leaders of the Communist Party of India who steered the Party in the forum of Parliament and endeavoured to strengthen Indian democracy by enhancing its plurality of opinion and ideas and reflecting the voice of many weaker sections. In his book titled *"Portrait of Parliament"* published in 1978, Prof. Mukerjee has vividly described his experiences in Parliament. The book reveals his close and keen observation of Parliament's functioning in an objective manner. In this book he has analysed the significant happenings and personalities associated with Parliament from 1952 onwards and it is a window to those crucial times of evolving of India's parliamentary traditions.

During his days in Lok Sabha, Prof. Mukerjee became the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee twice. He also served with distinction as the First Honorary Advisor to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training (BPST) of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. Prof. Mukerjee's sterling parliamentary career could infuse the BPST immeasurably in pursuing its goals and laid a solid foundation for its future activities. During his tenure from 1978 to 1982, the BPST took great strides quickly, fully geared to meet the training needs in the context of a parliamentary institution with as many as fifteen Orientation Programmes for members of Lok Sabha, thirteen Seminars and Workshops for parliamentarians as well as officials and thirty-nine Attachment Programmes and sixty-five Study Visits for parliamentary officials and students from various universities and colleges, besides various other training programmes. He was also the Chairman of the Forum for Parliamentary Studies, West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The Forum under the Chairmanship of Prof. Mukerjee has been able to familiarise the newly-elected legislators with the role of the legislators in a parliamentary democracy and its operational aspects so that they are able to cater to the needs and aspirations of the people whom they represent.[7]

A firm believer in the parliamentary system and its values and norms, Prof. Mukerjee upheld morality and ethics in public life uncompromisingly. As a seasoned parliamentarian he was later disappointed to see the decline in public life. On the degeneration of politics, Prof. Mukerjee once said: "...there never was a time in living memory when politics and politicians were, almost rightfully, as denigrated, even degraded and sometimes detested, in the eyes of our people as they are at the moment".[8]

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[7] Official Web Site of the Govt. of West Bengal.

[8] Inaugural Address by Shri N. Chandrababu Naidu, former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh at the Symposium on "Coalition Governance and Political Stability" held in Hyderabad on 1 June 2000.

He was deeply disturbed by the indifference of the Parliament and the people of the country to the root causes of social discrimination. He wrote passionately, "Parliament is too often busy with the production of "scenes" (now exhibited by television) and the people (like their representatives) are lulled into a peculiar indifference".[9] In one of his articles, Prof. Mukerjee stated—

> "I represented the party getting elected to Parliament 25 years in a row. ...Today the very word 'politics' sounds 'dirty' to human ears. The conduct and demeanour has come to such a pass, the enormity of corruption has increased to such a degree, and the stigma associated with blemish-filth of electoral politics, has spread so widely that one wonders how the country will tide over this distressing situation".[10]

Another remarkable aspect of the parliamentary and political life of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee had been the good rapport he always enjoyed with leaders from a wide spectrum of political backgrounds. Differences in political ideology and views never came in the way of his close interaction with others amidst many a contradiction in the political views of parties at that time. The fact that Prof. Mukerjee's book on Jawaharlal Nehru titled, *"Gentle Colossus—A Study of Nehru"* is a testimony of the enduring relations they had.

A widely travelled person, Prof. Mukerjee was a member of the Indian Delegation to Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Canberra, (Australia) in 1959 and the Indian Parliamentary Delegation, which visited the erstwhile USSR and Hungary in 1968. He also attended the Inter-Parliamentary Union Meeting at Yaounde, Cameroon in 1972 and the 60th Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Paris in 1972.

A TRUE SCHOLAR

Prof. Mukerjee's erudition in various disciplines and his expertise were in great demand and he provided yeoman's service by serving in various bodies and institutions amidst a busy political and parliamentary life. He was a member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology from 1952 to 1955; 1957 to 1960 and 1972 to 1975. He was also a member of various other bodies such as the Education Panel, Planning Commission; the National Integration Council, 1962; and the Central Advisory Board of Education from 1972 to 1975. He served as a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University from 1953 to 1961; and *Samsad* (Court) of the Visva Bharati University from 1972 to 1975. He was the Executive Member of the National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary; one of the Founder Trustees of Pandit Jawaharlal

[9] *New Age Weekly*, 8–14 August 2004.
[10] *Ibid.*

Nehru Memorial Trust and a Trustee of Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial Trust. He took keen interest in sports and was the member of All-India Council of Sports from 1953 to 1971.[11]

A TRADE UNIONIST

Closely associated with the trade union movement, Prof. Mukerjee gave leadership to workers' unions of postal, insurance and bank employees. He was the President of the Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union since its inception in 1946 and served as the Vice-President of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress (BPTUC) during its critical period in 1948-49.

A PROLIFIC WRITER

Writing and politics were a passion to Prof. Hiren Mukerjee. Few other political leaders in the country have left such a mark as an author of so many well-written and widely acclaimed books as has Prof. Mukerjee. The sheer diversity and authenticity of his books came from his sparkling intellect and a sense of responsibility to society to undertake such arduous endeavours. Students of Indian politics, history, literature, biography of India's national leaders, freedom struggle and the Communist movement in the country have found his books highly beneficial. Some of his books are even considered almost classics in their respective fields. A prolific writer, both in Bengali and English, Hiren Mukerjee used to contribute articles to numerous magazines and journals. He has written extensively on historical, literary and political themes. He edited an anthology of modern Bengali poetry and was the author of *"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)"* and some of his works in English are: *"An Introduction to Socialism"*; *"India Struggles for Freedom"*, *"India and Parliament"*; *"The Gentle Colossus: A Study of Nehru"*; *"Portrait of Parliament"* and *"The Communal Problem and the Freedom Struggle, 1919-47"*. He was the author of studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Swami Vivekananda and Raja Rammohan Roy. He has also authored *"Remembering Marx"*, and *"Time-Tested Treasure - Indo-Soviet Friendship"*. His books in Bengali include *"National Movement in India"*; *"A History of India"* (in two volumes), *"Hindu and Muslim"*, *"National Songs"* (ed.) and *"Modern Bengali Poetry"*. He was the Editor of *"Indo-Soviet Journal"*, Calcutta, from 1941 to 1945; and Joint Editor, *"Calcutta Weekly Notes"*, a law journal, from 1945 to 1952.[12]

He was honoured with the *"Muzaffar Ahmed Smriti Puraskar"* for his book *"Yuger Jantnana-o-Pratyayer Sankat"* in 2001. One of the founders of the *"Progressive Writers' Association"* in 1936, *"Friends of Soviets"* in 1941 and *"Indo-China Friendship Society"* in 1948, he was the President of the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) in 1940.

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[11] *L.S. Deb.*, 16 August 2004.
[12] *Ibid.*

AWARDS

A man of noble character and extraordinary genius, Hiren Mukerjee was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Andhra, Calcutta, North Bengal, Kalyani and Vidyasagar. He was also the recipient of the *Padma Bhushan* in 1990 and *Padma Vibhushan* in 1991 for his contributions to public life. He received the *"Vidyasagar Award"* in 1992, *'Maulana Azad Award'* by the Muslim Cultural Association in 1994 and *"Nazrul Award"* in 2000 for his literary work from the Government of West Bengal.

He received the *'Soviet Land Nehru Award'* in 1977. He also received the *'Soviet Award'* for his book on the Second World War and *'Dimitrov Memorial Award'* from Bulgaria in the 1980s.

HIS LAST JOURNEY

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee passed away on 30 July 2004 at the age of 97 in Kolkata's SSKM Hospital following a massive heart attack.

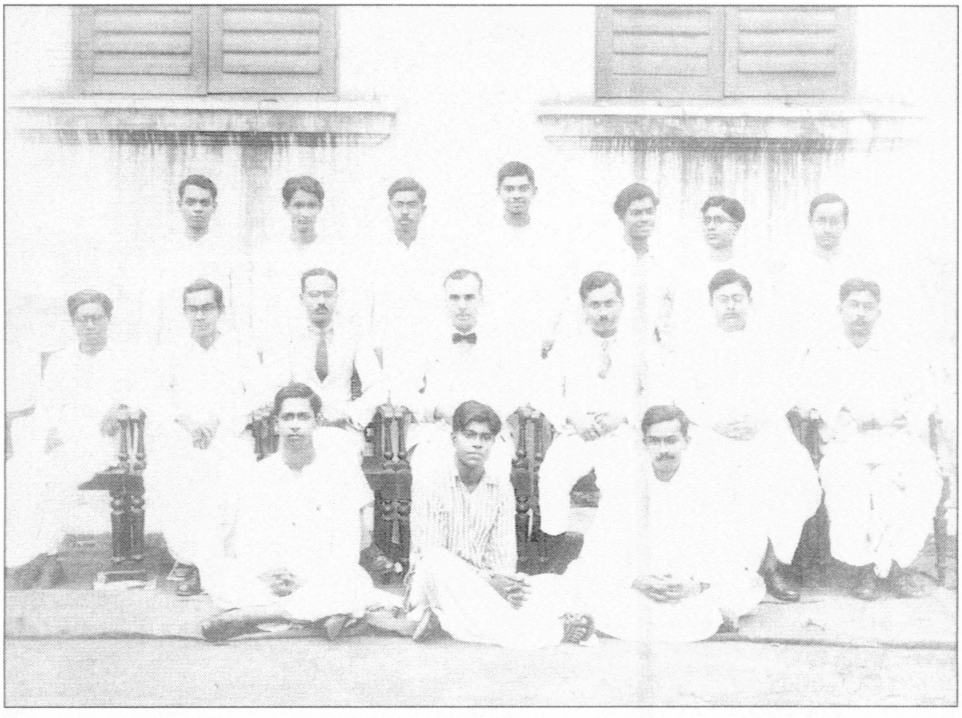
Paying homage to the eminent scholar-politician, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee *President of India, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam* said, "Shri Hiren Mukerjee was an illustrious member of Parliament and also had a deep interest in various subjects including history." *The Vice-President of India, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat* felt, "Prof. Mukerjee was gifted with a brilliant mind, the power of articulation of ideas, the ability for scholarly erudition and above all a great sensitivity for the dispossessed and the down-trodden." *The Prime Minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh* observed, "He was a national leader of great standing and whose qualities are worthy of emulation today." *The Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri Somnath Chatterjee,* felt, "His demise is an irreparable loss to India's parliamentary democracy, and a great loss to the nation." *The President of the All India Congress Committee, Smt. Sonia Gandhi* opined, "Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee's parliamentary debates were marked by his intellectual thinking and oratory." *Former Prime Minister, Shri I.K. Gujral* said, "Shri Hiren Mukerjee's eloquence and thoughts left a deep impact on my generation. *Late Jawaharlal Nehru* appreciated his intellect on several occasions." *Shri Jyoti Basu, former Chief Minister of West Bengal,* said, "In the realm of parliamentary politics, Hiren Mukerjee is a phenomenon."

Prof. Mukerjee's varied contributions and his outstanding career as a parliamentarian will be remembered for long. He has rendered selfless service not only to the Communist movement but also to the entire polity by way of his life-long fight for progressive forces, rational thinking, socio-economic development of the country and people's welfare. In his passing away, the country has lost a leader, who personified an ideal parliamentary life. His legacy reinforces the trust in parliamentary institutions and will remain an inspiration for generations to come.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee (23 November 1907—30 July 2004)

Young Hiren with his wife Bibha

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and Smt. Bibha Mukerjee

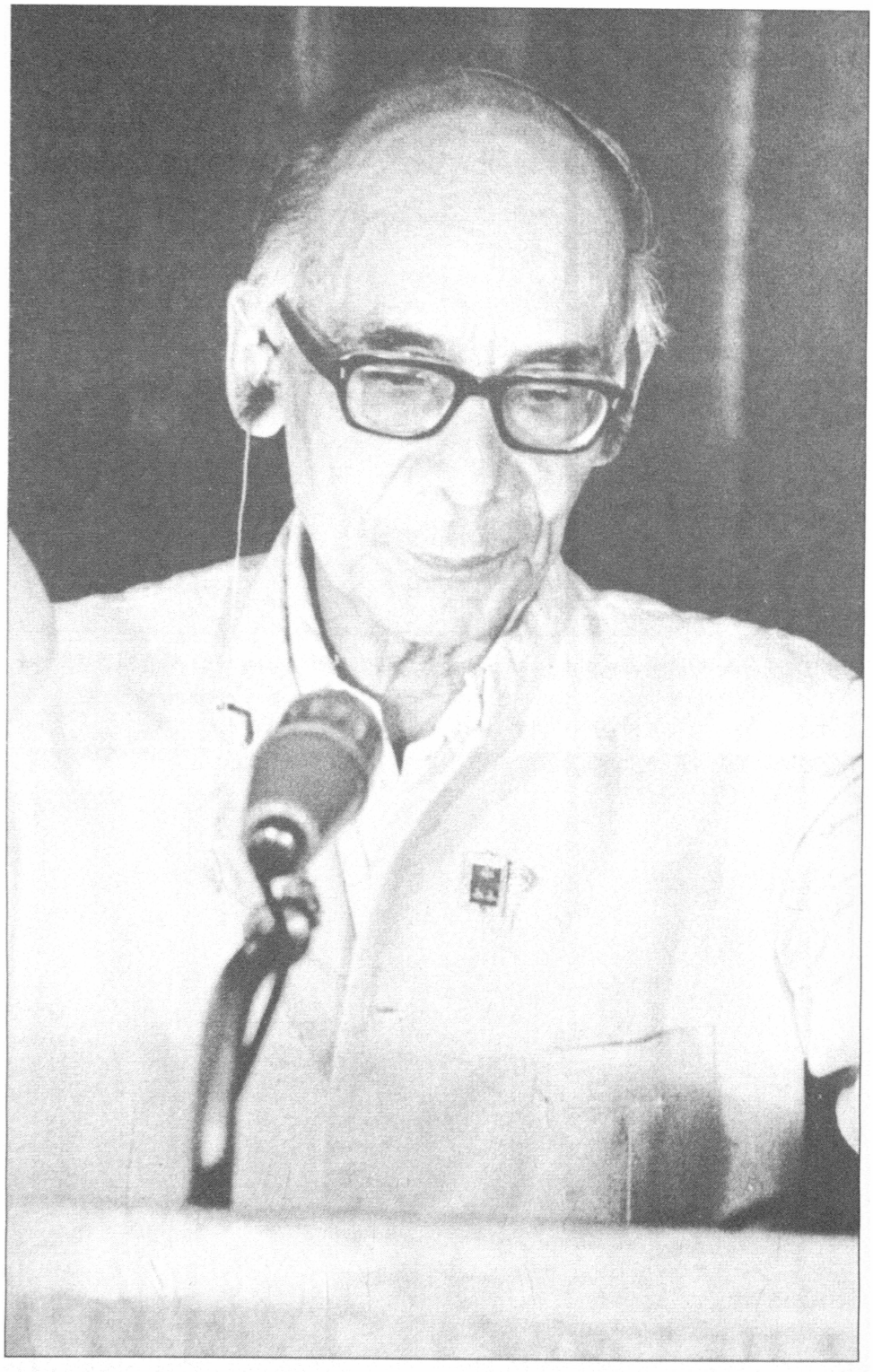


Group Photograph of the Presidency College Union Committee (1926-27). Shri Mukerjee is sitting on Chair second from left. Shri Humayun Kabir is also seen in the photo (sitting on chair first from Left)

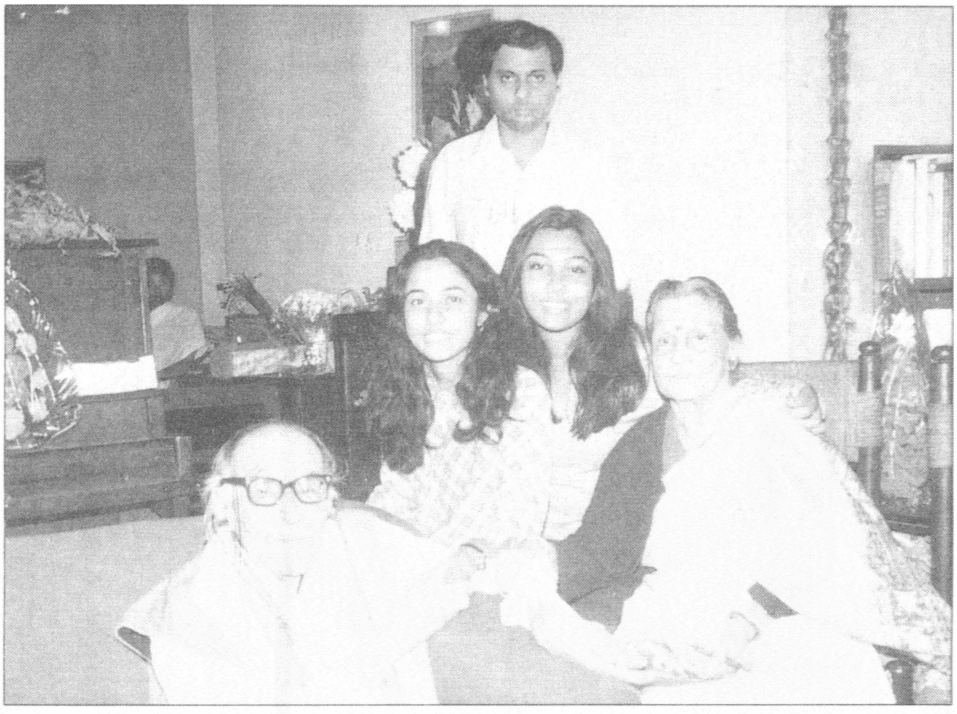
Barrister Hiren Mukerjee (sitting on extreme right in third row) with other young barristers of Kolkata. From left (sitting on floor), second Shri A.N. Ray, former Chief Justice of India, third Shri Niren De, former Attorney-General of India and fifth Shri S.K. Acharya, former Advocate-General of West Bengal

With his wife Bibha, daughter Smt. Rini Chatterjee and son Shri Abhijit Mukerjee

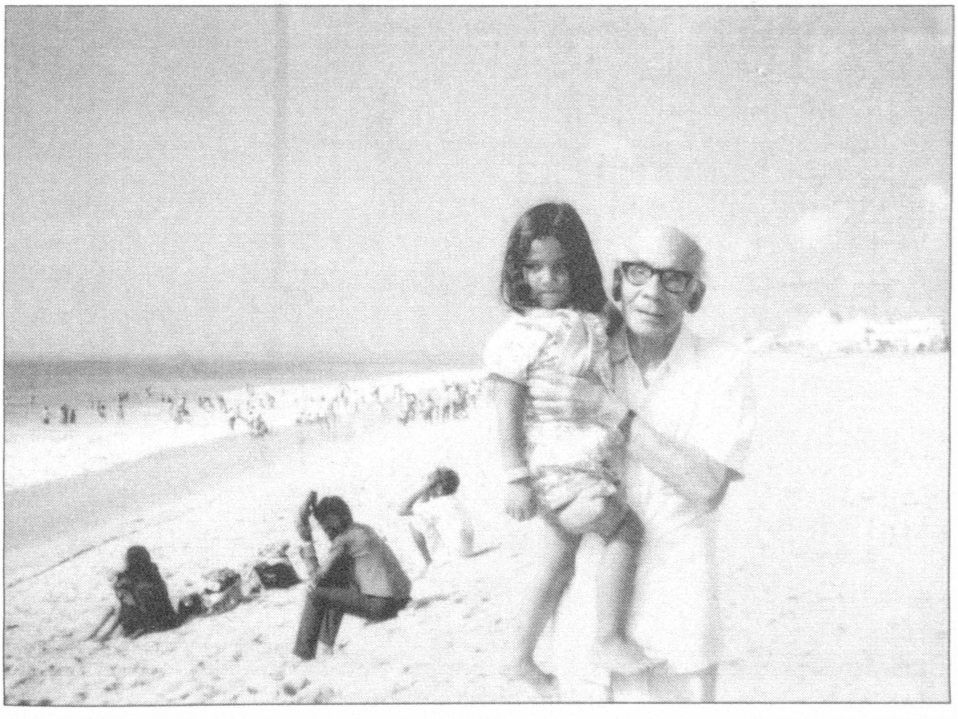
With his family, wife Smt. Bibha Mukerjee, son Shri Abhijit Mukerjee,
daughter Smt. Rini Chatterjee, daughter-in-law Smt. Manjushree
and his grand-daughters, Rukmini and Meghna



A Great Thinker and Orator



With his family, wife Smt. Bibha Mukerjee, grand-son Rahul and grand-daughters Rukmini and Meghna on his 96th Birth Anniversary, 23 November 2003.



With his grand-daughter Meghna at Puri Beach in 1990

At Puri Beach in 1990

PART II
ARTICLES

HIREN MUKERJEE—A ROLE MODEL FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

*—Somnath Chatterjee**

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was an outstanding parliamentarian, powerful orator, prolific writer, profound scholar and educationist, sensitive social activist and above all a fine human being. It is but rare to find a person of such multi-faceted qualities and diverse achievements who dignified our national life for several decades. Till his demise in July 2004, this 'Unrepentant Communist', as he chose to describe himself, lived an eventful life dedicated to all the causes dear to his heart—and he had varied interests and different concerns on issues affecting our national life. While at one place we found him associated with the working class as a committed Communist, at another level, there was a historian and an educationist in him engrossed in an in-depth study of manifold issues and at yet another level he was one of the founders of the Progressive Writers' Association and the founder President of the Indian People's Theatre Association. In his own words, he was "the jack of all incompatible trades". The many splendoured personality which he possessed left one and all who came across him awe-struck, not merely because of his intellectual acumen but also because of his innate humane nature, concern for the poor and the vulnerable and his sensitivity to the travails of the needy and the downtrodden. And it was mainly through the institution of Parliament, of which he was a member for twenty-five long years, that he lent voice to his many thoughts on the issues of the times.

His Faith in Parliament and Sovereignty of People

Hiren Mukerjee was a great patriot who deeply cherished freedom and fundamental human rights. He strongly believed that the freedom which we won from the British after a prolonged struggle can be concretised through the highest representative institution of the country. In those early years of our Parliament, the Communist Party was the unofficial Opposition being the largest group in Lok Sabha after the ruling party. Hiren Mukerjee was the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party in Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1964. After the Communist Party split, he was the Leader of the CPI in Lok Sabha from 1967 to 1971. His was an uninterrupted presence in the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1977 and these years in Parliament saw him evolved as an uncompromising crusader for the welfare of the ordinary people of the country. For him, Parliament symbolised the supreme and sovereign will of the people.

* He is the Speaker of Lok Sabha.

And that is why he always strived to strengthen the institution of Parliament. He wrote in his inimitable style:

> "Our freedom, of course, is a treasure; India is a big enough country, with the talent and treasure of our own people and their spirit. Indian freedom has indeed been a historic landmark; the freedom of India has changed the climate of the globe, the freedom of other colonial peoples following in its wake. That freedom is not only symbolized but concretised in the work of the Parliament of our country. Parliament symbolises the sovereignty of our people and this sovereignty has been purchased by a long struggle—the people giving their blood and their treasure in the struggle for liberation."

Since the well-being of the common man was a cause close to Hiren Mukerjee's heart—a cause which he shared in no small measure with Mahatma Gandhi—he wanted Parliament to strive for the emancipation of the poor and the destitute. He also wanted our legislators to live up to the expectations of the people who sent them to representative institutions. In his book *India and Parliament*, he wrote:

> "Parliaments are not an end in themselves, but means to an end, which can only be the happiness and the greatness of a people in so far as laws and government can help or hinder them. In 1951-52, the first general elections were held in India—the most massive phenomenon of its kind in history, when a hundred-and-eight-million strong electorate made their choice for the Legislatures of the land. The way our people behaved on that unprecedented occasion was a classic testimony to their innate maturity of culture and of outlook. They wrote, then, a new bright page in parliamentary history. More important, they charged their deputies, with impressive dignity, to hurry to tasks of world-historic values, the building of a new and dynamic life on India's hoary soil."

> For him, Parliament was the true representative of the people, changing its character in response to their moods and aspirations, a living, dynamic institution and not a static, inert one. He aptly described this in the following words: "It is in the nature of Parliament not to be at rest but to be mobile—pulsating, heaving, seething or what you will, perhaps settled for a while but never 'still life', its profile kaleidoscopic, altogether an unquiet yet arresting phenomenon." He held the Parliament of India at a very high pedestal and believed, "If the British House of Commons is the finest club in the world, India's Lok Sabha, though different in many ways... is by no means a dull and drowsy conglomeration..."

Making Optimum Use of Parliamentary Devices

Hiren Mukerjee was a seasoned parliamentarian and a master of parliamentary conventions, practices and procedures. He had a remarkable talent in making the right use of parliamentary devices to articulate the aspirations and concerns of the people. His thorough understanding of various procedural devices available to members of Parliament enabled him to utilize them to their best. When I entered the Lok Sabha for the first time, I had the good fortune of watching him lead discussions in Parliament and learn from his experience. Even a cursory glance over the parliamentary debates of his times clearly shows how adeptly he made use of various procedural devices in raising the concerns of the people. Commenting on the importance of the device of adjournment motions, he pointed out :

> "One hears often of the plethora of adjournment motions which are such a feature of our Legislatures at the Centre and in the States. It is often hinted that they are a hangover of the pre-Independence psychology, an instrument of agitation rather than of resolution of problems by discussion, a recurrent token of distrust in the Government, and perhaps also, in some cases, a subtle method of drawing attention to themselves adopted by wily members with an eye always towards publicity. Sometimes the attempt to move them, which the Chair usually does not countenance, has led to noisy scenes, exchange of rather unpleasant words, and even, from time to time, to demonstrative walk-outs from the House. On the whole, however, the Opposition in Indian Legislatures, while demonstrative enough, has stopped short of the excesses that have taken place, not unoften, in many Parliaments, particularly on the continent of Europe. The worst scenes which have occurred... have been so rare as to be altogether exceptional, and on the whole it may be said that tempers, while often frayed, have been easily and quickly repaired."

Hiren Mukerjee set great store for according due importance to the parliamentary work by a member. I distinctly remember an occasion when he sought discussion on a report of the Committee on Absence of Members even against parliamentary conventions. He said: "If I have work relating to my constituency which keeps me away from participation in Parliament work, it is very funny work indeed. I cannot imagine how a member of Parliament can justify absence from Parliament on account of work in his constituency." His point was greatly appreciated by the Chair as well.

Strengthening Parliamentary Traditions and Conventions

Hiren Mukerjee spent all his days in Parliament in the Opposition benches. He missed no opportunity in pointing out the Government's shortcomings.

Yet, his aim was not merely criticism but to make a positive contribution towards nation-building. Through his impeccable behaviour, he lent dignity to our parliamentary proceedings. He always showed respect to the Chair and never fell short of following parliamentary etiquette. At the time of the election of Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar to the office of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha in 1956, offering his felicitations and extending his party's cooperation to Shri Ayyangar, he said:

> "I have no doubt also that we shall have occasional differences with you—perhaps also sometimes strident differences—in regard to the interpretation of our rights. But, I can assure you that as far as we are concerned, we do not believe in having a trace of bitterness in our mind over the squabbles, wrangles, controversies—whatever you call them—which arise from time to time between you as holder of this exalted office and ourselves."

Today, as I sit in my Chair as the Speaker of Lok Sabha, I admire him even more, for setting the highest traditions of parliamentary ethics which he consistently followed in letter and spirit.

The great parliamentarian that he was, Hiren Mukerjee took constructive criticism among the political fraternity in the right spirit. He recognized that criticism gives rise to thorough discussion on an issue of public concern, at the same time enriching debates. While he himself was a staunch critic of the Government, he welcomed critical comments against him as well from others. In response to certain observations by the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the House, he once remarked: "I do not in the least mind the provocative reference which the Prime Minister made in regard to the Opposition... Personally, Sir, I welcome such provocation, for it is the sauce of the debate, and I wish, Sir, in this House there was more of it from time to time." At the same time, he interacted with his political opponents in a dignified manner. He held leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in high esteem in spite of being on a different plane with them ideologically; to him, they were political adversaries and nothing beyond that. In fact, referring to Pandit Nehru, he wrote: "Respect for the House is the foundation of good parliamentarism—never to hedge or doge, being ready to admit errors with grace and always to come out clean." It was thus that he advocated a responsive Government and a responsible Opposition as essential adjuncts of a successful parliamentary system.

Hiren Mukerjee was a member of Parliament at a time when parliamentary democracy was in its formative stages in the country. It was the time when several procedural innovations and initiatives were required to adapt the Parliament to the changing political situation and the needs of the time.

He had an abiding faith in parliamentary traditions and conventions and strengthened them through the dignity and grace typical of him. Though he accepted the importance of a certain standard of conduct and mutual relationship in Parliament, Hiren Mukerjee realised that at times conditions so emerged that uproarious scenes become inevitable in the House. Referring to such situations, he wrote once:

> "Members of Parliament do not work in a vacuum, and they cannot entirely dissociate themselves from older habits of thought and action. They have succeeded, in this country, to a tradition of political agitation, and inside Parliament methods like the walk-out often seem handier to them than they should, perhaps on account of that tradition which dies hard. Besides, tempers rise and excitements are created not because members of Parliament enjoy being excited or flying into a temper, but because the condition of our people and their expectations of improvement in the context of freedom, so long acutely yearned for, are of such a crucial character that when Government seems to be at fault, it is bound to be reflected on the floor of Parliament."

> However, the epitome of Parliamentarism that Mukerjee was, Mukerjee warned against such repeated occurrences, and said: "Scenes in Parliament cannot be entirely avoided because, on occasion, tempers are so frayed that some letting-off of steam, human nature being what it is, cannot be totally impermissible. But repetition of scenes makes them stale, undignified, unpleasant and derogatory to the country as a whole."

His Outstanding Oratorical Skills

Much has been said and written about Hiren Mukerjee's oratorical skill. His choice of words, linguistic excellence and the deep conviction with which he spoke mesmerized everyone. He was one of the most articulate members of the House; no debate on any important issue would be complete without his informed participation. His speeches covered a vast array and broad spectrum of subjects like the international situation, education, unemployment, sports policy, imperative of preserving ancient and historical monuments and sites, subversive activities in the country, flood situation, etc. What distinguished his speeches was the fact that he always came well-prepared for a discussion. Through his knowledge-based, non-partisan approach, he raised meaningful discussions in the House. His speeches loaded with his intellectual acumen and analytical skill left the House spell-bound and were listened to in rapt attention by the Treasury Benches and the Opposition alike. His mastery over the language—be it English, Bengali or Sanskrit—had a special impact on the members; it was said of him that he had a 'golden voice' and 'silver tongue'.

His Inspiring Association with Parliamentary Committees

In order to make the work of the Parliament more effective, Hiren Mukerjee had specific suggestions which came out of his long parliamentary career as also out of his deep involvement in our parliamentary life. Much before the system of Departmentally-related Parliamentary Standing Committees came to be adopted, as we did in 1993, he had expressed a strong faith in the efficacy of the Committee system. He was of the firm view that a great deal of good can ensue if honest work is done in Parliament and its ancillary Committees by members, irrespective of their party affiliations. He felt that "there must be a moratorium on the usual time-consuming forms of debate and the scoring of points off one another". In his distinguished parliamentary career, he served in many Committees and was the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee during 1976-77. He rightly believed that for the effective functioning of the institution of Parliament, there should be continuous functioning of smaller and more compact Committees rather than the entire House considering a matter. He very rightly observed: "Committee work, when members discuss things across the table in an atmosphere of informality and have no incentive for scoring debating points which too often impinge on parliamentary debate, when party differences are often easily ironed out by exchange of ideas on very objective matters, is an aspect of parliamentary life which should receive very much heightened attention at present." Needless to say, the strong Committee system which has evolved in our Parliament owes in no small measure to the visionary ideas of parliamentarians like Hiren Mukerjee.

Imparting Parliamentary Training

Hiren Mukerjee—a man of style and substance both—used to get personally involved in whatever he did. Even when he ceased to be a member of Parliament, his memorable association with our parliamentary institutions continued. When the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training was set up in the late 1970s, he was most appropriately chosen to be its Honorary Advisor. In this capacity, he succeeded in laying strong foundations for the Bureau's successful functioning. He took active interest and personal initiative to give a good start for successfully conducting the various training and orientation programmes of the Bureau. Under his inspiring guidance, within a short span of about four and a half years, the Bureau conducted fifteen Orientation Programmes to familiarize new members of Lok Sabha with the working of our Parliament. Besides, a large number of Seminars and Workshops were organized for parliamentarians and parliamentary officials. The Bureau also organized many Attachment Programmes and Study Visits for parliamentary officials and researchers and Appreciation Courses in Parliamentary Processes and Procedures for middle and senior level officers

of the Government. Such substantial work done by the Bureau in its initial years speaks volumes of Hiren Mukerjee's hard work and dedication. His visionary ideas and his stellar leadership qualities helped make the Bureau the premier institution in parliamentary studies and training not only in India but also among the major parliamentary democracies of the world. Today, the institution which was so fondly nurtured by him is imparting high quality training to personnel attached to parliamentary institutions from across the globe, thanks to Hiren Mukerjee's outstanding leadership in its formative years.

A Devoted Parliamentarian

Hiren Mukerjee belonged to that rare band of devoted parliamentarians who pursued politics not to gain anything but to give voice to genuine issues of the common man in the Chambers of our Legislatures. For him, the service of the masses was the only aim and Parliament was the most important institution to serve that objective. Being an elected representative of the people itself was an honour to Hiren Mukerjee and he believed that every member should endeavour to safeguard the trust and faith reposed in him by his constituents. He even opposed a proposal to raise the salaries and allowances of members of Parliament since the people's interest was more dear to him adding that: "...this increases the quantum of the money which this country has to spend because of the luxury of having this Parliament. I cannot possibly justify this either to my conscience or to the country..."

A Role Model for Parliamentarians

So strong were his convictions! Being a die-hard Communist with an indefatigable zeal to champion the cause of the poor and the underprivileged, he always dreamt of an egalitarian society and endeavoured towards achieving it throughout his life. He called upon his fellow parliamentarians to bury their political and ideological differences and work towards that larger goal. He wrote: "While there are among parties in Parliament, differences that are sometimes fundamental, there are also large areas of agreement. To maximise unity on the effective implementation of the country's socialist aims is an endeavour that can and should be made. If sheer attachment to power and fear of potential political rivals rule out such endeavour, it will hurt the country's advance and those responsible will not be easily forgiven." In his efforts to seek the betterment of the common man and the creation of a just social order, he made successful use of the democratic institutions, in the process strengthening them in his own ways.

Hiren Mukerjee's long and illustrious innings in the politics of the country has left an indelible mark on our parliamentary history. The strong parliamentary institutions which India has been able to evolve over the years, owe a great deal to leaders like Hiren Mukerjee who symbolised its best traditions.

As a member of the Lok Sabha for twenty-five years, Hiren Mukerjee enlivened its debates with his informed speeches, strengthened the parliamentary institutions with the best use of its rules and procedures and enriched parliamentary democracy in our country through his abiding faith in and his steadfast commitment to its principles and philosophical underpinnings. He was a staunch profounder of parliamentary democracy and while affirming his faith in its ideas and ideals, he very emphatically stated in his book *'India and Parliament'*:

> "Our penchant for Parliament, however, is more than a hang-over from British times. Words have a certain value with us, and words are the only instruments of discussion. Government to be sensible must be based on discussion at many levels, and in so far as the parliamentary system postulates, invites and organises unimpeded and principled discussion, as preparatory to decision, in regard to matters of state, it has a real relevance for our country. Certain forms and practices, needless to say, will change, but the basic parliamentary idea if all goes well deserves to stay. Since the world is so situated today that without the shake-up, somewhat catastrophic but nonetheless cleansing, of revolution, big changes can and are, likely to take place, Parliament in India can look forward to a fair lease of life. The task is to see that its pitch is not queered and trials and tribulations that are excessively irksome can be avoided."

Throughout the five terms of his membership in Parliament, this outstanding parliamentarian helped in the evolution of the highest of parliamentary traditions and conventions in our country. His straightforwardness, dedication, commitment and respect for parliamentary institutions is worthy of emulation by the parliamentary fraternity everywhere. Hiren Mukerjee is, indeed, a role model for the parliamentarians of today and tomorrow.

HIREN MUKERJEE : THE RAREST OF THE RARE PARLIAMENTARIANS

*—T. N. Chaturvedi**

There are men who go through life without making a mark—a common place. There are men who go through life and leave a mark on it—a rarity. And then, there are men who leave a mark not only on life, but also on their fellow men—the rarest of the rare. It is into this third category that the late Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee—a spirited Communist, an outstanding parliamentarian, a man of letters, a noted poet, a well-known lawyer, an eminent historian, a kind teacher and a thorough gentleman—fits.

Hiren Babu, as he was affectionately known by all and sundry, led a long, rich and varied life. It was a life spent in the service of the people of India, in the only way that he could conceive it—as a Communist activist, dedicated to the establishment of an egalitarian society based on Marxist principles. Hiren Mukerjee was also a democrat not only in principle, but also in practice. Shri Satyapal Dang, the Communist Leader from Punjab has written about how, as an All India Students Federation (AISF) activist, he heard Mukerjee expound the current thinking of the Communist Party of India at that time. Shri Dang raised a few questions, which may have sounded critical of the party line. Shri Mukerjee, however, did not take offence. He listened patiently, and then did his best to answer the queries raised. This quality of patience in the midst of honest doubt and debate characterized his personality as a scholar.

Hiren Babu was, however, no ivory tower intellectual. He was alive and sensitive to the problems and the concerns of the poorest of the poor. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya has recalled how Shri Mukerjee immediately rang him up on hearing about an incident in which some people had died and there had been no response from Government. He firmly believed that the rationale of the Government lay in the service of the people and responsiveness and responsibility to them was the real touchstone of governance. His unceasing intellectual quest was the fate and future of man. This brings us to another interesting point, which

* He is the Governor of Karnataka. Earlier he was a member of Rajya Sabha and Comptroller and Auditor-General of India.

gives us an insight into the intellectual evolution of the man. Prof. Mukerjee became a member of the Communist Party of India in 1936. When the CPI split in 1964, he refrained from joining the newly-forged CPI(M). Yet, he always maintained cordial relations with those who had gone to the new party right to the end. He never allowed political differences to cloud his personal relations across party lines.

Shri Hiren Mukerjee came to national renown as a parliamentarian and as a writer. A member of five consecutive Lok Sabhas, from 1952 to 1977, one has only to turn to his book *Portrait of Parliament : Reflection and Recollection* (1952-1977) to understand the respect in which he held that institution, and why later happenings so pained him. In this book, he pays tributes to all the stalwarts who so enhanced the prestige of Parliament. Again, irrespective of party affiliations in Parliament, Prof. Mukerjee's was one of the Opposition voices heard by the Government of the day with respect. As many of his contemporaries have attested, his voice was always that of his conscience and his heart. There may have been sarcasm at times in his repartees or interventions, though usually there was only a very subtle humour, but there was nothing offensive in his utterances or writings that might have betrayed a lack of poise and dignity. It was always an interesting experience, as he spoke in English, his intonation that of the Barrister educated at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. On one memorable occasion, irked by some jibe, he even spoke in chaste Sanskrit at a stretch. Hiren Babu was well-versed in our ancient lore and tradition, realizing their wisdom and strength while not being mentally shackled by them. The public galleries in the Parliament used to be full when Hiren Babu rose to speak. He was in great demand as a speaker at different public forums on matters of public concern or controversy. The many endowment or memorial lectures that he delivered at a number of universities, societies and organizations like the Asiatic Society bear testimony to his vast erudition and love of scholarly pursuits.

That brings us to a lesser known feature of Shri Hiren Mukerjee. It must be remembered that Mukerjee was a historian. He became a senior Lecturer in History at Andhra University in 1934-35, at the invitation of Dr. Radhakrishnan. Later, he served as a lecturer in History and Philosophy at Calcutta University from 1940 to 1944, and Head of the Department of History at Ripon (later Surendranath) College from 1946 to 1962. His scholarship was such that in 1952, he was made a member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology. In a recent article, Shri Gopal Gandhi has written "My late uncle, C.R. Narasimhan, MP from Krishnagiri, who was an enthusiast for the preservation of the Fresco-secco panels at Tanjore, looked upon Hiren Babu as a mentor on the subject. The Communist and Congress members of the Second Lok Sabha collaborated effortlessly in the matter.

For Hiren Babu the lasting values of life and civilization transcended all parochial differences."

I came to know Hiren Babu when I happened to read his book, probably his first one, *"India Struggles For Freedom"* published in 1946. I read it almost on the eve of our Independence. It was an enthralling experience because of its theme and its analytical presentation, laced with literary references and felicitous phrases. It was an equally inspiring experience when I subsequently read its revised and enlarged edition. Not long, thereafter, the country came to know more of Mukerjee because of his scintillating parliamentary performance. I believe it was his delving into history and the classics that provided him with the depth of understanding and width of gaze that marked his life and writings.

Hiren Babu was a tireless and prolific writer. He wrote both in English and Bengali and the range was wide—biography, history, current affairs, political philosophy as well as some pamphlets on topical issues. His best known books are *"Gandhiji—A Study"*, *"Himself a True Poem"* (on Tagore), *"Gentle Colossus: A Study of Nehru"*, and *"Bow of Burning Gold"* (on Netaji). Lucidly written, they are precise and concise portraits of these great men. He depicts thoughtfully and objectively their views and approach to public affairs. Mukerjee makes no attempt to hide his differences from these men, but equally reveals the immense respect he had for them and their contribution to India. He also wrote brief biographies of the Bulgarian Communist Leader, Georgi Dimitrov and the Indologist, Alexander Csoma De Koros. He translated many books from English to Bengali and *vice-versa*, including the memoirs of Mujaffar Ahmad. His original writings in English number more than a dozen. The books in Bengali will exceed that number. The hallmark of his books was their impeccable scholarship. For Shri Mukerjee, facts were sacred. All his arguments and analyses were based on facts. It is this quality which has ensured, and will continue to do in future, that they survive to be read by future generations many years from now. Moreover, they show the range of his scholarship, versatility of his interests and catholicity of his mind and outlook.

Hiren Mukerjee's talent was recognized by the world at large from the very commencement of his academic life, which was studded with distinction. As a student, he always stood first—in Intermediate Arts, Calcutta University, in BA (History) Honours and MA (History) and won the Duff, Ishan, Gwalior, Burdwan and many other scholarships, medals and prizes at Calcutta University. He was the West Bengal Government Scholar at St. Catherine's College, Oxford. He was awarded the Padma Bhushan in 1990 and Padma Vibhushan in 1991. In 2001, his Bengali book, *Yuger Jantnana-o-Pratyaya Sankat*, won the Mujaffar Ahmad Smriti Puraskar.

It is a measure of Hiren Babu's success in his endeavour to serve the people that the news of his demise shocked not only his friends and colleagues, but also those who might have been actively opposed to him politically. Hiren Babu may or may not have approved of the phrase but he, on the lines of Gokhale and Gandhi, 'spiritualised' politics and enriched parliamentary life. The departure of such a man—who embodied himself all that is the best possible in a human being—leaves our world poorer, colder and smaller. We have, all of us, been deprived of a friend and a guide. It is our loss that we shall not often see the likes of Hiren Mukerjee again.

HIREN MUKERJEE : A PASSIONATE REVOLUTIONARY

*—Lt.-Gen. K. M. Seth**

A veteran Communist leader and brilliant parliamentarian, Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee, better known as Hiren Mukerjee was born on 23 November 1907. He joined the Communist Party of India in 1936, which he led from 1964 to 1967 in Lok Sabha. He was educated at the Presidency College, Calcutta and St. Catherine's, Oxford University and Lincoln's Inn, London from where he became a Barrister. He was winner of Duff, Ishan, Burdwan and many other scholarships, medals and prizes. Prof. Mukerjee was a Lecturer of History and Political Philosophy at Andhra University during 1934-35 and later at the University of Calcutta during 1940-1944. He was the Head of the Department of History at Surendranath College, Calcutta from 1946 to 1962.

A versatile genius, Shri Mukerjee was one of those outstanding parliamentarians who were involved in the evolution of India's parliamentary democracy. He was a member of Parliament from First to Fifth Lok Sabha. One of the most distinguished parliamentarians of India, Shri Mukerjee was highly respected for his enlightening contributions to the deliberations of the House. He had tremendous knowledge of Parliamentary Rules, Practice and Procedure. He was well-known for his brilliant, strong and highly researched arguments and legendary oratorical skills.

A prolific writer, Shri Mukerjee authored many books both in Bengali and English. He has written extensively on historical, literary and political themes. He edited an anthology of modern Bengali poetry and was the author of *"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)"* and his renowned English works are *"An Introduction to Socialism"*, *"India Struggles for Freedom"*, *"India and Parliament"*, and *"Portrait of Parliament : Reflection and Recollection (1952-77)"*. He was the author of studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Swami Vivekananda and Raja Rammohan Roy. His books in Bengali include *"National Movement in India"*, *"A History of India"* (in two volumes) and *"Modern Bengali Poetry"*. Shri Mukerjee was conferred many honours in recognition of his exceptional erudition and achievements. He was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Calcutta, Andhra, North Bengal, Rabindra Bharati, Kalyani and Vidyasagar.

*He is the Governor of Chhattisgarh.

He received the 'Soviet Award' for his book on the "Second World War" and the renowned "Soviet Land Nehru Award" in 1977. He was awarded the Padma Bhushan in 1990 and Padma Vibhushan in 1991 for his contribution to public life. He received the "Vidyasagar Award" in 1992 and the "Nazrul Award" in 2000 for his literary accomplishments from the Government of West Bengal.

Shri Mukerjee's life was dedicated to the cause of the downtrodden, the deprived and the exploited sections of the people. He steadfastly fought for a society where there would be no discrimination between one person and another and for a classless society where people irrespective of different castes, creeds, languages, religions, etc. would have equal rights and for a society where there will be no exploitation. Till the last breath of his life, Shri Mukerjee fought for the working class, the common people and for establishment of a society free from hunger and for a strong, progressive and resurgent India. Shri Mukerjee has left an indelible mark as a parliamentarian, an orator and a prolific writer.

PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE—AN INSPIRATION FOR FUTURE PARLIAMENTARIANS

*—Viren J. Shah**

I had the privilege of coming in contact with Prof. Hiren Mukerjee in 1967, when I became a member of the Fourth Lok Sabha. However, I had infrequent contacts thereafter. When I took over as the Governor of West Bengal in 1999, Prof. Mukerjee gave me the pleasure of receiving him at Raj Bhavan a couple of times.

People of much greater intellect than I and with closer acquaintance with Prof. Mukerjee, have written considerably about Hiren Babu.

The Fourth Lok Sabha, like the earlier Houses, comprised members of great eminence, learning and those who had taken active part in the freedom struggle. Even in such a milieu, Prof. Mukerjee stood out not only by dint of his learning, command over the English language and eloquence, but more so by his gentleness. It was a great learning experience for me to be in the Parliament at that time. He showed how to attack a particular policy or even strongly differ on a point of view with dignity and decorum. He was affectionate to all and particularly to me so that in Lok Sabha lobbies or in the Central Hall, listening to him was an experience, the kind of which, unfortunately, one does not come across these days.

In the Kolkata Raj Bhavan, when he met me, a couple of years back, he told me that in his book, *"Gandhiji : A Study,"* He had made a special reference to my father, Shri Jeewanlal M. Shah. He had mentioned that in the early twenties of the last century, when industrialists, by and large, kept away from Gandhiji, my father was amongst the very small number (3 or 4), who supported him without fear. When he went home he located one of his own copies and sent it to me with a note. I mention this to indicate the graciousness of the person who was more than 90 years in age and whose health was failing.

I wonder whether it will be feasible to bring to the notice of the younger members of Parliament today, the speeches of Prof. Mukerjee in Parliament,

*He is the Governor of West Bengal

enriched both in content and the form so much so that ruling party as well as the opposition would listen to him with respect. His speeches were showcases of intellectual brilliance, decorum and outstanding oratorical skills. These are the qualities that a good member of Parliament should muster. I pay my tributes to Prof Hiren Mukerjee.

PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE: A PATRIOT TO THE LAST

*—R. L. Bhatia**

With the passing away of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, we have lost a parliamentarian *par excellence*, an inspiring orator, a veteran freedom fighter, a staunch patriot and above all, a stalwart who fought for the rights of the poor. Steadfast in his conviction and commitment to serve the dispossessed and the downtrodden, he belonged to that rare band of political activists for whom the cause of the Nation was the closest to the heart.

I have read about Prof. Mukerjee's academic accomplishment and active involvement in the nationalist movement, long before we came into close contact in the seventies of the last century. There was a Nehruvian flair and flavour about whatever Hiren Mukerjee did or said, be it with regard to his perception of beauty or the literary quality that resonated his speeches. He was in fact a source of strength and inspiration to my generation, that spurred us on to a life of political activism.

I have had many an occasion to listen to his excellent speeches in the Parliament. In fact, he was one of the most scholarly and stylish speakers among the members of Parliament, whose intervention in debates and discussions was always looked forward to with utmost interest, irrespective of party affiliations. And, Hiren Mukerjee had a masterly way of winning over the audience with his chaste English and immaculate pronunciation and flawless accent.

It is widely known that Hiren Mukerjee preferred to call himself an *"Unrepentant Communist"*. A front ranking leader of the Communist Party, he distinguished himself as a member of the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1977. He was a strong supporter of the Soviet Bloc during the turbulent years of Cold War, and was unrelenting in his crusade against imperialist forces, be it on a national or an international forum.

Equally outstanding was his prowess as a writer, both in Bengali and English. He has to his credit several authentic titles which include such acclaimed studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, beside those on Swami Vivekananda and Gurudev

*He is the Governor of Kerala.

Rabindranath Tagore. Significantly, his book on India's freedom struggle won him much critical acclaim and approbation.

Prof. Mukerjee, I am sure, will long be remembered for his exceptional skill and unflagging dedication to uphold the democratic tradition of our nation.

HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE—A MAN WHO LIVED FOR A CAUSE

*—Babulal Gaur**

Hirendra Nath Mukerjee—a man of versatile genius has lived a full life as a leader and trade unionist. When I began my political career as a trade union leader, Hirendra Nath Mukerjee had already attained the summit of glory. His devotion to the social cause was simply matchless and has inspired me beyond measure.

I have always respected Hiren Mukerjee as a man of erudition specially for his honest ideological attachment. One who is not true to one's mind and thoughts can never be true to people. Though, we had ideological differences and used to question his points of view and justifications, his speeches in Parliament deeply inspired me. We should respect all those who lead an honest and pure life for greater common good. This way, he has been a lasting source of inspiration for me.

Ideological means to render service to the humanity may perhaps be questioned but not the ultimate goal. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee thus stands as a source of inspiration for all political parties regardless of their pursuits. He taught me how to practise in reality the chosen actions wedded to ideology. He felt that the building up a society free from corruption and exploitation should be the ultimate objective. I quote three powerful words by Descartes—"Cogito Ergo Sum"—"I think, therefore I exist." To me, Prof. Mukerjee, as he was popularly known, was a thinking politician with sane understanding of socio-economic challenges of India. The generation of political leaders to which Hirendra Nath Mukerjee belonged, is on the wane. The passion for ethics, traditions, ideals, and humane values is eroding fast in Indian politics. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee lived passionately for such values. A scholar Parliamentarian, Prof. Mukerjee will always have dialogues with us with his well-received books, articles and the text of his soulful parliamentary debates. I pay my tribute to this giant of contemporary Indian politics. The political history of India will fondly remember him.

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*He is the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

PROF. HIRENDRA NATH MUKERJEE— A PARLIAMENTARIAN *PAR EXCELLENCE*

*—Bali Ram Bhagat**

During the four decades I have had the privilege of being the people's representative to the supreme democratic institution (Lok Sabha), my course ran parallel to the gifted orator and parliamentarian *par excellence*, Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee from 1952 to 1977, a full quarter century. This was a period which symbolized the golden era of Indian Parliament. Most of my time I served on the treasury benches being part of the Council of Ministers of great leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Smt. Indira Gandhi. I was also elected to the exalted and august post of the Speaker of Lok Sabha—in the tumultuous period of the Emergency, when I had to steer the House through great pitfalls yet maintaining its highest traditions.

A legendary Communist leader, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee as he was popularly called rose to be a leading figure in the political and cultural life of the country. He called himself an *'unrepentant Communist'*. Nevertheless, he was the child of the national freedom struggle and embraced fully the holistic ethos of the great liberation movement. He authored studies on Mahatma Gandhi, Vivekananda, and Rabindranath Tagore, besides a near classic on India's freedom struggle. As a fellow freedom fighter myself, I salute and pay homage to the memory of this great Indian for his great role in the Indian Freedom Movement.

Our contemporaries in Parliament were well-known leaders of the freedom struggle who built the edifice of parliamentary system. The first Prime Minister; Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Leader of the House, set highest traditions of parliamentary democracy, rules of procedure and conduct of business of the House which have become the envy of Parliaments all over the world. Speakers after Speakers who visited the Indian Parliament were full of praise for its splendid functioning. Speakers G.V. Mavalankar, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and others left no stone unturned to make the debates in Parliament lively and memorable. Parliament is remembered for debates and such debates were great and glorious. Hiren Mukerjee, along with other stalwarts, was one of the shining stars of this golden period.

*He is the Former Speaker of Lok Sabha.

The period was classical and challenging in more sense than one. Most of the people's representatives having been freedom fighters, were full of enthusiasm. Their commitment towards achieving Bapu's cherished goal of "wiping out every tear from every eye" was beyond doubt. Some of the members, both from Treasury and from the Opposition Benches, have to be remembered for their outstanding contribution for strengthening the parliamentary institutions in the formulative years. While Jawarharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad and Krishna Menon were the luminaries of the Treasury Benches, Bhupesh Gupta, P.C. Joshi, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Rammanohar Lohia, Hiren Mukerjee were key figures from the Opposition and their performance on the floor of the House was quite impressive.

A prolific writer, Mukerjee had several books to his credit. I recall the occasion when Hiren Mukerjee made his glowing obituary reference to Nehru in the august House and made us proud by describing Pandit Nehru as a *"Gentle Colossus"*. It was amazing that within four months, he brought out a short, brilliantly written biographical book titled, *"The Gentle Colossus: A Study on Nehru"* in which he himself admitted in the Preface that that biography was neither an adulation nor an attack on Pandit Nehru. Like most of the leaders of the Opposition, Hiren Mukerjee had a great respect and admiration for Jawaharlal Nehru. On numerous occasions, the House used to witness clash of two great contemporary minds, two great patriots—Nehru and Hiren Mukerjee; differences apart both having foreign affairs as their favourite topic, representing their respective Benches and class. Both differed widely in terms of ethos of ideology and educational background, if one was the product of Harrow and Cambridge, the other was shaped at Oxford. It was bad luck for me that when I was assigned to serve as the Union Minister of External Affairs during 1985-86, I was missing Hiren Mukerjee as he took voluntary retirement from parliamentary politics.

His other works include *"China Calling"*, *"Under Marx's Banner"*, *"India Struggles for Freedom"*, *"Portrait of Parliament: Reflection and Recollection, (1952-77)"*, besides his autobiography. His versatile talent and his grasp of scientific socialism found expression in his books. He was one of the founders of the Association of Progressive Writers. He was a great source of inspiration for the Left and progressive movement. He was an uncompromising crusader of an egalitarian social order.

A visible genius Hiren Mukerjee belonged to a genre of people who revered parliamentary democracy. One of the most distinguished parliamentarians of India he made enlightening contribution to the deliberations of the House. He was known for his respect for and mastery over the rules of procedure and also for his vast knowledge, brilliant and spell-binding speeches, incisive and logical arguments and legendary oratorical

skills. The gamut of issues raised by Hiren Mukerjee, within and outside the House, unfailingly articulated a national vision. As a Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee during 1976-77, he very ably guided its deliberations. He also served with distinction as the first Honorary Advisor of the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. He was the Leader of the Communist Party from 1964-1967. He was awarded honorary doctorates (D. Litt) by Andhra, Calcutta, North Bengal and Rabindra Bharti Universities for his academic excellence. He was also the recipient of the *"Soviet Land Nehru Prize" (1977), "Vidyasagar Prize" (1991), "Padma Bhushan" (1990) and "Padma Vibhushan " (1991).*

Hiren Mukerjee was a rare politician who always fought for socialism and never allowed dogmatism to dominate his liberal outlook. He lived an illustrious revolutionary life which will illuminate the path of revolutionary movement of our sub-continent for many years ahead. His contribution to the struggle for freedom, democracy, social progress and for the emancipation of mankind will always be remembered with fondness and inspiration.

Today when the threat to the unity, integrity and development of the country is looming large, the nation might well recollect the great parliamentary tradition which patriots like Hiren Mukerjee struggled hard to build as the sheet anchor of national survival. Pandit Nehru, who built modern India brick by brick laid great emphasis on the dynamism of Parliament and amongst its founding members—Hiren Mukerjee is a shining example. His speeches with total command of language and vocabulary deployed in an accent impeccably Oxonian, Pandit Nehru could not possibly miss. It was Mukerjee's passion, welded into his ideology which mattered.

In the context of the continuing decline of Parliament compounded by the erosion of values in public life replacing self and greed over selfless service, the lives and works of parliamentarians like Hiren Mukerjee can still show the way against this distressing decline. In this context what Hiren Mukerjee wrote after the death of Bhupesh Gupta, who was near and dear to him for over forty years, is still relevant. "Can Parliament Cope?" With the proliferating and perplexing, even dazzling problems facing India, he wrote "since the 'sixties', the decline of our Parliament, its dignity, its demeanour and its performance has gone on through successive Prime Ministerial regimes and what we see too often at present is the result". His thinking may be exaggerated but it provokes serious thought about contemporary parliamentary functioning. Being a true disciple of Lenin, he served the Parliament with the determination to turn it from "a talking shop into a working body" and he succeeded to a large extent in this endeavour.

What is the least known about Hiren Mukerjee is that he was not merely a gifted academician but rose to become a parliamentarian *par excellence.*

Primarily, a product of the Communist Movement, he was a simple worker who struggled throughout his life for the rights of the working class and upliftment of the down-trodden people all over the country. He was not only an ideologue of the peasant movement but was also very sensitive to the problems the peasants face in their day-to-day affairs. He worked immensely during the famine of Bengal in 1943 and in 1967. His contribution towards the restoration of communal harmony in Bengal during the days of partition was the most laudable.

For Hiren Mukerjee, Parliament was not the last word although he used to show a great respect for democratic institutions. He had a firm opinion that people have a greater role to pay in shaping the destiny of India. He used to recall the words of Abraham Lincoln, former President of America, what he said, once in 1861, "This country with its institutions, belong to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

Although I have a distinction of always being on the Treasury Benches of the House, I had a great respect for Hiren Mukerjee and personally I was a great admirer of his performance both on the floor and outside the House. I vividly recall a piece of his parliamentary genius during a debate on the No-confidence Motion in August 1966. It was the first year of Smt. Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister and he moved a Motion of No-confidence against her Council of Ministers. Those were the days of US atrocities in Vietnam and Vietnamese people were carrying on their heroic deeds against all odds. While speaking on the floor, he recited a beautiful poetic stanza in Bengali representing the echo of Calcutta's streets which not only created a great laughter on the floor but its echoes spread all over the world. Although his Motion of No-confidence was defeated on the floor of the House, his poetic verse marvelled all of us equally. I would like to quote:

"मुक्तियुद्ध अविराम वियतनाम, वियतनाम
स्वाधीनतार आर एक नाम, वियतनाम, वियतनाम,
तोमार नाम, आमार नाम, वियतनाम, वियतनाम।"

(The Theme of the poetic stanza is the unceasing Vietnamese fight for freedom symbolizing the struggle for freedom of every man including your name, my name and Vietnam)

Parliament is the fulcrum and the centre of all national activities. It is the conscience and custodian of the democratic society. The example of Hiren Mukerjee and other stalwarts like him will be the 'beacon lights' for the restoration and renewal of the entire parliamentary and democratic edifice in the country.

MY REMINISCENCES OF PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE

*—Rabi Ray**

I had the good fortune of knowing Hiren Babu intimately after I was elected to the Fourth Lok Sabha in 1967. I had also the unique privilege to come in close contact with a distinguished galaxy of veteran parliamentarians like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, S.A. Dange, Acharya J.B. Kripalani, H.V. Kamath, Nath Pai, Madhu Limaye, Morarji Desai, Dr. Karan Singh, Surendra Nath Dwivedi, Atal Behari Vajpayee, Justice M.C. Chagla, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, Ram Sevak Yadav, Hem Barua, R. Umanath, Smt. Tarakeshwari Sinha, George Fernandes, P.K. Vasudevan Nair, N.C. Chatterjee and Krishna Menon. It was then but natural for me to come in close contact with them in my capacity as the Leader of the Samyukta Socialist Party in Lok Sabha.

The Congress Parliamentary Party led by the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, had a thin majority in the then Lok Sabha. Shri Hiren Mukerjee belonged to the CPI Parliamentary Group. He was a contemporary of prominent Communist leaders like P.C. Joshi, Ranen Sen, Somnath Lahiri, Bhowani Sen and Mujaffar Ahmad.

Whenever Hiren Babu rose to speak in Lok Sabha on various issues including subjects like literature, art and culture, he was heard with rapt attention in the House. His oratorical skill was such that it has an instant impact on the minds of his listeners.

Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, prior to his becoming the President of India, was the Speaker of the Fourth Lok Sabha. I was a member of the parliamentary delegation led by him along with Hiren Babu to the erstwhile Soviet Union and Hungary. That was the occasion when I came in close personal contact with Hiren Babu in far-off Moscow. It was in the fitness of things that as a Communist intellectual he was well-versed with the genesis of the emergence of the first Communist State in the world. We had a very wonderful time in both the Soviet Union and Hungary. Hiren Babu's presence in the delegation was bound to be taken note of by the powers that be in Moscow with whom he had developed close intellectual contacts. He was bound to be an asset to the delegation.

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*He is the former Speaker of Lok Sabha.

I had the occasion to visit Kolkata just two years back on the invitation of the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Government of West Bengal to address the members of the Legislative Assembly. My friend, Shri Hashim Abdul Halim, the Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, presided over this meeting. It was a good coincidence that both Shri Jyoti Basu and Shri Hiren Mukerjee also addressed the said meeting. It was after a long gap of many years that I met him. It was, nevertheless, an unforgettable meeting that can never be erased from my memory. I never imagined then that that would be my last meeting with him. In his death, India has lost a rare parliamentarian of our time, and an intellectual of high calibre and a fine human being.

Now, he belongs to the ages.

COMRADE HIREN MUKERJEE: A MARXIST INTELLECTUAL

*—Jyoti Basu**

My relationship with Comrade Hiren Mukerjee had been very intimate for quite a long stretch of time. I heard of him for the first time in England, when I went there in 1935 to study law. Hiren Mukerjee had left for India in the meantime, perhaps in 1934. He too had been to England for studying law. He was senior to us. Hiren Mukerjee, Sajjad Zahir and Niharendu Datta Mazumdar were contemporaries. All of them came in close contact with the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). During the period CPGB used to work assiduously amongst the students of the Oxford and the Cambridge and to organise them politically, Hiren Babu and his friends devoted themselves to the task.

Hiren Babu and his contemporaries sailed for India only to join the national liberation movement, which was then taking a tumultuous turn in the back drop of the treacherous Government of India Act, 1935. We in Britain felt their absence dearly. But, our group had a larger number of student organizers than they had. It was in 1936 that I came in contact with the comrades of the CPGB.

So far as I can recollect, I was introduced to Hiren Babu in Kolkata, after I returned from England. Comrade Mujaffar Ahmad and other Communist leaders in India had a very close association with the CPGB. Hiren Babu had joined the Communist Party of India in 1936 in Kolkata. At that time the party was banned.

On his return from England, he was invited to join Andhra University by none other than Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and subsequently became a lecturer at Waltair, Andhra University. However, it was a brief stint, for a year or so. Soon after his return he also enrolled himself as a Barrister, though seldom he practised in a court of law. Thereafter, he joined as the Head of the Department of History at Ripon College in Kolkata; the College is now known as Surendranath College.

I came back to India in 1940, just after the Second World War broke out. I got myself registered in the Calcutta High Court though I had never taken up the practice of a Barrister as a profession. I was introduced to Hiren Babu

*He is a veteran leader of CPI (M) party and former Chief Minister of West Bengal.

at the Junior Bar Library of the High Court. A very warm and friendly relationship grew amongst Snehangshu Kanta Acharya, Bhupesh Gupta, Hiren Mukerjee and myself. I had an intimate relationship with Hiren Mukerjee. You can call it a personal one. We used to sit quite often at Snehangshu's home. It used to be a grand get together—many a writer, author and artist were regular visitors there.

Our mutual family relationship was also very intimate. I can remember now that both our families went to Darjeeling. Supriya Acharya's sister, celebrated singer, Smt. Suchitra Mitra, also accompanied us.

Hiren Babu was a scholar extraordinary. He stood first in the Intermediate, B.A. and M.A. Examinations. He became Barrister from the Court of Kings Bench of Hon. Society of Lincoln's Institute, London. He could write in English and Bengali with the same felicity with which he spoke in the languages. This is a rare quality. Hiren Babu was an orator *par excellence*. As a teacher, he was immensely popular among the students.

Hiren Mukerjee was associated with several progressive organizations, like the Progressive Writers' Association, Anti-Fascist Writers' and Artists' Association, Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) to mention only the well-known ones. We worked together and took part in various activities of the anti-Fascist Writers' and Artists' Association and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

We had our office at 46, Dharmatala Street in Central Kolkata. The Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) was founded in 1941 after the Nazis tried to invade the Soviet Union. We here felt that with the attack on the Soviet Union the war had changed its character, it was no longer an imperialist war, but a people's war. During that time, most of our leaders, including B.T. Ranadiv were imprisoned. A few of us were outside the jail. Our point of emphasis was not to disturb the 'war-efforts'. We were determined to defeat Fascism. This didn't coincide with the Congress stand.

On Hiren Mukerjee's suggestion, Prof. Suren Banerjee and I went to meet Rabindranath Tagore. We planned to inform the poet about the decision of the FSU and to receive his blessings. But, Tagore was terminally sick at that time. We discussed the matter with Anil Chandra who was then serving as Tagore's Secretary. We apprised him of the objectives of the FSU as well as the purpose of our visit. We could not meet Rabindranath owing to his illness. But when informed of our move, the octogenarian poet expressed his sympathy with the fighting Soviet Union, and, in unequivocal terms, he asserted that the Soviet people would win at last.

I was then General Secretary of the FSU. Snehangshu was also active in the FSU. It was truly a broad-based mass organization. Even scholars and intellectuals, some of them non-Marxists, joined us. I can remember, Dr. Bhupendranath Dutta, one of the best-known Marxist scholars and Swami Vivekananda's brother, used to keep regular contact.

Hiren Mukerjee's contribution to the Communist movement in India hardly needs any elaboration now. It helped our party a lot at many a juncture. His intellectual intensity, brilliant academic career and his becoming a Communist were big gains for our movement not just in Kolkata, but in the entire country. I had listened to Hiren Mukerjee's passionate speech on the burning issues of the day. Hiren Babu presided over the Inaugural Conference of the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association in Bombay in the year 1943. He was once elected the Vice-President of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, in the late 1940s.

He was elected to the Lok Sabha first in 1952. In Parliament, cutting across the Treasury benches and the Opposition, Hiren Mukerjee was undoubtedly one of the best. In the realm of parliamentary politics, Hiren Mukerjee is a phenomenon. The role played by Hiren Babu and other members of our party in Parliament helped the party in enhancing its popularity and prestige in the eyes of the common masses. As an orator, Hiren Babu was peerless, his passionate speech was fascinating. It was always in an impeccably Oxonian accent. He was able to captivate many bourgeois intellectuals. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru too was charmed by Hiren Mukerjee's eloquence. Nehru, himself a brilliant speaker, admired Hiren Mukerjee's eloquence. The two became closely drawn to each other.

Hiren Babu chose to remain with the divided CPI after the undivided party was split. A long ideological struggle followed the division of the party. However, my personal relations with Hiren Mukerjee and Bhupesh Gupta remained as intimate and charming as ever. Wherever we met he welcomed me with his usual warmth.

He used to come to and attend various meetings after the Left Front Government came into being. On behalf of our Party, Comrade Biman Bose, Comrade Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee and Comrade Anil Biswas used to keep in touch with him. He had a great love and deep respect for our party, the CPI (M). During last few years, his health broke down. Keeping in mind his health, often I tried to prevent our comrades from inviting him to various meetings and requesting for lectures. But, I had observed that once he started talking, he was unmistakably on his own—perfectly coherent with strong and logical arguments and even taking care of minor details.

He had got hurt around his waist sometime back when he had a fall in his Ballygunge flat. I went to SSKM hospital, met him, talked to his son, daughter-in-law, daughter and many close friends. He could recognize me all right, shook my hands and said, "It is too painful, indeed. But my brain is still working." Hiren Mukerjee wished to stay intellectually active till the end comes. His wishes have been fulfilled. I express my regards to his memory.

A TRIBUTE TO COMRADE HIREN MUKERJEE

*—P. K. Vasudevan Nair**

The news of Comrade Hiren Mukerjee's demise was received by his Comrades, friends and admirers with deep shock and pain. For a person like me, who had long years of association with him, the sense of loss was unbearable.

I was a member of the Second, Third and Fourth Lok Sabhas. From the beginning till end, I was the Secretary of the CPI Parliamentary Group. From First Lok Sabha onwards, CPI was the main Opposition in the Lok Sabha till the split in the party in 1964. Comrades A.K. Gopalan and S.A. Dange were the leaders of the Group and Comrade Hiren Mukerjee was the Deputy Leader all the time. After the party's split, Hiren Babu was elected Leader of the CPI. Hiren Babu was sort of a shy person, who perhaps wanted to be left alone. He was more interested in his intellectual pursuits and was happy in the company of his books. He spent a lot of time in the Parliament Library. But, he had a very few intimate colleagues and I presume I have had the privilege to be one of them. He used to invite some of us to his home and I cherish the memory of such evenings over a cup of tea.

After his long innings in Parliament, Hiren Babu spent the rest of his life in Kolkata. Whenever I went to Kolkata, I made it a point that I should meet him. I had several such meetings. Even last year, I was at his home and enjoyed his hospitality. In spite of his age and indifferent health, I found him deeply involved in the political and social developments in India and abroad. He too was feeling worried about the growth of communal and other divisive forces in the country. As a person who spent all his life fighting for the noble aim of Socialism, he was very unhappy about the continuing division in the Communist movement. He repeatedly said that adherence to one's ideology is the most important asset one should try to retain. In spite of setbacks and twists and turns, he expressed absolute confidence in the ultimate success of revolutionary forces.

It is not necessary for me to deal with the great achievements and accomplishments of Hiren Babu as a parliamentarian. His place in history as one of the foremost parliamentarians of the country has been well established.

*He is a member of Parliament (Lok Sabha) and former Chief Minister of Kerala.

He took his work in Parliament very seriously. He did a lot of home work to prepare for debates and discussions. In the Lok Sabha, he specialized in the problems concerning India's foreign policy and her relations with other countries.

Even his political adversaries made it a point to listen to him when he was on his legs. Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and Hiren Babu were great personal friends. But, as one of the foremost leaders of the main Opposition, Hiren Babu never spared the ruling party for its omissions and commissions. I remember how spirited exchanges took place between the Prime Minister and Hiren Babu, when the Communist Government of Kerala was dismissed by the Centre in 1959. There was a great commotion in the Lok Sabha. I remember how passionately and sharply Hiren Babu put Jawaharlal Nehru in the dock. Obviously the Prime Minister was very much on the defensive.

I have described Hiren Mukerjee as a shy person; but he derived great inspiration from the masses and mass movements. I remember how he took pains to come to Kerala several times to participate in election campaigns. He enjoyed association with the masses, although he could not understand their language. Whenever he came, our main problem was to find out an effective interpreter. He very often told me that Kerala had a special place in his heart.

Hiren Babu was not only a Party leader and an eminent parliamentarian, he was also a great teacher, writer, historian and intellectual. Although personally he came from an affluent family, his life was dedicated to the liberation of the toiling millions from bondage. With all others, I too pay homage to his cherished memory.

PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE: A LEGEND IN HIS LIFE TIME

*—Rupchand Pal**

He was a living legend. That is perhaps the best expression to describe Prof. Hiren Mukerjee (Hirendra Nath Mukhopadhyay). Even during his lifetime this versatile personality was a topic of discussion in different circles of the society—both high and low, elite and the common people.

He was an outstanding parliamentarian, a Communist member of the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1977 who made his mark for rare and high qualities of head and heart.

At the instance of Hon'ble Shri Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, our former President, Prof. Mukerjee joined the Andhra University as a Lecturer and later on he shifted to Calcutta where he soon became an ideal teacher and a role model for the whole young generation.

There are well-known anecdotes about him. When Prof. Mukerjee rose to speak in Parliament even Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister could not afford to miss his speech and there have been occasions when he rushed to the House to listen to the speech of Prof. Mukerjee which had already started. He used English words, phrases and expressions which were yet to reach Indian shores. Even latest dictionaries were of little help. So the parliamentary Reporters welcomed the system of tape recordings introduced in Parliament.

Late Hiren Mukerjee was a complete man. He was a man of erudite scholarship with a humane view—full of compassion for the deprived and the down-trodden. He could also be described as a *"Renaissance Man"* where mind and sprit, intellect and feeling merged in the most balanced proportion.

He had been a rare achiever of so many firsts in his life. In the series of formal examinations beginning from School Leaving Final Examination (Matriculation in those days) to the Post-graduate Degree Examination, he was a topper all through.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee spoke quality modern English which made the listeners wonder as to how an Indian could speak such English comparable to the best in Oxford and Cambridge. He was equally fluent in Bengali and

*He is a member of Parliament (Lok Sabha).

Sanskrit. The records of his speeches in Parliament bear glaring testimony to this. His words are valuable memories to his erstwhile colleagues. Besides his command over and articulation in English, he was a prolific and successful writer both in English and Bengali. He belonged to a very distinguished group of Progressive Writers who had given leadership as early as in 1936 in the Anti-Fascist and Progressive Writers Association. He was very close to progressive group of writers of the country and associated with the very famous and progressive journals of those days like *"Parichay"* and the Cultural Organisations like Indian People's Theatre Associations (IPTA). He was also associated with the Trade Union Movement. The Bengal Motion Pictures Association had the rare privilege of having Prof. Mukerjee as one of their leaders.

In his autobiographical publication in Bengali *"Tari Hotey Teer"* (From the Boat to the Bank of the River), he has given a very lively and attractive account of his life story; his association with the great thinkers and writers of his time and his close association with the Communist Movement particularly in Bengal, and of course, his tenure in Parliament both as a member of Parliament and as the Honorary Advisor to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training.

As an activist of the Communist Party in the early fifties when I came in contact with this great man in my early life, I used to look at him with a sense of awe and wonder that I am standing close to such a gentle colossal personality. When he was delivering a speech at a mass meeting or addressing a closed door party meeting or discussing some important political issues with the activists of the Communist Party, particularly the youth and the students, we seemed to be totally carried by his emotion, logic, force of language and sometimes sarcasm, wit and humour. When I used to listen to him I wondered how a man could traverse so easily from *Iliad* and *Odyssey to the Mahabharata, or the Ramayana; from the New Testament to the Bhagvad Gita or the Quran* and of course to the writings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin.

Vivekananda's concept of the *"Proletariat"* and the *"Sudra"*, Gandhiji's faith in Panchayati Raj to Pandit Nehru's Western liberal thoughts to Fabian Socialism, he could cover so smoothly, gently and easily.

When I became a member of Parliament in the 1980's (Seventh Lok Sabha), Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was not there in the House. I missed very much this legendary parliamentarian inside the House. But, by that time he had already been made the Honorary Advisor, Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training. On occasions he had called me to participate in important discussions. Sometimes I myself came to him to learn how to get clarifications and explanations on important and complicated issues. I learnt a lot from him as to how a young member of Parliament should conduct himself inside

the House. I learnt how to become a good and an effective parliamentarian reflecting the concerns of the people. Sometimes we had very meaningful discussions about the Communist Movement and also about the Left Movement.

I remember once or twice he had invited me to speak on some important issues in the Training Classes and as a young man I might have very enthusiastically spoken, very strongly on the concerned issue and later on thought that on such occasions my views should have been presented in a more suave, gentle and persuasive manner. After I had concluded my speech, when I met him one-to-one, I had sometimes asked him if, as a Communist activist, had I spoken very strongly on the issue particularly on an occasion like the one in which I was invited to speak. Very gracefully and affectionately, Prof. Mukerjee looked at me and told, *"You have candidly spoken about what you think. You should never hesitate to speak out and express your views but firm views can be expressed in a language which does not hurt others."* Here was a man who knew the language which was sweet and attractive, correct and appropriate even to convey the strongest of his views; be it about Stalin even when he was being denigrated by his erstwhile admirers or about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whom he considered as a *"Gentle Colossus"*.

I wonder how he could so easily traverse the complicated lanes and bye-lanes of Indian history and philosophy, Western thought, parliamentary democracy and Communist faith based on class struggle, hegemony of the proletariat and Communist internationalism.

He had no hesitation in speaking strongly about his views on Vivekananda. He was a great admirer of Gandhiji; but he never compromised with the basic tenets of Communist philosophy and on several occasions when we met, my impression grew stronger and stronger that Prof. Hiren Mukerjee had become an institution himself. We have to learn a lot from his institution. He has left a rare and meaningful message, a precious legacy for the present generation. Let us all wake up and respond to this message—greatest lesson of history to mankind—"philosophers have interpreted history, try to understand these interpretations. But, that is not enough you have a role to change the course of history for a better tomorrow—a society where there is no exploitation of man by man."

The Great Teacher of History has now become history himself. I salute to his memory.

PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE—A TEACHER FIRST, A POLITICIAN LATER

*—Dr. (Smt.) Sarojini Mahishi**

Professor Hirendra Nath Mukerjee, popularly known as Hiren Mukerjee, was a kind teacher first, and a politician later. As was usually done by the young and brilliant graduates in the three provincial cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta at that time, Shri Hirendra Nath Mukerjee got the State scholarship and joined the Oxford University in London to study History and Political Science. He also had the Bar-at-Law degree to his credit when he returned to India. To begin with, he worked as a teacher in Waltair College affiliated to Andhra University and later at Ripon College (now renamed as Shri Surendranath College), in Calcutta.

Gradually, he started showing inclination towards political activity and in 1936 joined the Communist Party of India. Simultaneously he had started writing on eminent people who had influenced him. His books on Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda were very much appreciated by the people. His book, *"the Gentle Colossus—A Study of Nehru"*, created a controversy due to certain tributes paid by him to Nehru.

Born in an orthodox Brahmin family as one among the ten children of his parents, Shri Hirendra Nath had to undergo all the rituals, prescribed for a child. He learnt by heart all the extracts of *the Ramayana, the Mahabharata* and *the Bhagvad Gita*, as ordered by his grandfather.

No one could imagine how such a young man would grow up as the leader of the Communist Party in India. Perhaps the contribution of these two aspects in life made him a friend of all and enemy of none. He would speak with all members of the House in a very friendly way, irrespective of the community, linguistic differences and party affiliations.

When the Communist Party was divided as the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], Prof. Mukerjee chose to remain in the Communist Party of India, but he never lost a good opportunity to appreciate Marx and Stalin. Naturally, some members in the Communist Party of India felt embarrassed by that.

*She is a former member of the Parliament and former Union Minister of State.

Serious in thought and expression, many may think that Prof. Mukerjee might be far away from the sense of humour. No, he had that sense of humour but expressed it with a smile and in a gentle way.

In 1968-69, as instructed by the then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, I was moving a Bill in the Lok Sabha, to get the approval of the House for extending the President's Rule in Kerala by six months more. I went on saying a few good words about the sea shore and the beautiful landscape in Kerala and the innumerable coconut trees waiting to welcome the tourists. In that context, I quoted the following Sanskrit verse about coconut trees:

प्रथम वयसि पीतं तोयमल्पं स्मरन्तः
शिरसि निहितभारा नारिकेला
नराणां, नहि कृतमुपकारम्
साधवो विस्मरन्ति।

"The water that is poured at the roots in the earlier stage is always kept in memory by the coconut trees and they carry that load of water on their heads (to give to a thirsty man). Noble souls will never forget the good done to them earlier."

A question with a smile came from Prof. Hiren Mukerjee: "How do the coconut trees of Bengal behave"? The House burst into laughter!

In 1968-69, on behalf of the Sansadiya Hindi Parishad, I had organized an Exhibition of books written by sitting members of both the Houses. The Exhibition showing books in different languages separately, was held in the old Library hall of Parliament House. This was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, who appreciated the attempt to bring the authors together.

On that occasion I requested many authors in both the Houses, to give their books for Exhibition. Some said, they have only one copy and the second edition is in Press. When I requested Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, he just asked me, "My books must be in the Parliament Library. Are they not"?

I said, "Your English books are available in the Library, but it is difficult to find the language books. Even if you send two copies after publication free of cost to the Library, it may be difficult to find them here." Then, Prof. Mukerjee gave me a set of his Bengali books for inclusion in the Exhibition.

The Exhibition went on smoothly. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee's book, *"The Portrait of Parliament: Reflection and Recollection, (1952-77)"* was published

in 1978. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was rather liberal in his outlook as an author. He never allowed dogmatism to dominate this outlook of his. He was a politician with rare qualities. Rather, a kind-hearted teacher first and politician later !

His life of quarter century (1952-77) in Parliament depicted him as a great orator, and as a parliamentarian *par excellence*. His response on any Bill, or on a motion of Calling Attention Notice or any other discussion was very prompt and up to date. In case of any lapse, he would immediately correct himself. His contribution was indeed an asset to the infant democracy of India.

WITNESS TO AN ERA

*—Hiranmay Karlekar**

There are many people who know much more about Professor Hiren Mukerjee as a human being than I do. I hardly knew him at the personal level. We have met on many occasions and spoken from the same platform—*albeit* invariably on opposite sides—on some. If I venture to write on him it is because of the esteem in which I hold him and the fact that we were both witness to the same era that spanned the period from the zenith to the twilight of his life and the youth to middle age of mine. A child of an intensely political family—my parents were leading figures in M.N. Roy's Radical Democratic Party—I had heard of him, along with other political leaders of the time ever since I could remember.

I first heard Professor Mukerjee speak at the Asutosh Hall of Calcutta University in November 1956, in defence of Soviet intervention in Hungary a few weeks earlier. He was clearly ill at ease because his heart was obviously not in what he was saying but, being a leader of the Communist Party of India (which had yet to split) he had to do his duty. Yet, even then his oratory was enthralling, his emotion-charged delivery bringing stirringly to life his baroque prose. His sallies were sharp, laced with sarcasm. His was a difficult brief because the mood of the audience was clearly against the Soviet Union's action. Yet he held its attention and even drew a reluctantly rendered applause when he sat down.

Prof. Mukerjee was a part of an era of which he was an eloquent and cultivated representative, and which provided the context in which his life as a parliamentarian and political will have to be viewed. My main effort will be to focus on this era, a knowledge of which is essential to an understanding of what he did and stood for—and why?

The 1950s and 1960s were the decades of transformation. The first saw both the intensification of the cold war, when the threat of a nuclear Armageddon seemed very real, as well as the initial signs of the beginning of its end. If the first saw the emergence of the non-aligned movement as a force on the international scene, the second witnessed cracks appear on its surface. The 1950s saw the Soviet attitude towards India, its ruling party, the

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Indian National Congress, and the country's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, change from one of deep suspicion and hostility in the late 1940s and early 1950s to warm friendliness in the post-Stalin era. Both decades saw sweeping changes within the Communist bloc countries. It saw the East Berlin bread riots of June 1953, de-Stalinisation at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956, the Polish and Hungarian uprisings against Soviet domination later that year, and the brutal Soviet intervention in the latter which prompted a number of writers and intellectuals like Howard Fast break with Communism, to which they had given the best years of their lives, in the West.

If these were traumatic developments for sensitive Communists in India, so was the first signs of the growing Sino-Soviet breach that split the Communist world acrimoniously in the 1960s and which is only now being bridged. Mao Zedong, who had differences with Soviet leaders over the strategy and tactics of the Communist revolution in China in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, privately disapproved of de-Stalinisation and the Chinese delegation aired its divergent views not only on this but also on the first exposition of what later came to be called the line of peaceful transition to Socialism, at the 20th Congress itself. The differences between the CPSU and the CPC were discussed at a meeting of 12 Communist and Worker's Parties in Moscow in November 1957, where the Chinese delegation, led by Mao Zedong, challenged the Soviet draft of the joint declaration of the strategy of the world Communist movement and forced the Russians to accept significant revisions and entirely new formulations. But the breach between the two Communist behemoths continued to widen despite the Moscow Declaration of 1960 signed by 81 Communist and Workers Parties.

Within India, the CPI, whose resort to armed insurrection in Telangana and West Bengal from the late 1940s was validated, *albeit* under a different strategic formulation, by its Second Congress in Kolkata in February-March 1948, was severely weakened by repression and had to return to a parliamentary path as laid down by the *Statement of Policy* it adopted in 1951. Though the Party's Third Congress at Madurai (December 1953-January 1954) endorsed the new line, votaries of armed struggle remained with its ranks. So did differences over the Party's attitude toward the Congress, with one section emphasizing its progressive and anti-imperailist nature and advocating cooperation with it and another considering it to be reactionary at home and vacillating in its opposition to imperialism and demanding opposition to it. The second also happened to be votaries of armed struggle. They voiced their reservations, though without much impact, at the Fourth Congress at Palghat in 1956, which broadly endorsed the peaceful transition line adopted at the CPSU's 20th Congress. Differences, however, remained and, after the 12-party Conference in November 1957, the latter held an extraordinary

Congress, which became known as the Fifth Congress, in Amritsar in April 1958, to assess afresh the domestic and foreign policies of the Nehru Government and review its own position.

The return to the parliamentary path and the adoption of the line of peaceful transition had brought the CPI rich dividends. It expanded organizationally and did remarkably well in the general elections of 1957, and even formed Government in Kerala with E.M.S. Namboodiripad as Chief Minister. This obviously was a factor that weighed with the Fifth Congress, which not merely endorsed the line of peaceful transition but the Soviet version of it. The Congress also held that notwithstanding some disquieting developments like the rise of rightist forces and India's growing ties with the West, its foreign policy retained its progressive orientation. Tension, however, continued to simmer in the party. The Central Government's dismissal of the Kerala Government in 1959 came as a rude jolt and strengthened the hands of those opposed to cooperation with it. Simultaneously, Sino-Indian relations deteriorated progressively and led to confrontation and armed clashes in 1959. And all this happened in the background of continually deteriorating Sino-Soviet ties in which Moscow's attitude towards India was a majo. factor. In the CPI, the pro-Moscow and pro-Beijing groups emerged as distinct entities. The former believed in the doctrine of peaceful transition and stood for cooperation with the Congress against imperialism and reaction. The latter supported the Chinese opposition to the doctrine and was anti-Congress in its orientation.

The two groups clashed at the Sixth Congress of the CPI in Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh in 1961. While both agreed that the Congress was a bourgeois party, the point at dispute was whether to cooperate with it and to what extent. Leaders like S.A. Dange, P.C. Joshi, S.G. Sardesai and Rajeshwara Rao favoured unity with the Congress in fighting imperialism and domestic reaction and struggle against its tendency to compromise against both. On the other hand, leaders like Basvapunnaih, P. Sundarayya, and B.T. Ranadive held that though cooperation with the Congress on some issues was unaviodable, the CPI should generally have nothing to do with it.

What finally prevailed was the centrist position propounded by the CPI's General-Secretary, Ajoy Ghosh at the instance of the representative of the CPSU, Mikhail Suslov, who had told the former that the Party should not be allowed to split in any circumstance. Ghosh, who spelt out his position at a midnight speech that lasted for more than an hour-and-a-half, avoided an extreme position and argued, through a series of rhetorical questions, for the Party pursuing an independent path and relying on intensifying the struggles by farmers and workers. While the tenor of his speech was against cooperation with the Congress, he emphasised the need to support the positive steps taken by the latter.

Remarkably, instead of a regular political document of the type adopted on such occasions, the party, at Suslov's instance, adopted the "spirit" of Ghosh's speech, part written and part articulated verbally, as a substitute. It was, obvisouly, an uneasy compromise and, like most of its kind, did not last. What finally split the CPI was India's border conflict with China in October-November 1962, which led to the arrest of a large number of the pro-China elements. The latter, who refused to dub China as the aggressor, held what they claimed to be the Seventh Congress of the Party in October-November 1964, and added 'Marxist' within brackets after the Party's name to underline their claim that, as opposed to the revisionists who remained in the CPI, they were the real followers of Marx. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) or the CPI(M) was born.

Professor Hiren Mukerjee remained with the CPI. Extreme bitterness marked the latter's relations with the CPI(M) and the two parties fought as parts of two distinct leftist alliances in the 1967 general elections. The CPI(M) emerged as the larger of the two parties and as are important constituent of the coalition Governments, which came to power in West Bengal and Kerala following the defeat of the Congress in the Assembly elections in both States. In Kerala, it had its own Chief Minister in E.M.S. Namboodiripad, while in West Bengal the position went to Ajoy Mukherjee of Bangla Congress. It, however, itself split a little over four years after its formation. A section, which believed in the ultimate necessity of armed struggle and viewed the Party's participation in coalition Governments in West Bengal and Kerala with disfavour, launched a violent peasant movement in Naxalbari, Kharibari and Phansidewa police stations in Siliguri district in the northern part of West Bengal in March 1967. There was widespread violence involving murder, looting of paddy, and forcible harvesting of standing crop from landlords' fields by peasants.

After much dithering because of opposition from the CPI(M), the United Front Government of West Bengal was compelled to use force against the movement because of pressure from other constituent units like the Bangla Congress and the Forward Bloc. This incensed the proponents of a violent line within the CPI(M), who had been emerging as a distinct group in the party during 1965 and 1966, and who now refused to fall in line. As disciplinary action followed, they formed a new party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) or the CPI(M-L) and held a well attended public rally in Calcutta on 1 May 1969.

Meanwhile, efforts to expand and/or hold on to their support bases had led to serious acrimony and clashes among the constituent parties of the United Front and between them and the Congress, which had become the principal opposition party. Besides, there was serious violence on the trade

union front where the incarceration of employers or executives by workers—*gherao* as it was called-until they gave in to their demands became a regular feature. Finally, in October that year, a section of Bangla Congress, the largest constituent, broke away, withdrawing support from the front and reducing it to a minority in the State Assembly. With the Speaker delaying the holding of a session of the Assembly for a trial of strength, Governor Dharam Vira dismissed the Government on 21 November 1967.

This led to a re-consolidation of the United Front, which fought and swept the mid-term elections in the State in February 1969. Its second coming, again with Ajoy Mukherjee as Chief Minister, however, also proved ephemeral. Violent inter-party clashes, *gheraos*, and an alarming decline in the law-and-order position split the United Front and prompted the Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee, to resign. Earlier, the coalition Ministry in Kerala, which had been formed in February 1967, under the Chief Ministership of E.M.S. Namboodiripad, had collapsed after 28 months in power, and also because of violence and inter-party clashes. In the mid-term elections held in November 1969, which the CPI and CPI(M) fought as members of opposing alliances, led to the formation of another coalition Government headed by C. Achutha Menon of the former. In West Bengal too, the two parties contested, as parts of opposing alliances, the mid-term elections that followed in March 1971, along with the mid-term Lok Sabha elections that followed the premature dissolution of the Fourth Lok Sabha.

In West Bengal, the CPI(M)-dominated Left Front fell short of an absolute majority though the CPI(M) had emerged as the largest single party. The new Government was a coalition of the Congress, the Bangla Congress and several other parties with the CPI and the Forward Bloc and some other parties supporting it from the outside. The Government fell in June of the same year and the CPI became an ally of the Congress in West Bengal in the mid-term elections that followed in March 1972, and which they swept.

The 1972 mid-term Assembly elections completed the political ascendancy that the Congress led by Indira Gandhi had gained in the nation's life following its massive victory in the mid-term Lok Sabha elections of March 1971. The CPI was allied with the Congress, the CPI(M) bitterly opposed to it. The CPI was, doubtless, influenced by radical economic steps like bank nationalization that Indira Gandhi took after the Congress split in 1969 and her increasingly close ties with the Soviet Union, which were formalized by the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Mutual Cooperation of 1971. The marriage did not last. The Emergency and its shameful excesses brought the CPI and the CPI(M) together again in 1977. They have stayed together since then.

That was also Professor Mukerjee's last year in the Lok Sabha of which he had been a member continuously since he was first elected in 1952. He

was the CPI's Deputy Leader in the House from 1952 to 1964 and leader from 1964 to 1967. He, however, was much more than that. He was the outraged spokesman of the marginalized, the disprivileged and the exploited. His was the voice of compassion turned into anger, resonating like rolling thunder in the strident rhetoric of his speech. Even after his innings in the Lok Sabha he remained in many ways the voice of India's Marxist Left. He never lost his faith, though the times must have severely tested it on many occasions. A contemporary of P.C. Joshi, Ranen Sen, Somnath Lahiri and Bhabani Sen in the CPI (which he had joined in 1936) he had been a witness to the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe, the signing of the non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1938, World War II and the conversion of the 'Imperialist War' into the 'People's War' following Hitlerite Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the CPI's support to the British War effort and opposition to the Quit India Movement, Independence and the Partition of India and, of course, the tumultuous post-war events.

More recently, the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the destructive madness of the cultural revolution in China from 1966 to 1976, China's lurch towards market capitalism in the 1980s, and the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991, must have raised deeply troubling questions. Yet he called himself an "unrepentant Communist" until the last. Also, he never gave up and raised his voice in protest whenever an outrage, like the ghastly post-Godhra riots in Gujarat, had been committed. His passing away on 30 July has stilled the sibilant roar of the ancient lion and deprived the country of a luminous presence. He will be sorely missed—even by those who, like this writer, often did not agree with him—at a time when discourse is increasingly trivialized by the spreading consumer culture and politics alarmingly criminalised. A B.Litt from Oxford and one called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn, he could have lived a life of opulence. He chose to identify himself with the deprived. Looking back on his life and passing, one remembers John Donne, "Death be not proud, though some have called thee/Mighty and dreadful, for, thou art not so,/For, those whom thou think'st, thou dost overthrow/Die not, poor death."

REMEMBERING HIREN *DA*

*—Sitaram Yechury**

In many a sense, Comrade Hiren Mukerjee made an unparalleled contribution to the establishment of modern India. His role in India's freedom struggle, his ardent and selfless championing the cause of the most deprived, his steadfast commitment to Marxism, his intellectual reasoning that would resound and reverberate for a long time after being delivered with stunning eloquence, his sharp—at times acerbic tongue and pen—are the traits that have been well-documented and hence need no repetition.

In any case, I—being a product of post-Independent India being born after "We, the People of India" gave to ourselves the Secular Democratic Republic—would find myself very incompetent to do justice to the task of evaluating such a colossus. However, limited my interactions with Hiren*da* were during the last two decades or so, his contributions as a parliamentarian have been matters with which my generation grew up.

My first meaningful interaction with Hiren*da* took place in the year 1987. The occasion was the 70th Anniversary of their Great October Socialist Revolution. The Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) had organised a Special Party Congress to celebrate the occasion. The CPI(M) and the CPI were officially invited to send fraternal delegations. The CPI delegation consisted of the Party's then General-Secretary, Late Rajeswara Rao, Late M. Farooqui and Hiren Mukerjee, while the CPI(M) was represented by the then General-Secretary Late E.M.S. Namboodiripad, Harkishan Singh Surjeet and by me. Such was Hirenda's humility that he compared the composition of these delegations by saying that while the CPI chose as the third number of its delegation its senior most member, the CPI(M) chose its junior most!

During our stay at this Congress, it became clear that Hiren*da* was not merely an ardent supporter of the Soviet Union but felt that its existence was a necessity in the modern world if the civilisational advance of humanity has to proceed. Those were times when many of us could see, rather feel with immense anguish and agony, the impending disaster of the collapse of the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at this Congress gave the necessary indications which were both disappointing and disconcerting. The CPI(M)

*He is a Politburo member of the CPI(M).

was alert in expressing our apprehensions on the line being pursued by the then leadership of the CPSU. The CPI was however, hesitant. Hiren*da*, on the other hand, would openly tell his party leaders that he shared our apprehensions.

His commitment to the Socialist Soviet Union, besides it being the first society to organise itself on the Marxist principle of 'no exploitation of man by man', was also due to the importance it had in the modern world. Hiren*da* strongly felt that the Soviet Union was crucially responsible, through the countervailing power that it demonstrated in world affairs to ensure peace for half a century and more. In the absence of the Soviet Union, he used to warn that the US imperialism may well go berserk in its strides for global domination. How prophetic this sounds in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

There was another strong reason that made Hiren*da* an unrepentant champion of the Socialist Soviet Union. Its existence and the selfless help it rendered to the newly-independent countries of the former colonial world, he used to say, has immensely helped these countries to stand on their own feet. India was a classic example. This strength of the developing countries was important to resist the efforts of economic hegemonies that US imperialism was seeking to pursue. Once again, how prophetic this sounds in this era of globalisation whose political objective is to economically re-colonise the developing countries.

Hiren*da* belongs to that generation which was a witness to the agonies of colonial domination and miseries of human exploitation. But, he was also fortunate to see the immortal triumphs of humanity—against fascism, against colonialism and the consolidation of a Socialist bloc free from exploitation of man by man. Hiren*da*'s voluminous writings captured the spirit of these times with a poetic justice that very few leaders are capable of.

During the later years of the twentieth century, as the Editor of the CPI(M)'s weekly, *People's Democracy*, I had many an occasion to request Hiren*da* to contribute on various problems facing India. On every occasion, he would do so without any fuss and meet the deadline. His contributions would always be in his own handwriting. The first draft was always the final draft. And, the pen moved without scoring out any written word!

Through these writings, he displayed both his pride and commitment in not only safeguarding but in advancing India's synchronic civilisation and culture. He was not merely a 'secular' as we understand the term today; he was much more than that. All of us are products, he would say, of this intermingling of civilisational influences that criss-crossed India over the centuries. India—its people, its culture, its physical and spiritual

manifestations—are all defined by this cultural and civilisational admixture. Given this, he was an uncompromising champion and a fighter till his death to safeguard India as all of us know from the menace of fascist communalism that was reigning supreme in the decade of nineties.

In one of his writings for the *People's Democracy*, he exhorts: "The great Muhammed Iqbal, *Brahmanzada-e-Kashmir* as he proudly called himself, not only wrote some of our loveliest patriotic hymns but also on 'this land where Chishti brought the gospel of truth, this garden where Nanak taught the unity of all religions', adding that here 'the habitations of the heart' *(dil ki basti)* are becoming "empty". he said: "Let us together build a new temple of ours *(naya shivala)*."

The last occasion when he wrote in *People's Democracy* was on the 10th anniversary of the demolition of the Babri Masjid. In the covering letter accompanying the article, again in his own hand, he observed that this may be one of his last writings penned by himself. For a person in his nineties, his and remained forever firm and steadfast. His spirit, never exhaustible, was reflected in this piece.

I can only end my homage by quoting what he wrote in this article which, in a sense, encapsulates his spirit: "As a Communist, I cannot despair: I prefer, in Shelley's words, 'to hope till hope creates out of its wreck the thing it contemplates'. And as I see bright signs of people's mobilisation against the fraudulent, so called 'globalisation' claiming for ever to demolish socialism, I remember what some seventy-five years ago, a great teacher of mine, Kuruvila Zachariah, told me when I was agonised by things happening in the then world. In life, he told me, certain things happen that are 'ineluctable' and you cannot prevent them, but you must 'learn to see the rainbow in the rain'."

PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE—A TRIBUTE

*—Avtar Singh Rikhy**

In the passing away of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, a most conscientious and virtuous member of Parliament *par excellence* the nation has lost a patriot, a great son of Bengal and the educational fraternity a bright and luminous scholar.

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was a uniquely endowed human being who was genuine to the core. He was truly a *"Rishi"*, a man of God, compassionate and forgiving with love and affection for all and inimical towards none. He stood for justice and equity and that was the driving force behind his unyielding conviction to bring about egalitarian and more just social-economic order through Communism.

He was a complete man, as envisaged in the Vedantic philosophy in which he was deeply rooted and fully immersed.

He always conducted himself with great dignity and grace and never-failing courtesy. He was deeply devoted to his family: his affectionate, gracious and self-effacing wife and his two gifted children (son and daughter).

I remember, during one of the Public Accounts Committee's visit (of which he was the Chairman for two terms), he picked up three exquisite pure silk sarees for his wife, daughter and son's (would be) wife, with adoring affection and discernible twinkle in his eyes, indicative of the joy that these would hopefully bring to the dear ones.

He was a democrat to the core. He encouraged open and full discussion in the Public Accounts Committee on all issues, however controversial those might be. He restrained himself from imposing his personal/Party's views while the Draft Reports were under consideration of the Committee. He wanted the consensual view to be reflected in the Reports and did not want to hinder it in any way, even though it might not be fully in accord with his own/Party's view-point.

He was very punctilious about parliamentary etiquette and manners. I remember how deeply hurt he felt when members disturbed vociferously

*He is the former Secretary-General of Lok Sabha.

President's Address to members of both the Houses assembled together for the solemn occasion in the Central Hall of Parliament.

He was most particular about the phrases and expressions to be used in parliamentary debates or in Committee's proceedings. He was punctilious and wanted to make sure that these conformed fully to the high standards of objectivity and fairness expected from members of Parliament. He was a "wordsmith", so to say, who took great care in choosing his words so that these were elegant as well as meaningful and never transgressed parliamentary norms.

His eloquence was spell-binding. While addressing the scientists at the Space Centre at Bangalore he recited effortlessly Sanskrit *shlokas* to recall the multi-splendoured scientific achievements of our people since ancient times.

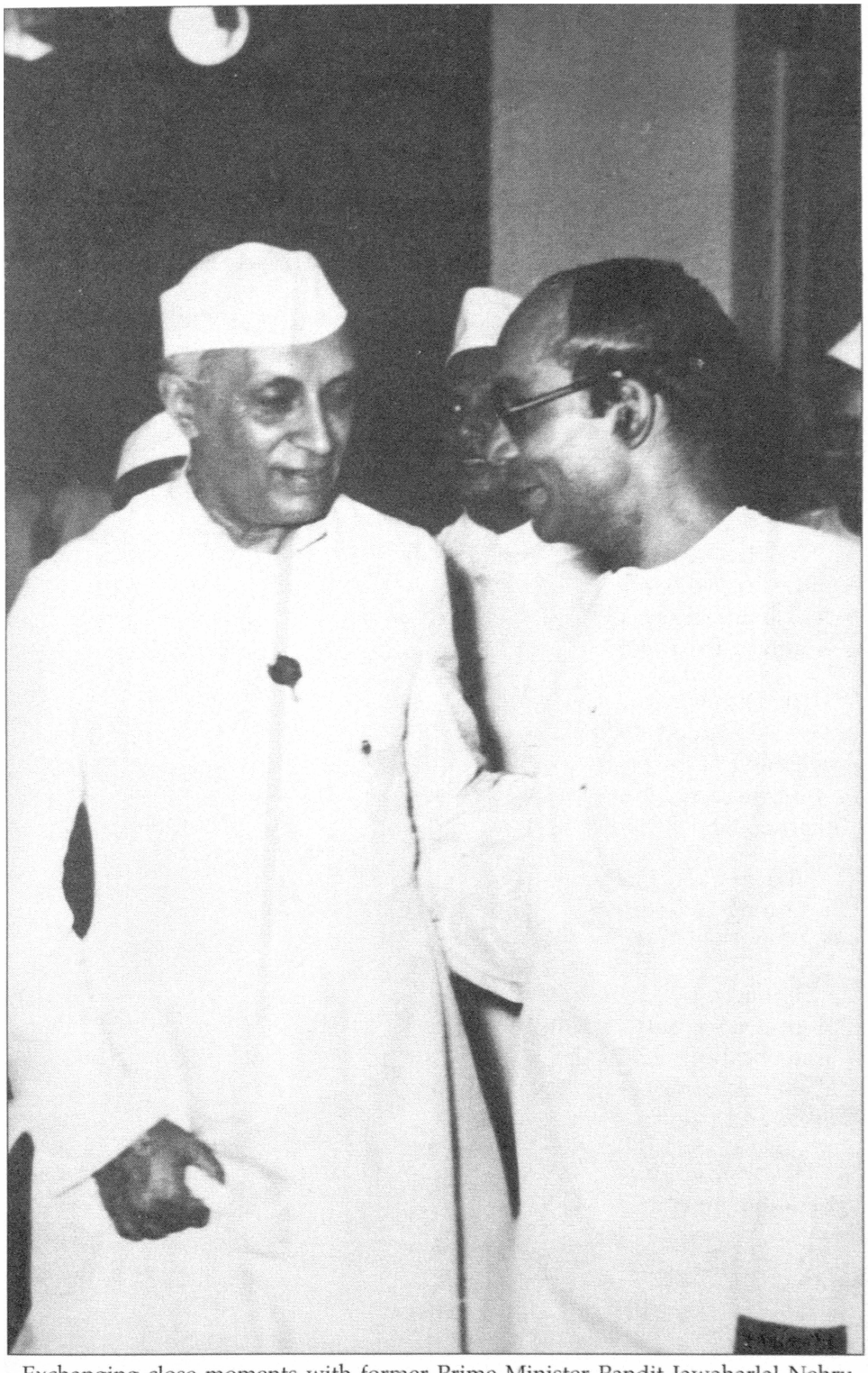
As Honorary Advisor of the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training (BPST), he addressed several batches of Probationers from Indian Administrative Services and, I am sure, each one of them had carried an indelible impression of the high ideals and the spirit, which should permeate and inform the functioning of democratic institutions.

The Question-Answer Session at the end of each such Course and several others, designed to familiarize senior Government officials with the functioning of the parliamentary institutions, would see him at his sparkling best. I considered it a rare and precious opportunity to listen to him at such gatherings and get recharged.

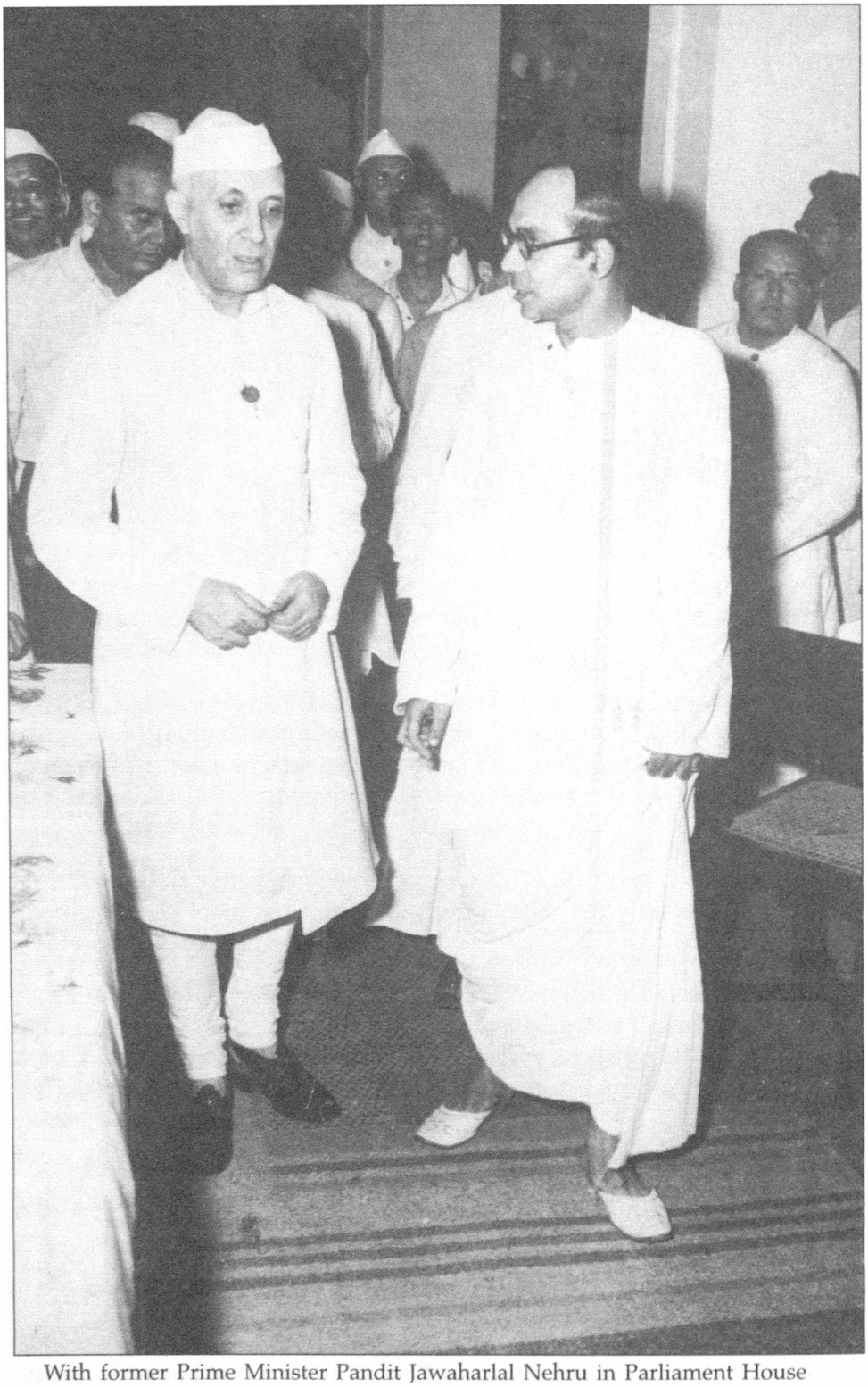
Above all, I remember him as a scholar with deep cultural roots, on whose tongue Goddess Saraswati sat and blessed it with rare qualities of beauty and eloquence.

He had a poet's sensitivity and sensibility. It is a tribute to his devoted and gracious family that he kept his feet firmly on the ground and enjoyed vibrant health, which gave him infinite energy to do creative writing and make outstanding contribution as a statesman, historian, biographer, political thinker and parliamentarian.

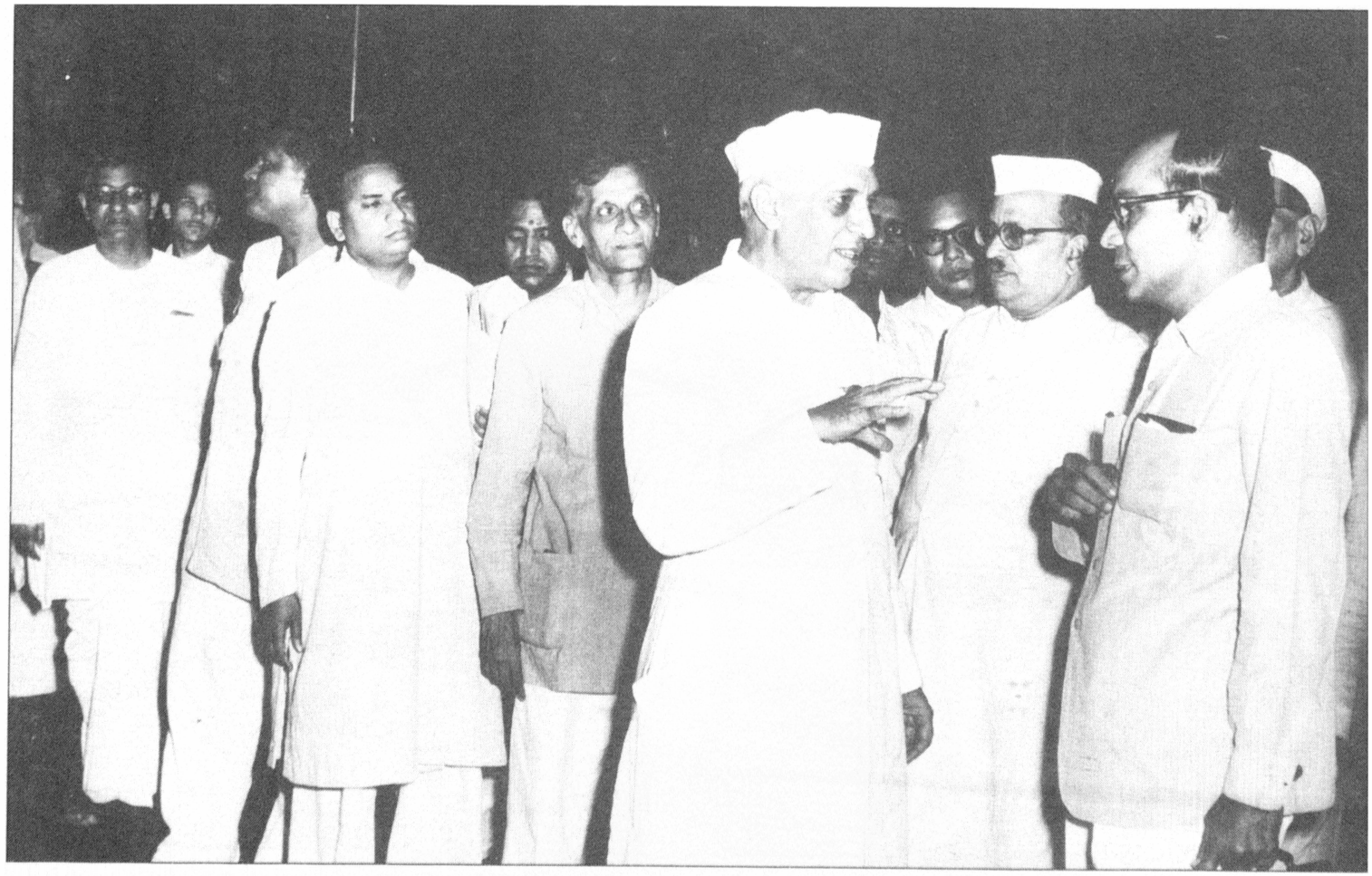
His was a truly dedicated and "fulfilled" life—worth emulation by generations to come.



Exchanging close moments with former Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Parliament House



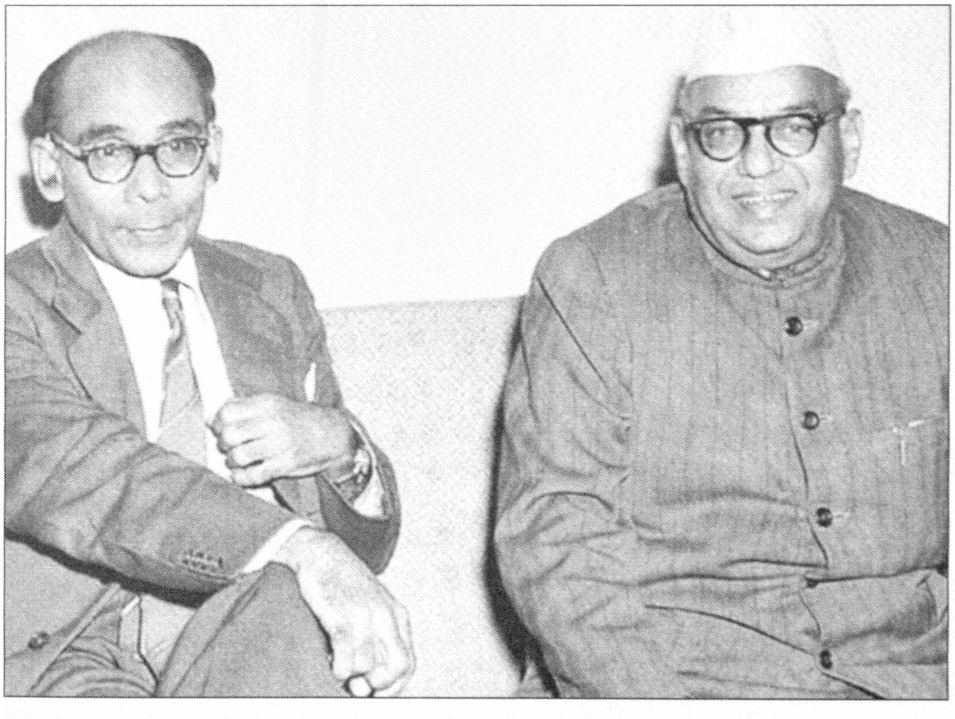
With former Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Parliament House



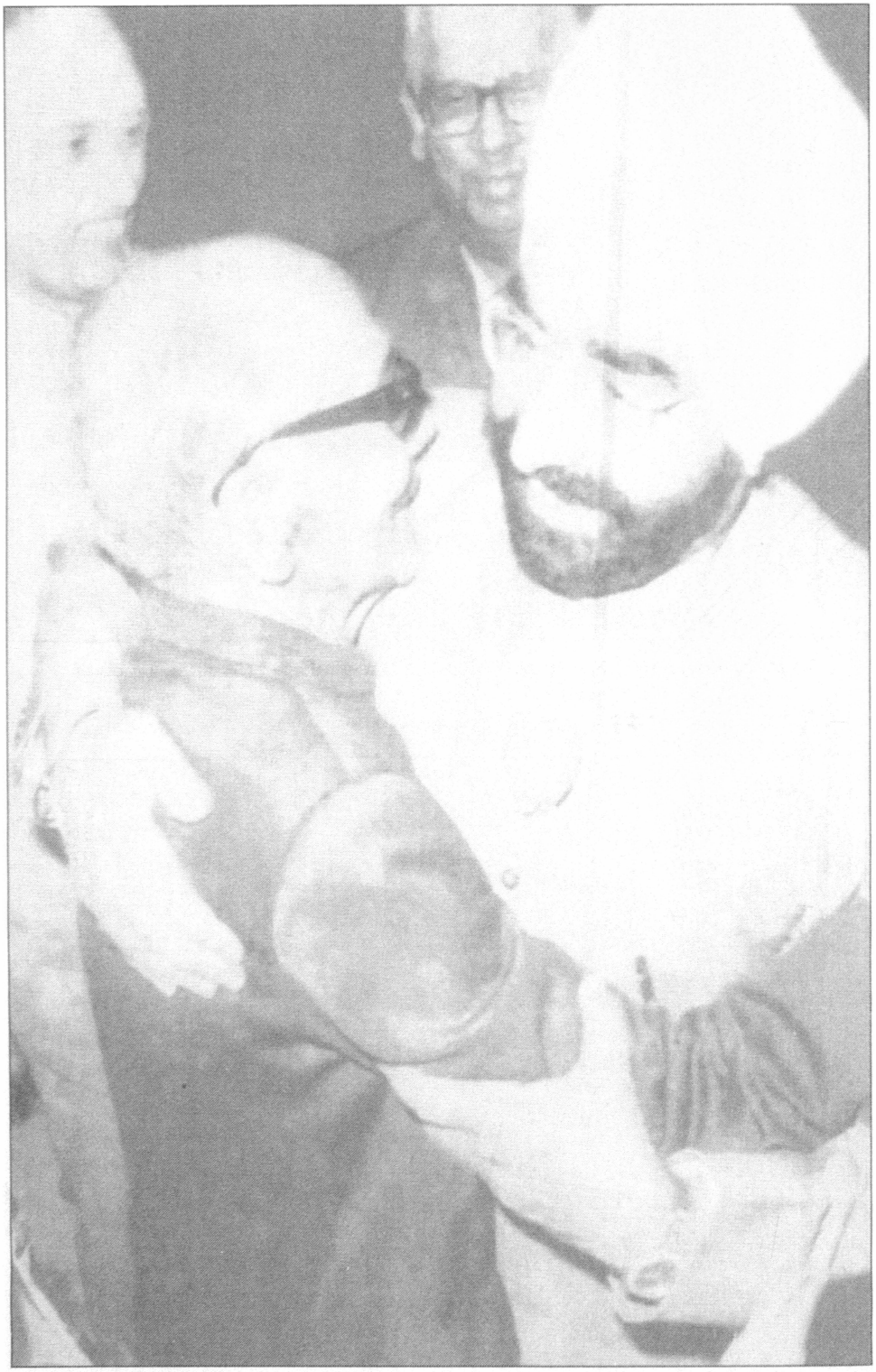
Discussing National Issues with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and his wife Smt. Bibha Mukerjee with
Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Teen Murti Bhawan
(the then Prime Minister's residence) in 1961

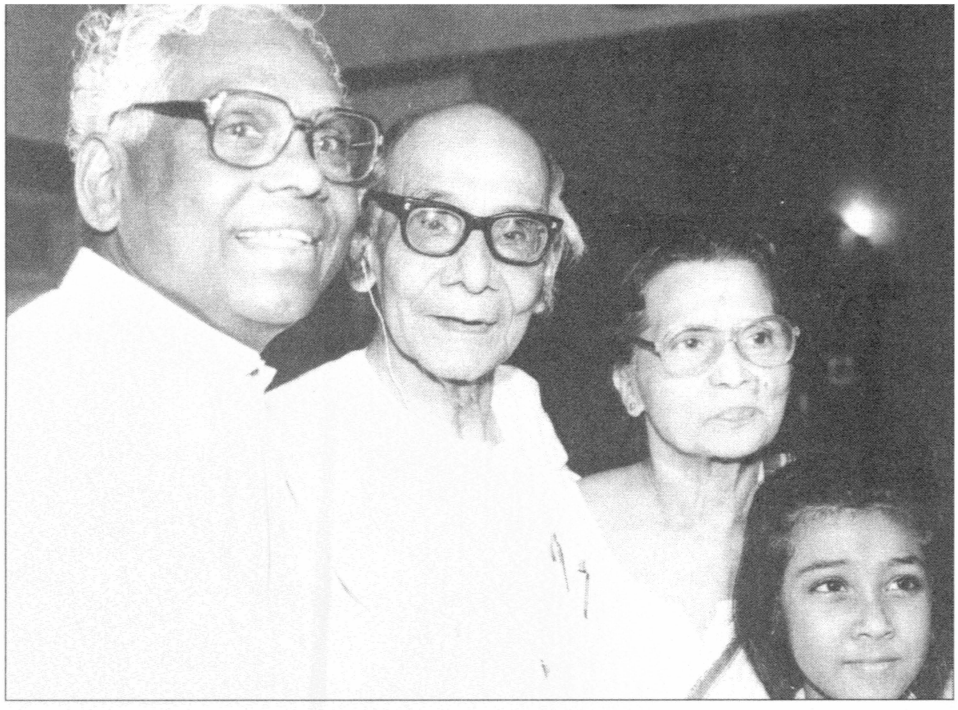
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru scanning the pages of Prof. Mukerjee's book,
"Himself a True Poem—A Study of Tagore"



With Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the then Speaker of Lok Sabha



With Giani Zail Singh, the then President of India. Also seen in picture is Shri Som Nath Chatterjee (presently Speaker of Lok Sabha) and Shri Hashim Abdul Halim, Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly.

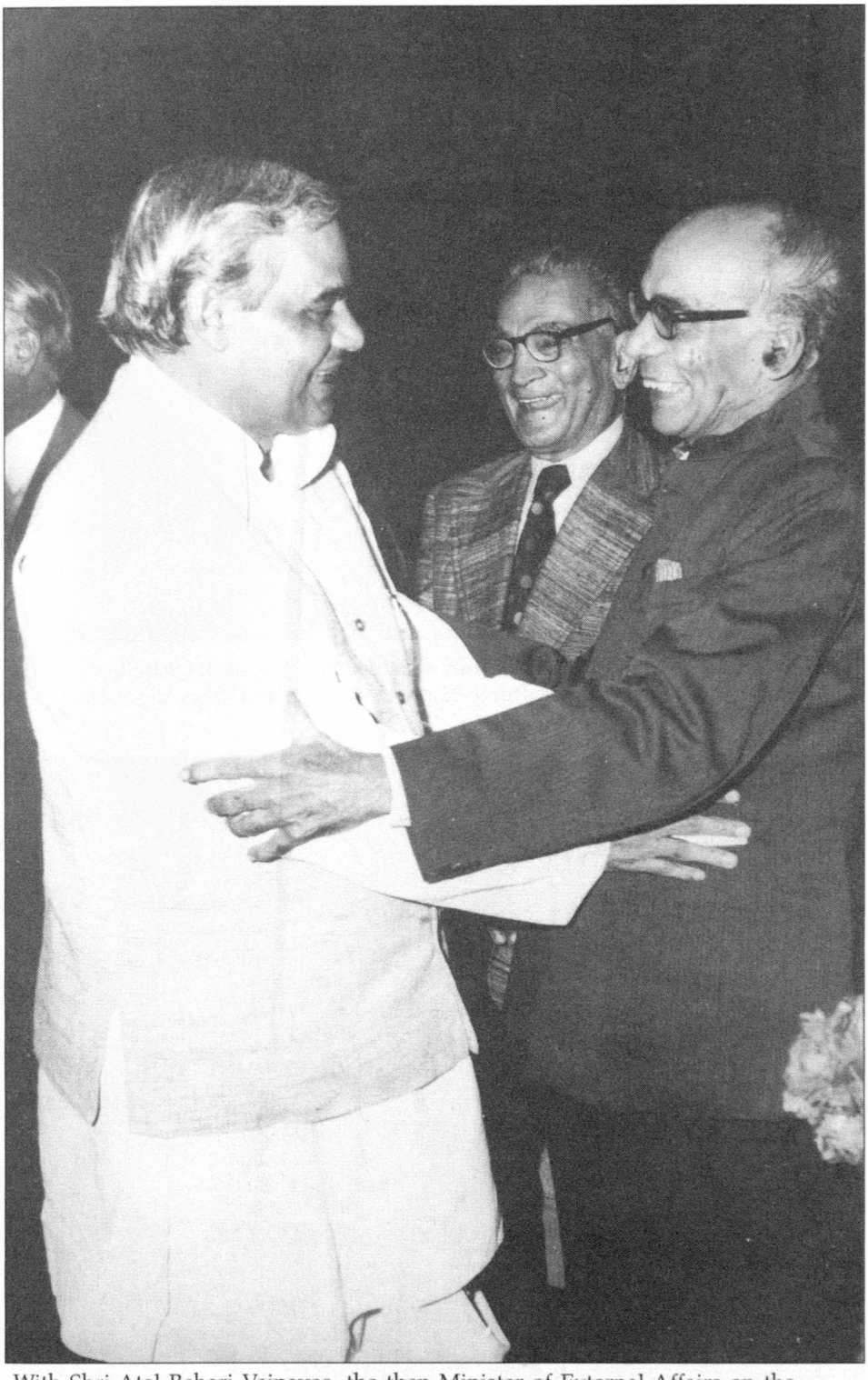


Shri K.R. Narayanan, the then President of India at the residence of Shri Mukerjee in Kolkata (Also seen in the picture are Shri Mukerjee's wife and his grand-daughter)

Sharing a close moment with Shri K.R. Narayanan, the then President of India in 1998. Also seen in the picture are Shri Mukerjee's wife and his grand-daughter

Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Minister of External Affairs in 1977, greeting Shri Mukerjee at a function in New Delhi

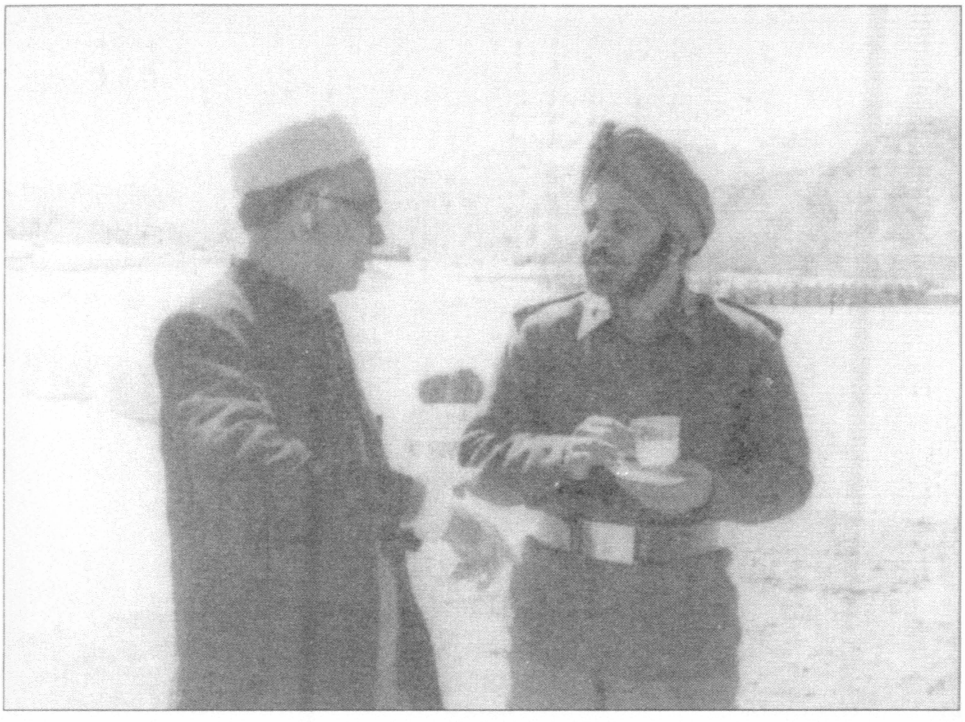
Accepting the Soviet Land Nehru Award, 1977 from the then Minister of External Affairs, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee



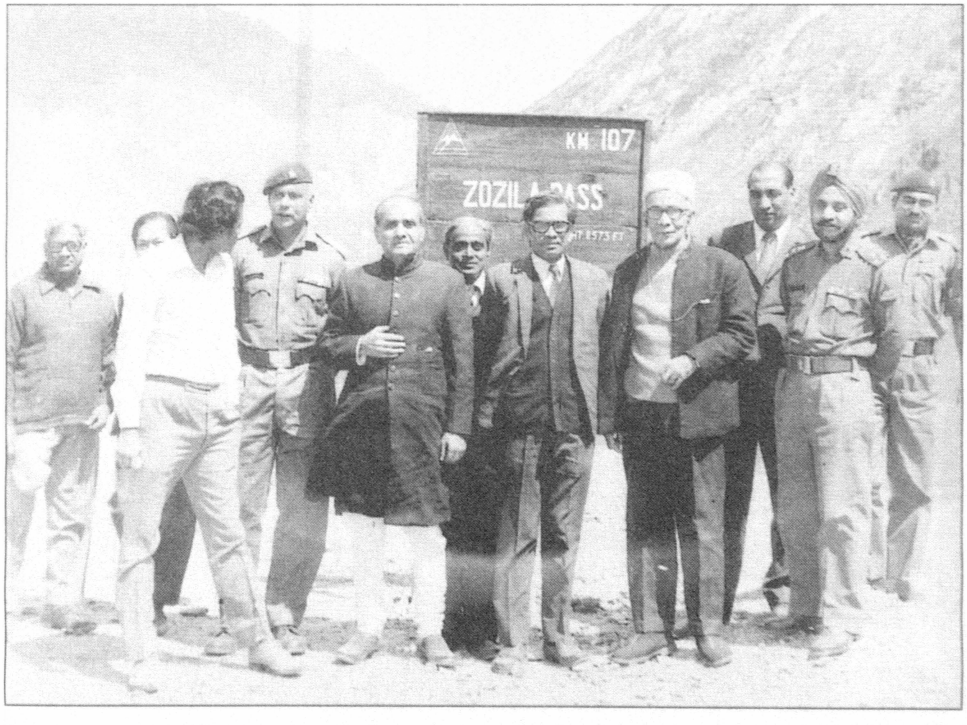
With Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Minister of External Affairs on the occasion of Soviet Land Nehru Award Ceremony in 1977

With Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma, the then Vice-President of India,
Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India and other dignitaries

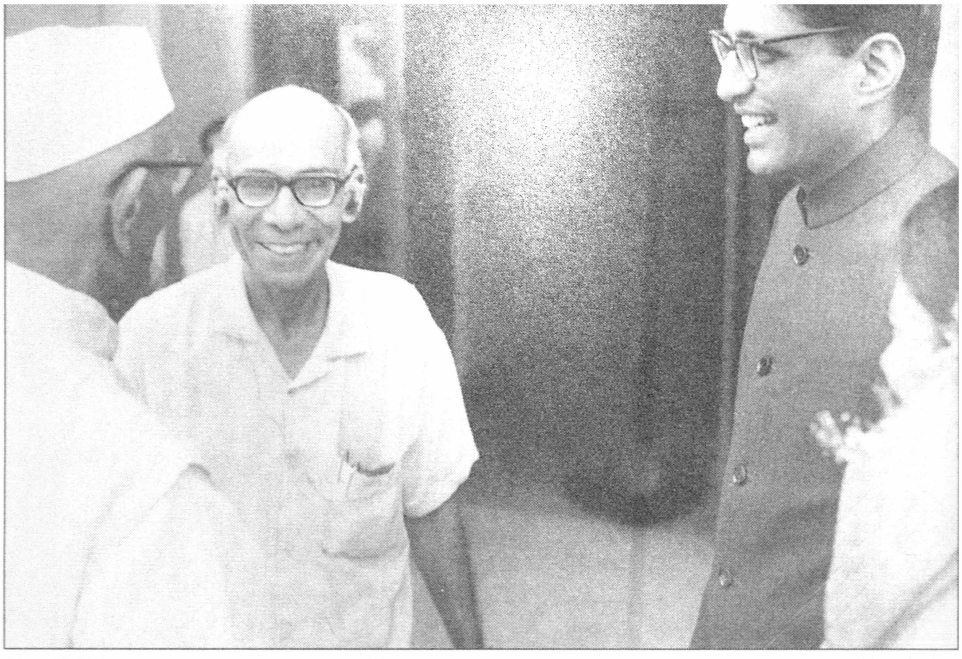
Addressing a function connected with the Public Accounts Committee in 1976



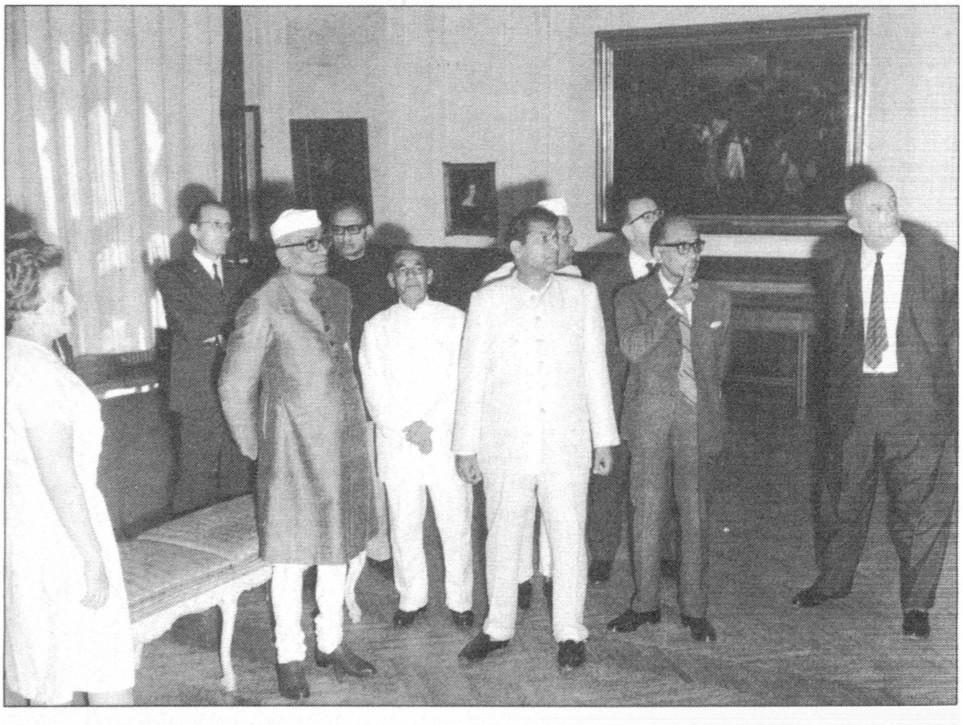
On a Study Tour of the Public Accounts Committee as its Chairman to an army camp on the border in 1976.



Visiting Zozila Pass during the Study Tour of the Public Accounts Committee as its Chairman.



With Shri Morarji Desai, former Prime Minister of India on the occasion of the marriage of Shri Rajmohan Gandhi, grand-son of Mahatma Gandhi

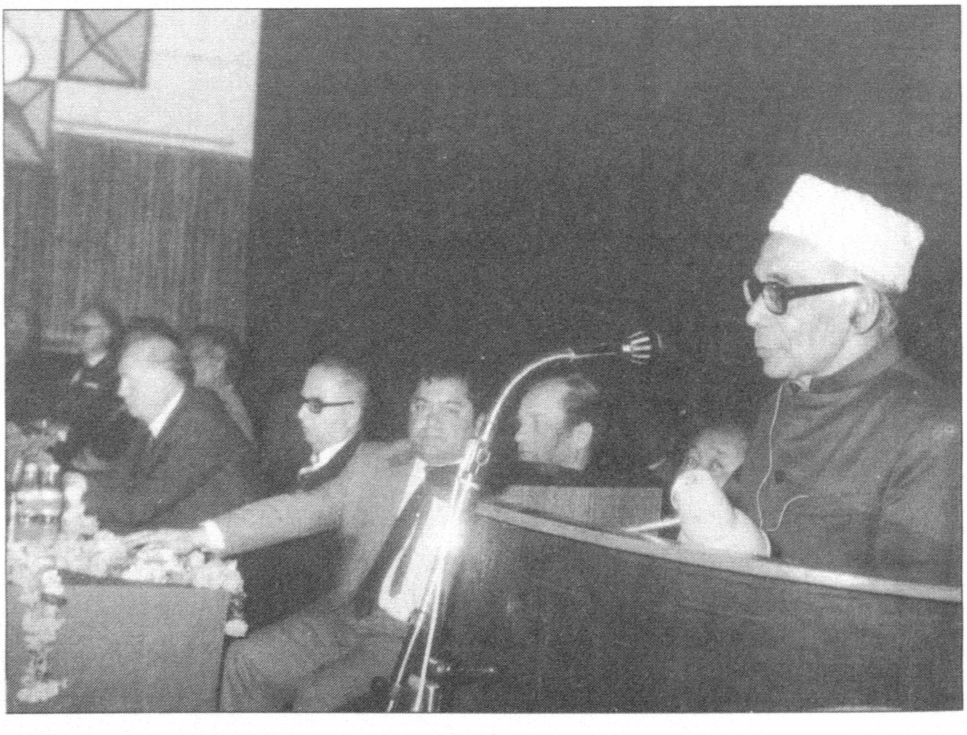


With Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha at a Museum in Moscow

With a Parliamentary Delegation headed by Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha in Moscow

Paying tributes along with Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha to martyrs of the Soviet Union in Moscow

Prof. Hiren Mukerjee in Soviet Union



Addressing a meeting in Soviet Union

PART III
HIS SELECT SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT

CONSTITUTION, LAW AND JUDICIARY

Mr. Speaker, there can be no question that the sovereignty and the integrity of our country are such things that it is the bounden obligation of every single citizen to sustain and uphold them and, from that point of view, as far as this Bill is concerned, we have accorded at an earlier stage, and also in the Joint Committee, our general support to the measures adumbrated. But we have just now heard a proposal that discussion on this matter might conceivably have been postponed and even though the House has rejected that proposition, I would like, in all humility, to make certain submissions where certain misgivings in my mind in regard to this Bill would be expressed.

I am sure that everybody will agree that there were other methods, methods other than amending the Constitution, which perhaps we could have adopted in order successfully to fight the forces of disintegration in this country. If there is in this country, unfortunately, a sizeable section of public opinion which even talks openly in terms of the desirability of the secession of a particular area from the rest of India then that is a misfortune which has to be tackled in ways different from mere legislation. I do not say that legislation is unnecessary altogether, but apart from legislation, there are other methods or other ways of working among our people so that this apparent threat to the integrity of our country can really and truly be met.

Apart from that—I will come back to this argument a little later—I find that there are certain legalistic difficulties which would be the result of this legislation. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Law Minister to a pamphlet entitled "A Critical Study of the Constitution (Amendment) Bill" by a Senior Research Officer where from a purely technical point of view certain objections have been raised and I am drawing the Government's attention to some of these aspects.

In this pamphlet it is pointed out by this Research Officer of the Indian Law Institute that already in this country our courts have found it difficult to apply concepts, like public interest, public order, security of State etc. in the context of reviewing the restrictions placed on fundamental rights and even though in regard to these concepts our courts can find assistance from

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 2 May 1963.

£ [The Bill which was aimed at amending article 19 and the Third Schedule of the Constitution to make adequate powers available for the preservation and maintenance of the integrity and sovereignty of the Union of India, became an Act, titled 'The Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Act, 1963'].

the comparative jurisprudence of other countries like the United States or the United Kingdom, this Bill is now bringing into the picture expressions, like sovereignty and integrity, which have not yet been employed and therefore—I am quoting the words of Shri Narayan Rao, who is the Research Officer concerned—

> ".....which have not yet been tested, anywhere in the context of curtailing the liberties of the people."

He adds:—

> "It is, therefore, for consideration whether it is proper to subject the liberties of the people with expressions like 'sovereignty' and 'integrity' which are at once elusive and indefinite and carrying with them, at the same time, a wide and varying coverage."

This is a legalistic argument, but since the law is of a particular nature, I proffer this advice to the hon. Minister that he might have this aspect of the Bill considered.

This Bill also has certain features which can be called somewhat inelegant. Our hon. friend, Shri Kamath, has drawn attention to some of these inelegant features. For instance members of legislatures are being asked to take an oath or to make an affirmation. That might be all right; I am not objecting to it. But, at the same time, even before a man is contesting the elections he is being asked to take an oath or to make an affirmation. It is rather unusual to prescribe oath-taking or the making of an affirmation as a pre-requisite for eligibility to contest the elections. As Shri Kamath has suggested, without worrying over a constitutional amendment, a very minor change could have been made in the Representation of the People Act so that the candidates for election to legislatures and that sort of thing would be obligated to make a statement on the lines envisaged in this Bill. Here is a double process of oath taking or affirmation making. I do not know what special gains are expected from this kind of thing. The same results could be achieved by an oath being taken or an affirmation being made when one enters the legislature or any other kind of office and this duplication can very well be saved if it is thought necessary through the mechanism of the Representation of the People Act.

There was also another point which was brought up earlier when this Bill was under discussion. These political difficulties are rather intriguing. We are having certain international transactions at the present moment which relate to the territorial integrity of India. I do not know what our friend, the Minister of Railways has been saying and doing in the course of his conversations with the Pakistan Government. I do not know what he said in his party meeting. But, I suppose the Prime Minister, after a few days,—I do

not know when,—is going to make a statement about what is being done on behalf of our country in regard to this matter of Indo-Pakistan discussions. Quite apart from the merits of the matter, let us look at the legal aspect involved. There is no question that certain international transactions are going on which would affect the territorial position, territorial integrity of India: no doubt about it. The papers go so far as to make certain prognostications. Yesterday, in the *Statesman*, there was a report that—

> "The Americans would be happy to see the idea of 'a special status' for Kashmir—involving condominium over or internationalisation of the whole or a part of Jammu and Kashmir—fill the vacuum left by the discussion on a political solution. But, although the British team would also be keen on it, the Indian side is not."

I am not saying anything about what he has said, because I do not know. But I take it that the Indian Government is not going to give away any part of Indian territory. That is another matter. There is no doubt that certain discussions are going on. What is going to happen? This Bill, for instance, is amending the Constitution so that it would be impossible even to have a Constitution Amendment Bill to cede any Indian territory to a foreign country without committing breach of the oath itself. This is being pointed out in this pamphlet to which I made reference a little while ago, the pamphlet by Shri Narayan Rao, Senior Research Officer, The Indian Law Institute, where he makes the point very specifically. He says—I am quoting his words:

> "Once a Minister takes an oath to uphold the integrity of India, he cannot move a Constitution Amendment Bill to cede any part of Indian territory to a foreign country, nor can members legally support it, without doing violence to their oath clause. It is no argument to say that when it relates to a Constitution Amendment, the oath does not stand in the way. If such an argument is acceptable, then the agitation to amend the Constitution to release a part of the Indian territory from its present fold is also defensible, for suggestions to amend the Constitution, are certainly not the monopoly of the Government; they can as well be made by any persons."

What is happening about the Indo-Pakistan negotiations, we do not know. But, it might conceivably involve some diminution or some alteration in the territorial integrity of this country. We have accepted, our Government has accepted the Colombo proposals. According to this particular lawyer, this Bill, if it is passed into law would equally stand in the way of implementing the Colombo proposals. In the case of the *Beru Bari* matter we discovered that the Government had thought in the beginning that sovereignty presupposes the capacity on the part of the sovereign state like ours to give away a part

of our own territory. As a layman practically, I suppose most of us would be agreeable to that point of view. But, then, the Supreme Court somehow happened to intervene and there had to be a Constitutional amendment.

Here, again, some legal students are pointing out that we cannot have a Constitutional amendment in the conceivable future if we have this oath or affirmation already incorporated in our Constitution and anything in the matter of giving effect to any of the international transactions which relates to territorial re-distribution would not be possible. It is not my head-ache. It is the Government's head-ache. It is for the Government to decide how far this kind of a difficulty can be circumvented.

The main reason, however, why we support the idea of this Bill is this. I have said at the very outset that no words are necessary to stress the idea that the sovereignty and integrity of our country have to be upheld. We support this Bill because we have noticed in certain parts of our country a tendency on the part of sizeable sections of our people to veer over to the idea of secession from the mother country. That is a most disastrous thing But, how are we going to set about it? Are we going to use the baton of the law in order to keep all our people contended within the ambit of our State system? The party known as the D.M.K. is so much in the picture. How are we going to tackle this problem? My submission is, it is not by legislation though it may be necessary, but by sympathy, by understanding and by action commensurate with such sympathy and understanding. We have to make efforts at a level where law cannot reach. Long years ago we read the lines of Alexander Pope:

"How small a part of all that human hearts endure
The part that laws or Kings can cause or cure?"

There are so many things which could be done, not by means of the law—it is not by means of legislation, executive action, coercive force, application of sanctions behind the State apparatus, but by human sympathy, by understanding and approach to the problems which are thrown up by the conditions of our country.

Only the other day we passed a Bill on the official languages of our country. We have seen how certain incendiary proceedings have already been launched and all that. How are we going to tackle it? Are we going just to say, we have got the law in regard to the official language, everybody has to say yes to it? We cannot proceed in that fashion in a community where people have their own rights.

The South of our country, particularly Tamil Nadu is as much a part of the North as the North is of the South. Without the two together, India ceases to be. I do not know why we do not recall to ourselves so many things which should be told over and over again in the North as well as in the South in order to emphasise the unity of our country. In the *Vishnu Purana* which was recorded in the Fourth Century A.D., we have a shloka:

उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य
हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणं
वर्षम् तद् भारतं नाम
भारती यत्र सन्तति:

North of the sea and South of Himalayas is the country called *Bharata Varsha* which is the place where the children of *Bharata* live. That was the conception of *Bharata Varsha*. From time to time, the balance between the North and the South has been disturbed. There is a lovely legend in the South about the sage *Agastya*. It is said that on the occasion of the marriage of *Siva* with *Parvati*, there was such an immense concourse of gods and sages in the Himalayan region that the balance of the Universe was likely to be upset and in order to redress the balance the great sage *Agastya* was sent to the South. That was how the balance was actually redressed. From time to time, the political, economic and cultural balance of our country is perhaps in danger of being upset and something has to be done in order to satisfy the South as well as the North so that the balance of our country is not upset. The other day, I was very happy to hear my hon. friend, Shri Sham Lal Saraf say that when he offered *puja* every day, he invoked the rivers which belonged not only to the North but also to the South:

गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदवरि सरस्वति
नर्मदे सिन्धो कावेरि, जलेस्मिन् सन्निधि
कुरू।

This is how we think of our country, a country which is linked together by rivers, mountains, and holy places which are distributed all over the land. What would be the culture of India if the great southern *Acharyas* had not made their contribution: *Sankaracharya, Madhavacharya, Vallabhacharya, Sayanacharya, Ramanujacharya*. Without them where would we be? I read somewhere that *Siva* is a gift of the South to the North. There are the great saivite saints of the South, known as *Nayanars*, among them *Manikkavachakar*, some of whose writings some of us have read from time to time. I have seen a reference in the *Padma Purana* which says that the idea of *Shuddha Bhakti*, devotion to a personal deity, came from the South and then it travelled *via* Maharashtra to the Gangetic *doab* near Mathura. The great *Bhakti* movement

of this country, in the North and in the South, from Nayak to the Southern saints, from *Jnanesvar* to *Chaitanya*, the tremendous movement of this country is linked together one with the other. Where would we be if we keep the South out or if we keep the North out?

I was reading the other day the *Kural* written by the great *Tiruvalluvar*, one of the gems of creation, something which was written for the whole of India, for the whole of mankind. I read the translation by Dr. Pope, and in the introduction, Dr. Pope had said that *Tiruvalluvar* must have been subjected to some Christian influence or perhaps he would not have made this universal appeal. I do not know about that, but the *Kural* is a gem. Here, was something which came from the South, but it is permeated through and through with what can be called the Indian spirit. There is no getting away from it.

I read also in the Parliament Library the other day Shri Rajagopalachari's translation into English of the *Kamban Ramayana*. I have so many differences with Rajaji and on some occasions, I try to have a dig at my hon. friend, Professor Ranga who is not here, because of his leader Rajaji. I hope Rajaji devotes his attention more to that kind of cultural work that he has done so wonderfully. But, in any case, I read the *Kamban Ramayana*, rather portions of it, and I could find how the southern spirit finds effulgent expression through that kind of thing.

Then, of course, as Indians, surely our philosophy of which we are so proud, has been so largely contributed to by the great southern *acharyas*. Then, again, in regard to our arts and architecture, if we go to Tanjore and Gangaikonda Cholauram, or Kanchi or Chidambaram or Madurai or Tiruchirapalli, what do we feel? We feel proud of our Indianness, an Indianness which transcends mere Indianness and encompasses the world.

That is why I have a feeling that if only the southern people would be content with the idea that in the North there is not a sort of superiority complex about them, if only the southern people knew that the earlier neglect of the South regions by the British imperialist Government in this country is going to be rectified and proper amends made by the free Government of new India, if only the southern people realised that in the new India, the Tamils as well as the Punjabis would have the same kind of rights in order to go forward, if only today in the South and the North and the East and the West, there is a feeling that we are joined in a common endeavour to build a new India of our dreams, then all this talk of secession and that sort of thing would melt into nothingness. When the sun rises, all the mist vanishes, and when the sun of real patriotism rise in our country, all this mist and miasma would be completely a thing of the past.

But, how are we going to fight it? Are we going to fight it by legislation? Are we going to fight it by showing the bludgeon? Are we going to tell our people that they have to do certain things, take certain oaths or make some affirmations, or be punished? Are we going to kill people? If we have to live together, we are members of one another; we hang together; if we do not live and fight and work together, we shall have to die together.

This country is ours, this country which stretches from the Himalayas to the sea is a country to which we have promised all our devotion. That promise cannot be made stronger by a few more oaths and affirmations made obligatory by the Constitution. That promise is something which emanates from the heart. That is why I tell the Government of the day,—and also appeal to the people of the south—to touch their hearts and move them in such a way that the south will drop the idea of secession altogether, and I am sure they would do it, if approached properly. There is no reason on earth, no reason which can possibly appeal to the human mind which can justify the idea of the secession of any part of our country. All this talk about the possibility of southern secession seems to me like so much moonshine and nonsense, but so much is made of it because of the political ineptitude of Government, because of the failure of economic planning to do away with regional disparities altogether. That is why Government has to address itself to these tasks.

Perhaps, I may have digressed a great deal, but I do wish to make an appeal to Government. Even though the Law Minister may not be interested in these aspects of the administration, yet, I do want to make a very serious appeal to Government that it is necessary to have first things first, to do first things first, and not to have legislation in this manner, legislation which might only accentuate a problem which can be solved only with the touch of human sympathy. That touch of human sympathy alone can give the right to statesmanship, and I do hope the Government of the day justifies itself in that matter.

It is unusual to oppose at this time, but this is, even for this Government, which has shown monumental ineptitude in regard to legislation about law and the Constitution, a most unusual Bill.

I notice prevarication, sheer prevarication, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, where the Minister suggests that doubts arising from difference in language between articles 358 and 359 are very innocently being sought to be resolved, but the real intention, as we shall have occasion to say later, and as Shri Chatterjee has suggested, is to extinguish the fundamental rights.

Government has very thoughtfully supplied us with copies of the judgment of the Supreme Court, and I hope Government had also thoughtfully assumed that members of Parliament would not take the trouble of going through it. But if one does go through it, one discovers that the real game is something very different from what the Minister has stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar, apart from saying so many other things, to which I need not make a reference, has stated very clearly that if Parliament legislates in order to afford indemnity to the Executive in respect of illegal acts of detention, then, I am quoting his words, "the validity and the effect of such legislative action may have to be carefully scrutinised." This is, in the characteristically guarded language of our judiciary, a warning administered by the Supreme Court regarding the liability of the Executive for wrongful detention after the emergency is going to be lifted.

I remember that the Law Minister in the other House possibly, tried to pooh-pooh members of the Opposition who had pointed this out and said that Government could afford to pay compensation, Government did not bother about indemnification of actions done in violation of the Constitution. He is now trying to circumvent the position, and the only weapon he knows is the bludgeon of a Constitutional amendment.

And in regard to this, I wish to submit to you for your very serious consideration the fact that he is proposing retrospective operation of the amendment, he is trying to indemnify the executive in regard to actions,

*L.S. *Deb.*, 24 April 1964 [The Bill lapsed on the dissolution of the Third Lok Sabha].

illegal actions, of detention. But article 34 of the Constitution lays down very clearly that such indemnification would be provided only in relation to acts done during a Martial Law period. An emergency, however, is by no means tantamount to Martial Law. Yet that sort of an attempt at indemnification is going to take place. Instead of following the advice given to Government by Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar and his brother judges, instead of coming before Parliament to rectify the defects in the Defence of India Act and the rules so that it did not militate against the Constitution, Government has chosen this course which is the most dangerous procedure. After all we have a written Constitution which puts an obligation on our judges to interpret and after all it is only in our judiciary that we can expect that independence, real and true, to be in operation. This right of the judiciary is sought to be taken away, not even on a plea that the country is socio-economically to advance the fundamental interests of our country's development; this might be some warrant for deviation from a rigid interpretation of the law. Nothing of that sort of formulation is being put forward by the Government, but Government tries only to expand the power of the executive, an executive which is pilloried every day of its existence, in this House and outside, for its acts of omission and commission ranging from corruption and inefficiency to God-knows—what other default. This is the Executive which is trying to arrogate to itself powers in violation of the rights of the Judiciary, in violation of the fundamental tenets of the Constitution and it is therefore that we wish to oppose with all our strength the introduction of the Bill which the Law Minister wishes to bring up before the House.

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I referred to article 34 where it is laid down that indemnification of acts done in violation of some provision of the Constitution could only be offered by means of legislation if those acts referred to a Martial Law period, in a region where Martial Law was in application. Declaration of Emergency is very different kettle of fish, very different from the operation of Martial Law. Therefore, indemnification with retrospective effect is something which goes against the spirit and the letter of article 34 and it is from that point of view that you and this House should consider this matter.

Mr. Speaker, when the proceedings are coming to a close it is customary to make a few observations during the third reading. Our memory goes back to the days of the last Parliament when Shri Nath Pai had brought in a Bill to enable Parliament to amend the Constitution, to re-assert the right of Parliament which has been countered by a judicial decision. I am glad the Prime Minister has taken her cue from what Shri Manoharan has mentioned about Shri Nath Pai's Bill. But I would have been happier if the Government had, in the very first session of the new Parliament, brought forward this Bill. I wish they had referred to some of the material which had been placed before the Joint Committee which was formed by this Parliament and in that case we could have got a measure which was more in conformity with the needs of the day. But anyhow we are passing a measure which was very important but I wish to tell Government that Government is on its trial. When the Law Minister yesterday moved his Motion, I went up to him to tell him that before the House passes this measure it would be necessary for Government to take the House into confidence and to give us some idea about the programme of implementation of measures which the Government has in view. But I feel, Sir, that Government perhaps is not as serious about it as some of the speeches on that side tended to suggest. Government has told us over and over again that they have massive mandate from the people and they were doing it because people have sent them to this House with that mandate. I wish Government to remember what Abraham Lincoln on the occasion of his inaugural address said in March 1861:

> "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

If the Government does not take note of the impatience in the country to which reference has been made by some of the speakers on the other side, then Government is going in for a bad time. I found Government talking in legalistic manner when Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray was speaking. I know him for such a long time that our relations are such that I need not speak

* *L.S. Deb.*, 4 August 1971.

£ [The Bill which was aimed at amending articles 13 and 368 of the Constitution of India, became 'The Constitution (Twenty-Fourth Amendment) Act, 1971'].

about them but I was recalling a limerick which used to be very well circulated in the precincts of the Calcutta High Court a little before Shri Ray joined our library which stressed how our people—this was round about 1946-47—so legal minded thought by some sort of legal manoeuver we could get things done. The limerick ran somewhat like this:

"He thought, he saw a Congressman
A-spinning with a wheel.
He looked again and saw it was
A practising *vakeel.*
"If we should lose Swaraj", he said,
"We'll win it on appeal"."

That was the kind of feeling we had. By legal strategy you are not going to get a kind of society which the people want to achieve in this country. At one time we used to hear the expression 'divine discontent'. Now, all over—particularly among the youth of our country—there is 'divine impatience'. There is desire to do away with the rotten and corrupt structure of society and economy which subsists today with the patronage of so many in power in the Government of this country. This 'divine impatience' has to be taken into consideration and action has to follow. The country is prepared to give all powers to the Government provided action follows. Only yesterday Shri Hanumanthaiya spoke defending the idea of saloons for few people who are entitled to them because it is a prescriptive right which he did not want to disturb. They do not want to disturb the prescriptive rights.

Today, the Prime Minister has told us so many good things; Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam has said so many good things, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray yesterday told us so many good things. The Law Minister spoke in his own way. But he is a complete lawyer, with an "eat". He spoke in his own way. But I want to find out what exactly they are going to do what assurance they are going to give us.

Are they going to tell us that price-page schedule, which was recommended by the majority of the Small Newspapers' Inquiry Committee, of which I happened to have been a member, which has not been implemented, which has not been legalised because of some difficulties in regard to the Fundamental Rights Chapter, are they going to give an undertaking to this House that the price-page schedule is going to be adopted? Are they going to give an undertaking to this House that in regard to bank nationalisation for which we have had to pay such a stupendous amount of money which this country neither in law nor in reason nor in justice could ever afford, they are going to reopen the matter? Are they going to give an undertaking to the

country that in regard to general insurance they are going to take such steps as are in conformity with the rights of the people? Are they going to give an assurance to the people that in regard to the oil barons from abroad, who are now exploiting our country in the most shameless manner, we shall take steps in regard to expropriating their ill-gotten gains on the soil of India?

But that sort of thing is not forthcoming. That is why we feel that it is necessary for Government to wake up to the fact that time is running fast and that, therefore, something has got to be done. Even Jawaharlal Nehru had woken up to the fact that everything had to hurry in this country. But things have not hurried in this country. The kind of change expected of the Government has not been done. That is why we have our reservations; we have our misgivings; we have all sorts of suspicions in regard to how the Government is going to operate this power which has been placed in the hands of Parliament since Government has got a massive majority in Parliament.

I know, I will not get anything very worth while, but at least at the third reading stage some pious resolution, a little more concretely expressed, in regard to their projected implementation programme should be given to us. Without that announcement of a project implementation programme of socio-economic reform, this sort of things does not appear to be worth very much more than a legal exercise, an exercise in ingenuity and eloquence of sort to which we have been treated here.

Anyhow, we have had an interesting and sometimes an impressive debate and I am glad that we are putting on the statute book something which enables Parliament to the last word in regard to the Constitution of our country.

THE CONSTITUTION (FORTY-FOURTH AMENDMENT) BILL, 1976*£

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I have listened with much interest and some admiration to the ardent speech just concluded by my friend, Shri Sathe. I am happy he has helped me to some extent because a little while ago, when I happened to be listening to a part of the eloquence of my friend, Mr. Stephen, I was rather befogged and I was not quite sure if there weren't influences at work inside the Congress Party which wanted to do some damage to the intention of Government as promulgated by the Law Minister yesterday when he put forward this proposition of the Constitution Amendment. I do not wish to dilate on it at any length, but I am sure this House would not even touch with a pair of tongs the idea of having a Constituent Assembly, convoked howsoever, you can try to comprise it, by perhaps including all of ourselves and a lot of other people from everywhere and then to leave to the Kalends the destiny of the Constitutional Amendments which this country's Government had promised to the people quite some years ago and which they are now seeking to perform. Mr. Stephen was apprehensive that the judiciary would take a very stern stand and since according to the majority version of the judiciary's opinion there is a basic structure of the Constitution which my friend, Shri Gokhale yesterday very rightly dismissed as a figment of the imagination howsoever sophisticated, Mr. Stephen was afraid that the judges might turn round and confront Parliament any say, "Constitutional Amendments? Our foot! we do not accept this because you have touched again the basic structure of the Constitution. You go back.!", just as they did at the point of time when bank nationalisation and abolition of privy purses was stalled by our very learned judiciary. I do not wish to reflect on them. I have no intentions of doing so, but the result has been dismal. I am glad that almost in the manner that we speak in this House. Shri Gokhale even said that the country had to pay through its nose on account of the judicial wisdom then displayed. It seems Mr. Stephen was afraid that judges would again have a revolt and we would have something unprecedented in the history of the world that judges, learned in the law and interpreting whatever there is of legislation and other things would challenge the country's Parliament. I do not envisage such a possibility. I do not attribute such folly to our judiciary. I have great respect for their intellectual acumen and for

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 26 October 1976.

£ The Bill was aimed at amending various provisions of the Constitution, including the Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles of State Polity and the Preamble. It also proposed to include a new Part IVA on "Fundamental Duties" 'The Bill became 'The Constitution (Forty Second Amendment) Act, 1976'.

their understanding of social processes which if some of them do not like, they have to lump and, therefore, I do not have any apprehensions in that regard. I do not think the House need to have any apprehension. But I was disturbed to learn that here was a tendency to denigrate the whole of Parliament which, as the spokesman of the Government, the Law Minister put forward yesterday, and it is rather unnerving that inside the, Congress Party there is such an ardent fear in regard to Parliament not having the right, which the Law Minister has said it has and the Law Minister was entirely correct. Therefore, this bogey and this ghost of a Constituent Assembly of whatever sort and this effort to delay the legislation which has been delayed long enough already, must go and this ghost must be exorcized and there must not be the remotest idea of giving any credence to the notion which is being tom-tom-ed all over by certain people that this Parliament has lost its sanction and therefore, this Parliament has not got the authority to amend the Constitution. They are good enough to concede that Parliament has the power to amend the Constitution even, perhaps, in regard to basic matters but that this Parliament has lost its sanction. I do not think we can agree to that proposition at all. Parliament functions and we are functioning at a critical point of time and if we mean business. If the Emergency is really and truly to produce result that the country's people expect of us, if the 20-Point Programme is really and truly going to give a better deal than they used to get for generations, this Parliament here and now has an immediate duty and responsibility of proceeding as expeditiously and as efficiently as it ever is possible with those programmes of socio-economic re-construction to which we are all committed. Therefore, under the cover of some footling little quasi-legal excuse, they cannot tell us that this Parliament has lost its sanction. The Law Minister has told them that this Parliament has not lost its sanction. On a purely literal interpretation of the law, the life of Lok Sabha has been extended fairly and squarely—all the world knows about it—after full discussion with many people dissenting. We have this sanction according to the law in letter and in spirit and above everything *salus populi suprema lex*, the welfare of the people is the supreme law and it is to that alone that this Parliament can yield and from that angle, we say that this is the proposition put forward by Mr. Stephen with such gusto. Sometimes, the eloquence becomes a little too jarring but I was astonished that so much of ardour was behind this feeling which runs counter to what the Law Minister was telling us yesterday in regard to this somewhat voluminous Constitution (Amendment) Bill.

Our position has been stated clearly and I hope, cogently to most of you yesterday. And after yesterday's session, when I went back I discovered in my mail, by a very significant accident two documents, one with a Washington post-mark, sent to me by an organisation calling itself 'Indians for Democracy' and a person calling himself J. Kumar writes and signs on behalf of this

organisation 'Indians for Democracy'! These chaps who run away from the country, who cause brain-drain, these mercenaries of whatever type, have the gumption to write to us calling us 'Dear members of Parliament, you represent a million of voters and so on and so forth and you should beware of, what they call, extra constitutional destruction of our Constitution and it adds: 'The Prime Minister would have the power to change the Constitution at her own will—which means that she has decided to institutionalize her dictatorship. In law, this is an act which amounts to a coup.' do not have the times gap is it useful to read this miserable document in this House. It is a sort of accusation not only against the Government of India particularly against the Prime Minister even personally, but against the honour and self-respect of the entire Indian nation. I don't think it is a representative body, but wherever they are—perhaps backed by certain interests—they even take the initiative in criticizing from a juristic point of view provisions in our Constitution Amendment Bill. Americans have written articles suggesting that such-and-such things should be done, and such-and such other should not be done by the Parliament of India. They have the gumption to do that sort of thing. May be they are all behind this sort of effort, but I got this in my dak only last night. I think most of you might have got it.

I also got another fairly long document, one and half pages of typescript, signed by a large number of people, not only the wrong sort of people, wrongheaded sort of people according to me; but also signed by a large number of people—some very good journalist friends of ours, intellectuals, college lecturers, professors, readers etc. in JNU including even Jawaharlal Nehru's latest and almost officially sponsored biographer who has now gone to Paris representing our country in the UNESCO or somewhere. They have all signed a statement which again refers not only to considerations of procedure which should make, according to them, Parliament halt, but also to "the enormity of the substantive changes" contemplated by Shri Gokhale. This I consider a little more dangerous than the thing which comes from America which I put in the waste-paper basket. But there are many people in our country, many of them very well-intentioned, and I dont't think congenitally opposed to what the country wants to do. They are supporting it. That is why there is some misunderstanding in the country, for some good reasons, about what the Government truly intends through this particular constitutional amendment. And this is why, as far as I understand, it was pointed out clearly from our party, that this bill is rather too loose and large a package. It is not quite like a curate's egg which is good in parts and therefore uneatable. We are not throwing it away. We have, on the contrary, accorded it our welcome, but there are superfluities which have to be discarded; there are things which have to be purged; there are inadequacies which have to be corrected and there are positive mischief-making provisions which, Parliament should say, should not pass muster. And, therefore, as we

accord our support to the Bill we wish to point out to government that there are features in it which should be discarded; there are many provisions which should be amended and then we can go ahead the way in which my friend Shri Sathe suggested a little while ago.

It is a good thing that at long last the principle of Parliament's control over the constitutional process is being asserted with real strength and assurance and confidence by the Government of this country. Government hesitated earlier; even in the third Parliament when the late Shri Nath Pai's Bill was in the picture, there were many hesitant voices, and that is on account of the fact which Shri Gokhale also referred to, that usually people with a purely professional legal background discuss these matters. They always think in terms of what happens in the court. It so happens that in the case of many of our political sufferers particularly after independence, because of our having a Constitution. Fundamental Rights and all that, there are friends of ours, who can be named, there are umpteen names, people who have gone to court and got relief against the Government. There are many such cases. Most of us have been in detention or something like that even after independence. We tried to approach the courts and get some relief. There is, therefore, a residue of a certain respect for the judiciary as an upholder of individual freedom, which could perhaps conceivably be trusted a great deal more than the politicians in power, whoever they may be. On account of the juxtaposition of these two factors, the legal people discussing these matters in their own professional technical way and everybody getting more and more befogged. and some political sufferers also coming forward and giving certificates of excellence to the judiciary as the safeguarding process in our civil rights, these two things combined to produce in the public mind an idea that the judiciary could be trusted a great deal more than the Parliament could be for the sake of some liberty or the other.

It is strange how Shri Frank Anthony for example, a long-standing member of the House, a very eloquent person, a highly intelligent one also—he has got a bee in his bonnet, the minority rights—fears that whichever Government comes into power, the minorities would be at their mercy and that the judges can save them. Where did he get this idea? What kind of paradise does he exist in? How did he imagine that life is ordered that way? Does he not know that the world is a tempestuous place, disturbed by hundreds of phenomena, and out of this life is emerging into higher levels, and the judges sitting in their ivory towers can never be expected to be the protectors of the liberties of the minorities, including particularly his own little Anglo-Indian community, a community which in the days before independence, for various reasons which were justifiable, found themselves usually on the side of the foreign ruler? But in spite of it, after independence the democratic sentiment of India gave them a status, and Shri Anthony and his friends, they are still in

Parliament and they have got representation far beyond the numerical proportion of their people, because this country, after all, in spite of whatever might be said against our inadequacies has a basic decency and that is why our country's leadership was a free country's leadership and protection was given. Does he expect that protection to be kept up by the judiciary? If the country's climate goes against X Community or Y community how can they be protected, except by the wider public opinion of the country which the Government represents? And there is no better way of getting to know what the public opinion is except by going to the hustings and having the elections and finding it out. Therefore, the reliance must be on the people themselves and whoever they happen to choose. They might make errors, they might choose the wrong people; some of us might be there, managing things badly. But, that apart, you must rely on the people whoever they are, when they are the representatives of the people. Judges can never, save them. The judges, by the definition, are people who are to interpret the *status quo:* they cannot go beyond that. But the law has to be expanded. Life is an ever-changing process. You never bathe in the same river twice. Things are altering every moment of our existence. We have to organise that life in a political texture. That is the job of Government, because it is the Government which is answerable to the people through the mandate, renewable by timely elections. We have to depend, therefore, on the political aspect of the State rather than on the judicial aspect for the safeguard of any of the rights and liberties which we cherish.

The power in the state therefore, always resides in the people. Abraham Lincoln, who had given the definition of democracy as government of the people, by the people, for the people, possibly the best and the most significant definition of democracy had also said in another context that the people, when they are not satisfied with their Constitution, have the constitutional right of amending the Constitution, and also the revolutionary right of overthrowing the Constitution. The people have that right. If the combination of forces leads to a revolution where change happens in very different fashion then you have to yield to it because these are impersonal forces, much larger and more powerful than what any individual can muster and, therefore, Abraham Lincoln, of all people, spoke of the right of the people even to overthrow the Constitution.

This reminds me of something which was written in the Seventeenth Century by Sir John Harrington. which many of you might know: "Treason doth never prosper, what is the reasons? For, if it prospers none dare call it treason". You do not call it treason then, if it prospers. It is the law and your Judges with their wigs and everything will have to interpret that law. It is, therefore, the people's own safeguard, the *roksha kavach*, which they might wear. They are interested in their own struggle for a better life, and it is the

people who can help, no other and Mr. Anthony's or any other persons' dependence on the judiciary is absolutely misplaced. Life is not a matter of Judges quibbling over the citation of precedents culled from Black stone, Middleton and Fortescue and heaven knows what other jurists. Life is very much more. America has a written Constitution which the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States have so often to interpret. America has produced Judges like Oliver Wendell Holmes who said that the life of the law is not in logic, but in experience, and experience can be interpreted not by the secluded cloistered virtues of the judiciary, experience can be interpreted creatively and constructively by the people who are in public life.

I am also glad that my friend, Shri Gokhale had referred in passing to the long United States history of judicial stolidity in their resistance to genuine reforms, and he had also referred to the fact of the Judges' majority in some cases being so peculiar a phenomenon. I remember that in the great Moghul case which put the seal, so to speak, on the right of the working class to form trade unions and that sort of things, ultimately the decision was by four to three. The Appeal Court of the United Kingdom made a four to three decision. And we cannot leave to the mercies of that kind of decision the destinies of the entire people.

This is why we find among our Judgs also an idea that there should be and there could be what one of them called "plastic surgery of the Indian Constitution", and I think Shri Gokhale has attempted some sort of plastic surgery of the Indian Constitution. They also conceive of "jural architecture", which is another expression which I culled down from the speech of one of our peripatetic Supreme Court Judges. How the jural architecture of Shri Gokhale ultimately turns out is, of course, for the future to see. But, in any case, constitutional change is a job for the people and Parliament, as their organ voice, is the seat, the repository of power in this regard, and there should not be any further deviation from this stand. And this is why I have been driven to this long diversion, so to speak, by Mr. Stephen's idea that Parliament possibly should hold its hand in fear of what the judiciary might do. I just cannot conceive of that sort of judicial revolt taking place in this country.

It might perhaps be said that the debate that has taken place over this Constitution Amendment legislation has not been adequate. Perhaps it has not been adequate, but delay would be disastrous.

Let us not delay it any longer. Besides, Mr. Swaran Singh and his Committee have done a fairly good job of it. They have wandered all over the country and asked for memoranda. If they did not come from certain people, it is not their fault, and to the extent that was possible they have done it. There might have been some mistakes on their part, some failures to

meet some representatives, but that apart, on the whole, they have done a good job and we should not attach any importance to those who say that there has not been adequate debate in the country; this kind of thing is often said. More often than not, it is said by people who are mischievously motivated. I do not want to expand on them. Yesterday, my friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta had referred to this because we find some strange companions huddled together and poised in a manner which seems to be utterly senseless, because it is utterly perspectiveless, utterly obvious of what is possible in this country to achieve in the near future; and it is in the near future that we are interested, in the long run, we shall all be dead. We want some improvement, some tangible improvement in the living conditions of our country. The sooner the better. As it was said yesterday and today also, that has been the running note of all our speeches. Since 1969, we have been entrusted by our people to take up this responsibility of giving a new qualitative slant to our Constitution.

I now come down to some specific matters. In the preamble we find inclusion of the words 'socialist' and 'secular'. We have welcomed it. As everybody would expect, we would welcome it, but let us make sure that we perpetrate not a pious fraud on the people. Socialism is still an aspiration, not an achievement. Socialism is definable in a variety of ways, but to us it seems, for the time being, anyway, not an affluent society, but a nonexplotative society. That is the society we want to have as quickly as we can and we go ahead towards it. If that is remembered, it will be a very good thing, because we have put this matter in our Constitution. I do not know however why Government have fought shy of tackling the idea of taking out the fundamental right to property as it is now formulated in our Constitution. Now, let nobody get an impression that Marxists are a lot of terrible people who have declared war on property. Actually, it was Proudhon, a French Socialist of the 19th Century who coined the phrase "Property Is Theft"; and against Proudhon, Marx had to conduct polemics of the bitterest sort. In Marx's "Das Kapital" in the historical chapter on capital which is readable—anybody can read them with great profit to himself—he refers to the expropriation of capital and uses deliberately the words "capitalist private property". He says that the capitalist integument bursts as under and the expropriators are to be expropriated. When he uses the words "capitalist private property", this distinction has to be kept in mind. I am sorry, if I sound slightly professorial, but this distinction is important. If you go to the Soviet Union or other socialist countries, for that matter, including China, you will find that individual property has always been respected. I am referring also to what was said in the Constituent Assembly days by such people as Professor K.T. Shah and even by Dr. Ambedkar in regard to this matter.

Prof. K.T. Shah had proposed that in place of the present Article 39 (b), namely, that "the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good", the following should be substituted:

> "that the ownership, control and management of the natural resources of the country in the shape of mines and mineral wealth, forests, rivers and flowing waters...shall be vested in and belong to the country collectively and shall be exploited and developed on behalf of the community by the State."

This he had said on 22 November 1948.

He had also proposed that article 39(c) should read like this:

> "that there shall be no private monopolies in any form of production of material wealth, social service, or public utilities."

He had put in these proposals.

Then, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's draft of the Constitution (24 March, 1947), included provisions such as the following:

"That key industries shall be owned and run by the State;

That agriculture shall be a State industry;

The farm shall be cultivated as a collective farm.

It shall be the obligation of the State to finance the cultivation of the collective farms by the supply of water, draught animals, implements, manure, seeds etc."

These are the words of Dr. Ambedkar himself. He said, "I want something like State socialism. Let us not quarrel over words; let us try to understand the substance." He said:

> "Critics of State socialism, even its friends, are bound to ask: why make it a part of the constitutional law of the land? Why not leave it to the legislature to bring it into being by the ordinary process of law? The reason why it cannot be left to the ordinary law is not difficult to understand. One essential condition for the success of a planned economy is that it must not be liable to suspension or abandonment. It must be permanent....Those who want the economic structure of society to be modelled on State Socialism must realise that they cannot leave the fulfilment of so fundamental a purpose to the exigencies of ordinary law..."

Porf. K.T. Shah also made an impassioned speech in the Constituent Assembly. I am quoting his words. He said:

> "The civilised cannibal of our time, the blood sucker, is the exploiter who is highly honoured, who is often titled, who is very fully represented in this House also and is, therefore, also to dictate to you and inspire you in innumerable ways, as to how you shall provide for his safety in the Constitution itself, so that he could get a new lease of life."

This he said on 22 November, 1948.

Don't blame us when we use such words. "Blood sucker" is the word that he used. Mahatma Gandhi had said in 1922, how the town dwellers in India enjoy some comforts, "miserable little comforts"—these are his own words—which represent "the brokerage that they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter; the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses." These are not my words. I have quoted these words before also in this House. These are the words of Mahatma Gandhi uttered in the court in Ahmedabad on 18 March 1922 when he was sentenced to six years imprisonment.

These exploiters are here, there and everywhere. Like the frogs of Egypt, they dip in our dish, they sup in our cup, they are with us everywhere and they give us no end of trouble. That is why today this country gives a whopping bonus for the Tatas and Birlas. You read the profit reports of the companies, the dividend rates and the way in which, without spending a single penny, Hindustan Lever and others of their ilk build up enormous enterprises.

Today, in our country the conditions are so bad that in the name of some compensation from Pakistan after the 1965 war, the enemy property was supposed to have been exchanged and compensation money was paid to landlords from East Bengal. I have a list here. This is a paper which has reported this whole list and, I think, in the Rajya Sabha, the figures were produced to show how some miserable Bengal landlords have got money between Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs.

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Only about 89 individuals and Companies like DCM, Mohini Cotton Mills and so many others I cannot name have got compensation to the extent of Rs. 9 crores and 38 lakhs and odd while 1284 people have got less than one lakh. Millions remained un-compensated and the money which came out of them goes to people who are here, there and everywhere. These are the people they suck the life-blood of the economy. It is sucked away by these

people whose rights you are now going to safeguard. Why don't you say let there be individual property up to a certain quantum? You can define it in your own fashion. There is no quarrel about your putting a curb; let there not be un-mitigated right to property because, in that case, the course would naturally interpret it in the way the law is explained to them by the fabulously paid lawyers. (I am quoting again Shri Gokhale) Perhaps Shri Swaran Singh used the words 'fabulous fees' paid to the lawyers who argue for the people. This right to property has got to be there. Otherwise, how are you going to satisfy the people? The people would be afraid and naturally so because everyone has expectations of having some property—'a pie in the sky when we die'. We are hoping that everybody will come to have property some time or the other. Therefore, let us not take away the right to property. Tell the people that their right to property is not to be taken away but, on the contrary, the right to individual property will be safeguarded perhaps in a more generous way than in the socialist countries. But unmitigated right to property, absolute right to property must go; it cannot co-exist with our social pattern. The Prime Minister must apply her mind to the matter because she has to say the word before the Government can move. Let us consider this aspect of it. *'Garibi Hatao'* was a slogan which has remained yet unfulfilled. And when *'Garibi'* is *'hatoed'* what happens? Do the property owners remain where they are? Are they entitled to behave the way they do? Are the monopoly houses and individuals fattening on their resources to continuing this manner? I don't know how many of these people have got between Rs. 5 lakh and Rs. 10 lakh. A sum of even Rs. 1 crore 11 lakh was given to the Patrapola Tea Company Ltd., Calcutta for whatever they left in East Bengal. I don't know whether monies are being collected from these people through income-tax, wealth tax, capital gains tax and other revenue which you have a right to impose. These people are having the run of the land; they are today on top of the world. Some of these miserable smugglers and others are, on the whole not unhappy; we know that. We see at the same time, the money-bags generally prospering. I know that workers in industries and even cinema workers were locked out by the owners when they don't get anything like human pay, let alone bonus and other things, while the unfettered right of these money-bags goes on. The right to property has got to be controlled. If you cannot control the right to property and if you cannot regulate this matter, all this talk about socialism is bunkum. As I said earlier, let us not perpetrate a pious fraud on the people.

I am not bringing up any allegations against the Government because it might be that I would have to find some sort of a place outside. I still have some faith in the *bona fides* of Government and I do not know that, deep, down in your hearts most of you want the reconstruction of the country nearer to the hearts' desire of the common people. Who does not want to eliminate exploitation?

Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday is coming. He once quoted Tawney and said that you cannot leap over an abyss in two jumps; you have to make one jump to cross an abyss. He quoted another man who had said that onions could be eaten leaf by leaf but you cannot kill a tiger paw by paw because he will be killing first. You cannot skin a live tiger paw by paw. As you can eat an onion by breaking it leaf by leaf, you cannot do it. You have to take some special steps. I do not say: go ahead and cause a lot of damage to the country, intimidate everybody and that sort of thing. Bernard Shaw once said: "I am impatient for revolution; I shall be jolly happy if the revolution happens tomorrow. But being an average coward, I want you to make the revolution in as gentlemanly a manner as possible." Go ahead. Make the revolution in as gentlemanly a manner as possible but make the revolution. If you do not make the revolution—it need not be with a big 'R'—do not shout too loudly about it. I know that world history is much too complicated. Many things are involved in this matter. But do some thing, and if you have to do that, move in this matter in regard to the right to property; you have to make a move which I am sure I have indicated by a long enough string of words. I do hope that something would be done in this regard.

I do not wish to take very much more time. But I do not like this idea of 'anti-national activities' which Government have incorporated in their Bill. Under anti-national activities, there is no doubt, the sufferers—if our experience is any guide and there is no other guide—would be the poorer people. Anti-national activities are indulged in, mostly, by moneyed interests. But they cannot be touched beyond a certain limit. The poorer people are touched all the time. Now if there is a movement of some sort, it becomes anti-national. How can it become anti-national? You keep curbs.

Have not people responded to the Prime Minister's appeal for discipline? Or, is it a coerced disciplines? It is a voluntary acceptance by the people after considerable thought. Even those of us who got a jolt, who in the beginning could not accept what the Prime Minister did when she clamped down the Emergency, accepted it later. I, for one personally, did take some time to reconcile myself to it. But when we understood the realities of the situation, did not we voluntarily and entirely accept the idea of national self discipline? Did not our people respond magnificently when they could have acted, if they had wanted to, in an irresponsible and mischievous fashion? After all, they are accustomed to many things which are easy to manipulate—the hope of those who are trying to do damage to this country in a basic fashion. We have the wherewithal for creating trouble. If only we put the match to the cinder, there would be a flame. But our people responded. What has Government done in order to reciprocate this response of the people? And this is where I would say: trust your people. Surely, you do trust your people,

and if you trust people, do not put upon them the kind of clog which you have put in this sort of way.

This reminds me of the six-year term for Lok Sabha that you have suggested. At one time the British House of Commons had a six-year term. Under the Parliament Act of 1911, they got a five-year term, but very generally they have had earlier dissolutions because of their own special political reasons. A period of five years was thought to be a good enough period and the saving provision was also there that, in case of Emergencies, the life could be extended. But why suddenly extend it to six years and invite the gratuitous criticism of your fear of going to the hustings? If you are not afraid—and you should not be afraid—why have you put in this Clause here? Why not keep the term as it is—five years? If, for any special reason, anything very emergent has to be done that is a different matter altogether. About that, one cannot make a prognostication. I do not know why you have put this. This suggests some fear of the people which you need not have and which you should not have. You have the ear of the country. Whether the country likes it or not, today, they have to give you the ear. That reminds me of this: why not revive the Feroze Gandhi Act, so that the parliamentary reporting can be freer than it has been? That apart you have the ear of the country. You can tell them. Tell them with genuine sincerity, and the Prime Minister can. With all our differences, I am sure, we have to admit this. When she speaks, she tries to uphold the honour and the self-respect of this country particularly when facing cantankerous foreign audiences, who though they have an outward appearance of gentility have never forgiving freedom for India. We know all that. Can't she go and do something about it and appeal to the people and tell them that the curbs on their truly democratic rights are not going to be adopted by the Government in the way that we fear, the Constitution would authorise a functioning bureaucracy, which is a slimy and completely disgusting apparatus altogether. You think of the kind of things which are done for years and years, how bottlenecks in the administration cannot be cleared even by the political leadership. Even though there are exceptions genuine people, real good people are working in our administrative and other services, but generally speaking, we have a bureaucracy, which is so rooted in past practice and has certain degradations. Unless you can supplement what the bureaucracy does by the voluntary work of political minded young people nothing good would happen. Therefore, in these conditions, surely you have to keep out all those curbs on democratic rights to which a reference has been made yesterday in Shri Indrajit Gupta's speech and also very desultorily and cursorily by myself today.

I quite realise that I am taking too much time of the House, but there is only one other matter and that is in regard to clause 59 about which Shri Gokhale said yesterday that this is the Henry the VIII clause, which is

there in the Statute for 400 years. Please do not revive Henry the VIII memory, particularly in these days. I would like the Law Minister to correct, if I am wrong, but I have an idea that it is only in regard to ordinary statutes where this sort of a thing is put to overcome certain difficulties in the execution etc. This might happen in the case of almost every Statute, but this is a super Statute; this is the law of laws. One trouble with our Constitution is that it is too long and it is based on the Government of India Act of 1935. It includes everything. You look for a hare or a mouse, you can find it there. This is a big document. I am not going to cast any aspersions on the document. After all, it is the Constitution of our country. It is long and rambling and miscellaneous and sometimes a confusing document. But still it is a basic document, it is law of laws. If the law of laws do not put anything which appears to give the President a special power, which he might exercise in a special fashion. Why put it there at all? The only instance which he could give of difficulty arising was, whether the Chief Justice should ask the President to read out something or the President should ask the Chief Justice to read out something. Therefore, I feel that in our Constitution, there should not be anything which even remotely smacks of any potentially authoritarian device. There is no reason for it. If a revolution has to be conducted, it is the most authoritarian thing in the world, and it should certainly be practised, but otherwise there should be no suggestion of this. On the basis of the voluntarism, on the basis of the support which the Government can expect to command all over the country, we can go ahead with this legislation and after you have amended it, in certain ways, it could be acceptable to the likes of us who are ready to help you, but who also require to be helped by Government in order that your legislation conforms to the desires and wishes of the people.

THE HIGH COURT JUDGES (CONDITIONS OF SERVICE) AMENDMENT BILL, 1976*£

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have been noticing today the speed with which we are passing legislation after legislation and what we have just heard from our friend, Shri Somnath Chatterjee reinforces my conviction that every Bill before the House must go through the grime of a Select Committee for otherwise in the name of expedition Government in a hurry would come and get through legislation without adequate consideration. I cannot for the life of me understand however how Government can expect to answer many of the things which my friend, Shri Chatterjee has just raised and get away with it because discussion necessarily would require much longer time. Shri Chatterjee has referred to certain matters with which I am in agreement. I am sure the House would agree if it really applies its mind to the matter that the allurements offered to judges after retirement are something of a scandal. I recall how nearly 22 years ago I had to shout in this House because I had felt utterly humiliated at finding a highly respected ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court of the most independent disposition having been constrained to tread on the corridors of power, as Shri Chatterjee put it, in the expectation of some kind of a commission deserts being given to him. It was not that ex-judge's humiliation; it was a humiliation of the entire country. I do not also know, Sir, how Shri Gokhale would give, but, if it is a fact that a judge of the Delhi High Court has been deprived of his on account of a decision which he gave in the case of Kuldip Nayar or whoever else it may be. If that is a fact, Sir, it will take Government a lot of time before it leaves it down. If it is a fact, as I also seem to have learnt earlier it is a fact, that in Calcutta, superseding the authority of the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, the Governor of the State had the gumption to intervene and sack somebody over whom he had no jurisdiction whatever. I do not know what Government here was doing about this business and how a Governor of a State could have the presumption to intervence where the Chief Justice was the final authority beats my conviction.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 March 1976. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 24 April 1954, 18 May 1954 and 25 September 1964 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for sumptuary allowance to the Chief Justice of any High Court and also for increase in salary of the Judges and pension for the retired Judges, became 'The High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Act, 1976'.

We all are interested in the status of the judiciary because we expect our judiciary to act in the manner which is required by the country today. I do not accept some of the implications of Shri Chatterjee's observations but at the same time there is no doubt that judges should have the independence to which they are entitled. But here again I find, Sir, that our judges themselves have perhaps been often even more to blame than the executive. They also do their kind of lobbying in certain places and my friend, the Law Minister would remember how a few years ago we had to mention in this House the case of a former Chief Justice of a State High Court—I would not particularise because I do not relish scandals, but a Chief Justice of a particular State High Court was allegedly involved in certain activities which were openly noised about in the Press, which put forward certain plausible evidence also in support of those allegations and nothing could be done about it inspite of my having tried to take up the matter not only with the Law Minister but with the Prime Minister herself. Nothing happened and that particular ex-Chief Justice goes about the country making convocation speeches and preaching piety to the young.

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Now, possible this kind of judge also gets encouragement under the dispensation of today. I do not wish to be interpreted as making any impugnment of our judiciary because by and large our judges are a good lot. But there is this danger against which we have to fight but, Government so far has not done so. I am sure if this Bill had gone to a Select Committee the Select Committee could have business like sessions and certain things could have been incorporated. After retirement no allurements except in most exceptional instances of extraordinary academic excellence on the part of a judge who continues to retain his faculty and that sort of thing he might be occasionally called upon to do a few things, but some of our judges continue ever and ever with all kinds of assignments which are at the mercy of the executive is a scandal. The judges themselves have to be awake to this position and the executive should help the judges to that realisation.

Insofar as this particular Bill is concerned the main idea is that the judges' conditions of service should be improved. I have no quarrel with that. We should let the judges have the optimum conditions of service for their kind of work and when I find that the Law Minister has vouchsafed to us that the facilities which are open and admissible to Class I officers are not available to High Court judges, I say, go ahead. Give them those facilities. I do not object to the Bill in so far as those particular facilities are concerned but at the same time having said what I had earlier said I would stress certain things which do not seem to be particularly necessary. Is there any special reason why these ancillary benefits would take retrospective effect from 1 October 1974? I do not know why this particular bonanza should be made available to the judges. I do not know why a provision is made that judges of the High

Courts would have the facility of rent-free accommodation. This is perfectly alright but where a judge does not avail of the official residence he will be paid an allowance at the rate of twelve and a half per cent of his salary. I do not understand it because a judge who does not take advantage of rent-free accommodation placed at his disposal must have some special reasons. Possibly he owns a house or houses or he may have a lot of money and that is why he does not want official accommodation. If he does not want official accommodation why should he get special payment for it. Is it merely to put him at par with the other fellows? The other fellows are utilising official accommodation. Why do you have to put them at par? Is the judge only after money? No judge if he is worth his name should be after money. This may be truism but we have to make sure of certain things. The Law Minister himself had been a judge and he discovered, it was very difficult for a successful lawyer who has proved his mettle to become a judge because his income drops drastically. I know, Sir, that is a fact—though sometimes it is expressed in exaggerated form. I have heard in the precincts of this House the talk about a certain person, whom I shall not name, who is not perhaps a leading lawyer that he would not even accept the office of Speaker because he earns Rs. 50,000/- per month and I had intervened at that point when the conversation was taking place with the query whether he did actually pay income tax of income of no less than Rs. 50,000/- a month because I have statistics offered to me by Government which showed that that kind of income is shown by very few people and I hardly discover any of our leading lawyers in that list.

But, Sir, money is not everything. Or is it? Is not the Speaker's job an important enough job? Is not the Minister's job important enough? Did not the Law Minister accept the office of Minister at a very much lower salary not only because along with certain other ancillary advantages which all of us get in greater or lesser measure, the Ministers more than the members of Parliament—because of that we can make both ends meet—but also because of the opportunity of doing some service to the country that he agreed to become a Minister at a very lower salary than he got as High Court Judge? The salary of a High Court Judge was considered by him, quite appropriately, as being inadequate in so far as the ambitions and aspirations of high-earning lawyers are concerned.

Sir, I can understand aspiration for money, but only to a certain extent, not beyond that. Because where would you end at that rate? How much does the Speaker get? How much does the Prime Minister get? Why should everybody go on thinking only in terms of money?

I was reminded at one time talking of this desire for reaching out to a higher level than the other person, that Napolean used to be jealous of Julius

Caesar and Julius Caesar used to be jealous of Hannibal and Hannibal used to be jealous of Alexander and Alexander was jealous of Hercules who did not even exist. There is no end to jealousy. If jealousy on the score of the amount of money x, y or z earns is going to be the criterion, there is no end to it. And let not judges and other people or even Ministers in our country, let them not think in terms of the money that they get. They should get enough so that they do not have to worry over petty, trivial things. Keep them relieved of anxiety. But no more than that. Therefore, I ask, why should a Judge who has a house of his own and there are Judges who own houses in cities like Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay—why should they have this kind of allowance?

Then the Chief Justice of the High Court is proposed to be given a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 300 per mensem. It is very little. Shri Chatterjee's point is very valid—how much would remain after the income tax people really and truly get at the position? Luckily, they do not. But that is a different matter. Why give this pettyfogging amount of money, and why does he need to hobnob perhaps with the leaders of the executive? A Judge does not need to throw parties. What is the good of it? Let these Judges try to believe in our old maxim:

कौपीवन्त: खलु भाग्यवन्त:

It cannot be interpreted in literal terms, but to some extent, there is some virtue in abstinence. Why have this petty little sum thrown to them for other people to talk about? What is the good of it that we have this sort of thing given to these Judges?

I find also that it is proposed to increase the pension of the Judges by about 40 per cent and fix the maximum at Rs. 28,000 per annum in the case of the Chief Justice and Rs. 22,400 per annum in the case of other Judges. I do not wish to be considered mean. I do not mind pension being given, but should it be at this level, in our kind of country where the earnings of the average citizen are so little? The President of this country, when he retires may or not an affluent person, but when he retires how much do you give him? Rupees 1000 a month, no more than that, as long as he is alive. If the President of India can have a pension of Rs. 1,000 per month with Rs. 10,000 year for secretarial assistance and if he has to make do, why make a fetish? And very likely this man, this person who become the Chief Justice had been a success at the Bar and had accumulated money, had got gratuity-cum-x, y, z and other facilities, and has got money by the bagful. There is no doubt about it; most of these people are not people who are in need. We are not pleading for people who are suffering. But we are trying to make these people live very affluent lives. So where are we going? What is our philosophy?

If our expectation of the judges is that they must have their commitment to the country, they must also at the same time make a commitment which could be interpreted in terms of expenditure to the public exchequer. Why should we do this? By all means, close the gap; wherever there is a yawing fissure you do something about it; you plug the loopholes and that sort of things and give the judge so much that he does not have to worry; help him become an independent citizen of this country on whom everybody can rely; help him to show that he shares the spirit which would animate a country which wishes to rise to greatness, shall we do so by catering to their petty little trivial ambitions for a little more money in their pay packet? I do not understand this. The entire approach is wrong and that is why I say that this is not in conformity with whatever we say is our ideal today. This is not in conformity with the notion that there should be some commonality and suffering, that there should be some kind of attempt not at asceticism but at certain kind of living which would not be resented by the fact of inequality staring you in the face in the most scandalous fashion; that is why, let us not be too prodigal, let us not allow too many things.

But whom do I talk to? Government comes forward and says: this is the legislation which has to be passed; here you are, take it or leave it. What do I do? They have already proposed; I do not know who proposed but it was a good proposal, that every Bill in Parliament must go to a Select Committee so that we can discuss it properly. Talking in this manner, in an open forum is not always conducive to the ascertainment of certain decisions which could be helpful. Whom do I talk to? This will be passed just as it is with whatever little amendments the Law Minister in his condescension might chose to bring forward. But he has not done so. Whom do I talk to? What is the point? It is a most peculiar situation to which we have been reduced: give something today and say take it or leave it. It is not right. It could have been different. The Law Minister could have easily called a meeting of people and tried to formulate something.

But as I have said earlier, I have some fundamental objections to the very basis of this approach, even though I do not object to some little money going to the pockets of High Court Judges or to the Supreme Court Judges for that matter. But these matters of principle have to be given thought to what Shri Chatterjee has particularly pointed in regard to allurements being offered to judges, in regard to penalisation allegedly of certain judges who did not toe the line which the Executive wanted them to toe; in regard to those things this House must have satisfaction. We have all respect for the judges; but the judges on their part should also behave differently. A former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that is to say a former Chief Justice of India has been known to have been associated with some of the biggest black-guards in the industrial history of this country. Nothing has happened,

not even a clean exposure of the matter by Government; only some attempt was made from this side in order to put forward such a case. The judges also are not beyond blame. Today everybody blames everybody else. Judges also have to cure themselves. A national endeavour has to take place. I am afraid I see no signs of it. We have just got a readymade Bill and all I can say is: a few more rupees to the Judges pockets we do not mind, but certain principles are involved to which Government must give some answer.

POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY MATTERS

SITUATION IN KASHMIR*

In regard to the Kashmir situation we can certainly say that we welcome the decision which the Government have made and, as far as it goes, the settlement which has been arrived at with the Kashmir delegation is a settlement which we can unequivocally welcome. I say again as far as it goes because there are certain points in regard to which we would have liked the Government of India and the Kashmir leaders to have gone very much farther. But at any rate, a beginning has been made, a beginning in the right direction, a beginning which is fraught with immense potentialities as far as the future not only of Kashmir but of the rest of the country is concerned. And that is why we welcome the decision of the Government unequivocally even though with certain suggestions of our own regarding the kind of distance which should have been covered by the Government in this agreement.

Now it has already been said that there are certain implications of the Kashmir decision which have far-reaching consequences. The decision says, for example, that Kashmir is not going to have anybody who belongs to the tribe of *Rajpramukhs* and *Up-Rajpramukhs* in the rest of India and they are going to have a Head of the State elected by their own Assembly who would necessarily be authorised to take up that position by decree of the President of India. Now, this is a very important departure and this shows which way the wind is blowing. This shows that in Kashmir which has gone through fire, the people have a magnificent record of fighting against all the massed forces of obscurantism. Kashmir which has fought even after the tragic days of partition when the people of that area were placed in a cruel dilemma, well, Kashmir is now showing the way to the rest of India and Kashmir is coming forward to say that 'we are not going to have a *Rajpramukh*, we are not going to have a Prince or a Maharaja as the Head of the State but we are going to have as Head of the State somebody who will be democratically elected and approved, necessarily, by the *Rashtrapathi* of the Indian Republic'.

Now this naturally involves that certain other things are also done. I am sure my friends of the Kashmir Assembly would refuse to pay the sum of Rs. 15 lakhs which is now handed over to the Maharaja of Kashmir. I am sure the Head of the State of Kashmir would get no more than what the Governor of any other State in the Indian Union gets. It means also that what has

* *L.S. Deb.*, 7 August 1952. [Participating in the Motion re : 'Kashmir State', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 7 August 1952, 25 March 1953, 6 May 1964, 23 August 1965, 22 November and 6 December 1968 on a similar subject].

happened in Kashmir is a pointer to the rest of India and as has been pointed out from this side of the House. There are certain other areas of India where there are *Rajpramukhs* and *Up-Rajpramukhs* and all that tribe who have no right to be where they are, particularly in regard to Hyderabad. The Nizam of Hyderabad, we say it over and over again, has no right to be where he is. I am sorry that the other day the hon. Prime Minister said that there could be no question of disintegration of the Hyderabad State, that there could not be a *'Vishal Andhra'* or *'Samyukta Maharashtra'* and that sort of thing because it implied disintegration of Hyderabad. I do not know if that has anything to do with the sacrosanctity of the Nizam of Hyderabad, but I say, Sir, that the Prime Minister cannot do one thing in regard to Kashmir and yet another thing in regard to Hyderabad. I admit there might be several circumstances which might prevent us from doing overnight what we wish, should be done. But on this side of the House we have a sense of urgency which I believe Members on the other side do not feel. I am prepared to concede if the Prime Minister comes forward and says: 'Tomorrow I cannot get rid of the Nizam of Hyderabad' but I want him to come forward and say: 'It is my policy, as it has been the policy in regard to Kashmir, to do away with this tribe of exploiters who have been hand in glove with the imperialist exploiters of our country and who have no right to exist on the same terms and conditions which they have enjoyed for so long'. It is, therefore, only in the logic of things that we expect the Nizam of Hyderabad, for example, under whose aegis unspeakable atrocities had been committed, to share the same fate as the other Maharajas who are cluttering up all over the place in our country.

The other point which has been emphasised before and on which we feel gratification at the Government's decision, is the abolition of landlordism. Now, I know certain members of this House perhaps would be at very great pains to show that they have not really abolished landlordism in the way we wish it to be done. The hon. member who spoke a little while ago said that we were all over-enthusiastic about it. We have no wish-fulfilling ideas about what has happened. We know that there are certain limitations as far as the land reforms are concerned, but they are very definitely land reforms of a very important character and there is no getting away from this matter of principle, that landlords have been expropriated of their rights without any compensation having to be paid to them. That is the crux of the matter and that is the reason why the fundamental rights of our Indian Constitution cannot be applied *in toto* as far as Kashmir conditions are concerned.

Now, we all have our own view of the Constitution and we know that even though it is a document deserving all respect there are aspects of this Constitution against which we must raise our voice. In the chapter on Fundamental Rights at least there is one provision which is absolutely baneful,

which is absolutely disastrous to the interests of this country, and it is a very great thing that the Prime Minister is prepared to come forward and say that he is ready and willing to see that that particular provision in the Fundamental Rights in regard to adequate compensation for property rights should go. I have appealed to the Prime Minister once before, and even though he is not present for the time being I would make this appeal to him again. He enjoys a position, not only in the House but in his own Party and in the country, which is unique; if he says something the word goes. If he really believes that he should do away with a certain provision in our Constitution in regard to the fundamental rights of the vested propertied interests in the country, he should do away with it. He should call upon the Party without delay to take whatever steps are necessary in order to bring about this change. Now that he has already expressed his opinion. I would say he has seen the hand-writing on the wall. He knows how the people are moving not only in this country but all over Asia and all over the world. Therefore, what is happening in Kashmir is only an indication of what we have a right to expect in the different parts of the country also in the near future.

In regard to the motion which is before us, I would like to remind the House of the magnificent role which Kashmir has played throughout recent years: the fight for democracy, the fight for secularism, the fight for economic justice that has been conducted by Kashmir in a manner which really extorts our admiration, unstinted admiration. The people of Kashmir have been subjected to such pressure from Pakistan. After all, the overwhelming majority of the people of Kashmir are Muslims and we know how the religious mania has affected the minds and souls of our people in such a disastrous fashion. We know how incidious and how very dangerous is the appeal of this religious passion. We know how from the Pakistan side there has been this kind of attack. The Pakistani masses will find out that in Pakistan are the Nawabs of Chitral and Bhawalpur—and who knows how many other people—who are merrily having their own way and that in Kashmir the Muslim peasantry as well as the Hindu and Sikh peasantry are going to have a new kind of existence on account of this land reform. This is the right way, it is the only way of tackling the problem, the only way of eradicating communalism and that is exactly what Kashmir has done.

Then again we have found pressure on Kashmir—all kinds of reactionary sources, communal, reactionary sources inside Kashmir as well as outside, who have been there to raise all kinds of bogies. For example, it has been suggested from time to time that Jammu and Ladakh are areas where the Muslims are not in majority and therefore if there is going to be a plebiscite, let the Kashmir Valley have a separate plebiscite and let Jammu and Ladakh have a separate plebiscite. This kind of talk shows their irresponsibility, it shows how certain people are ready and willing in the conditions of today

to suggest that we can have unity only on the basis of religious colouration of particular areas. It is an invitation to the formation of States purely on the basis of religious passion and religious fanaticism. This is the kind of irresponsible statement which has been made. I am sure provision can be made in the Kashmir Constitution that the Constituent Assembly of that State is going to hammer out, whereby the legitimate rights of the people of Laddakh, for example, who might have some special requirements for their safeguards might be recognised. But to think of a separation of Jammu and Ladakh from Kashmir merely because in the Kashmir Valley the Muslims are in an overwhelming majority and in the other areas non-Muslims are in majority is absolutely disastrous to the future of our country, and that shows the kind of irresponsible methods to which feudal reaction, finding no way out of the difficult morass to which it has been driven today, is taking recourse.

We find also pressure from imperialism being put upon the Kashmiri people—not only upon the Kashmiri people but on the Government of this country. Already the attention of this House has been drawn by my hon. friend, Dr. Lanka Sundaram to the reaction of a certain section of the American Press to the decision made by the Government of India in regard to Kashmir. Now, Sir, *The New York Times*, for example, is extremely unhappy about the result of the negotiations between the Kashmir delegation and the Government of India, and in regard to the abolition of landlordism without compensation as also in regard to the question that the fundamental rights in the Constitution should not be applicable *in toto* to the case of Kashmir. *The New York Times* says that—"India's surrender on this question contradicts the spirit of the really genuine reform programme that has gone forward in India."

Now, this is fantastic. It says, "You in India are not prepared to abolish landlordism without compensation—you are doing the right thing." "In Kashmir they are abolishing landlordism without compensation, therefore, they are doing the wrong thing." And, therefore it suggests that that decision of the Government of India is something which is bypassing the United Nations, which is bypassing the interests the people of Kashmir. And it is going to give us advice gratis!—these people are very perturbed; also other organs of reactionary opinion in this country are very perturbed. They say what has happened is that India has acceded to Kashmir, not Kashmir to India. This sort of wisecracking is absolutely irresponsible, utterly frivolous and extremely dangerous to the future of our country.

What exactly are we going to do about the Kashmir problem? Are we going to push the people of Kashmir into the arms of the religious fanatics who are only waiting for an opportunity to grab them? Or are we going to act in conformity with the finest traditions of the national movement in India as well as in Kashmir? And if we do that, surely, we shall offer our hand of

friendship to the people of Kashmir. And that is exactly what is sought to be done. I wish it were done before, I wish it were done in a more radical fashion but it has not been done. In regard to the abolition of landlordism there must be certain lacunae. I do not know the details of the position—things have been kept out of the picture so to speak—but it has been said the reform does not apply to you if you have any number of fruit trees or orchards. I do not quite realise the situation—there must be something wrong somewhere, there must be some lacunae as far as land reforms are concerned. But we can go into that later. But the basic thing, abolition of landlordism without compensation that is a pointer which will give light and leadership to the rest of the country.

In regard to another matter also I want to go a little further than the Prime Minister is prepared to do. He has said in regard to the question of the withdrawal of the Kashmir case from the Security Council then we really cannot do it because there are so many difficulties. He said, "How can we withdraw the case?" "We have to face the world we have to face our people, we have to face facts." I quote his exact words—I took them down. Now, of course we have to face the world—we have nothing to be ashamed of—we have to face all the people, the people of India and of Kashmir, and we face the facts of the situation. And what do we see? We have had this question hanging fire before the Security Council for more than four years, nearly five years, and what has happened? We have very good reason to think that the predominant forces in the United Nations—which is the Anglo-American combination acting sometimes in uncomfortable combination but, generally speaking, acting in pursuance of their own vile imperialist interests—has been trying all these years to exploit the Kashmir situation, to keep the question hanging in mid-air, to have no settlement of the Kashmir question and if necessary, to be in a position to utilise certain territories in Kashmir for their own war-mongering and war purposes. This is exactly what they have been doing so far. It is not only Dr. Graham—for whom the hon. Prime Minister had many good words to say—who has shown patience and forbearance and that sort of thing. India has shown extraordinary patience and forbearance over this question. But how long is she to wait and how long is she going to wait for the pleasure of people whose *bona fides* we cannot possibly trust? That is exactly what is happening in the Security Council. Why can we not say, "We have given you a chance, more than a chance, all these four years and seven months to do something about the Kashmir situation." "You have not done it—you are dilly-dallying about it." The people of Kashmir are taking the matter into their own hands in a fashion which would soon make it clear to those areas even which might be under the occupation of the tribal intruders, and declare even to those people that they should join up with the rest of the Kashmiris in order to build up their country nearer to their heart's

desire. That is the position which has developed today and if necessary we are prepared for a plebiscite. I do not for a moment say that it should be said of us that we have forgotten our promises or that we do not stand by our declarations. Of course, we might have a plebiscite. But let us not have it as a condition precedent to a plebiscite that plebiscite would be conducted by some Admiral or General from America or some other satellite country of the United States. We want the plebiscite to be conducted under conditions which would satisfy us in regard to its fairness. If that happens, surely the Kashmiri people would have no difficulty at all in accepting the plebiscite.

In the course of the discussion several things were said to which I would only make a hurried reference. My hon. friend, Dr. Khare said that if we begin with the Nizam the rest will follow. A very good sentiment. I wish he sticks to it. But he went on to say a little later that in the present democratic set-up the princes simply adorn the *gadi* and so why should we disturb their comforts? This is exactly the position which friends on my left are advocating. They say in one breath that we are troubling the *Maharaja* of Kashmir and why should we not do the same thing with the *Nizam* of Hyderabad. We say that we want to get rid of these very estimable gentlemen from our country. They have exploited us for too long. But then those very friends come forward and say a little later that the princes in today's dispensation are only constitutional monarchs and they would do no evil to India and therefore these estimable gentlemen need not be disturbed. We may talk to them and we shall find out how wonderful their manners are and so on. Now, I am not going to stand this nonsense any longer. We are not going to tolerate those who have sucked the lifeblood of our people for so long a time. These *Rajpramukhs* and others have got to be got rid of altogether.

Then my hon. friend, Dr. Khare said that near our frontiers situations might be created which might be dangerous; if you do not give autonomy to the Nagas and the Sikhs, then he asked why we give this sort of autonomy to Kashmir? My answer to that is that it is an act of wisdom to give the Nagas and the Sikhs. Then, he asked, autonomous rights they require. We have to win their hearts. Especially in regard to the frontier areas it is very important that the cement of friendship consolidates and binds the relationship of India with those frontier regions. In regard to Kashmir it is clear that we have a tradition of friendship. We have a tradition of consistent collaboration in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and with the people of Kashmir today we have forged the bonds of friendship. If for the sake of that friendship we have to allow them certain concessions we have to give them certain unique powers, we have to take some special steps for the time being, why should we not do so? It is in the interests of India and that is why we should do so.

I shall now come to a question asked rhetorically by my hon. friend, Smt. Sucheta Kripalani. She asked: Is Kashmir an integral part of India or is it not? Now, you cannot give rhetorical answers to rhetorical questions of this fashion. Of course Kashmir is an integral part of India who says Kashmir is not? The Kashmiri people themselves say that Kashmir is an integral part of India. But there are certain very special reasons which I have already tried to indicate why the link-up of Kashmir with the rest of India should be on a particular principle. We can only get a really and truly consolidated India by a union of the hearts of the peoples who inhabit the different regions of India—regions with different linguistic, cultural and psychological characteristics. We can only get a real union of all those areas when the consolidation is effected with the cement of friendship and understanding and that is where in Kashmir we have made a beginning. There remains much to be done yet. We have to travel quite a long yet. I am not entirely satisfied with what the Government has done and I would like the Government to go very much further than what it has done. But it has made a beginning and the beginning is in the right direction. It is a beginning which is full of significant implications which are extremely important as far as the future construction of our country is concerned.

I have great pleasure, therefore, in welcoming the motion which has been moved by the Prime Minister and I only suggest that the Prime Minister, if he thinks it right in his wisdom, might go a little further and decide that it is high time we wash our hands of the United Nations as far as our appeal is concerned. I do not suggest for a moment that we should withdraw from the United Nations. It would be an absolutely suicidal step, but as far as our appeal is concerned, the United Nations has played ducks and drakes with it for over five years and it is no good proceeding with it when the Kashmiri people have come into their own, they have an appointment with destiny and are marching towards its fulfilment. Why should we stand in their way at this time? Let us do the right thing. We have already outstretched our hand of friendship and they have clasped it. Let us not make a mess of it. Let us go forward and let us try to cement the whole of India in such a consolidated friendship as would really bring about a new heaven and a new earth in our ancient country.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER, LOK SABHA, SHRI M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR*

It is customary for representatives of parties and groups in this House to offer felicitations to whoever is elected to the exalted Chair which you Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar have come to occupy and it is with pleasure that I rise to offer you my congratulations. This custom has grown because once a member of this House is elected Speaker, he represents the dignity of the House, and, therefore, of the country and even more because he sheds all partisan predilections as far as he can and conducts the proceedings of the House in a manner which is in conformity with the dignity of the country and the interests of the people.

On an occasion like this, it may be salutary to recall some ancient history, and particularly, the incident in the 17th century in England when Charles I rushed into the House of Commons and commanded Speaker Lenthall to point out five recalcitrant members whom he wanted to arrest, whereupon the Speaker answered pointblank: "I have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear except what the House has vouchsafed to me."

Coming very much nearer to us in point of time and space, the example of Vithalbhai Patel of famous memory has already been recalled and I find from the proceedings of the former Legislative Assembly that when the late Vithalbhai Patel was elected, he asked his erstwhile leader, Pandit Motilal Nehru, to erase his name—if he had not done so already—from the list of members of the Congress Party. Personally, I feel I have no business to ask you to shed your political convictions or your ideological affiliations. If I make a request of that sort, it will be neither pertinent nor possible. But I shall certainly tell you to detach yourself from participation in Congress Party proceedings and campaigns in which, perhaps, at the time when you were Deputy Speaker, you have from time to time taken your share. And, I shall add that I shall expect you in this House to be more than usually solicitous of the rights of the Opposition. I have no doubt that you will do so according to your lights but I say this with some emphasis because our experience in this House is rather positive that the responsibility of the Chair

* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 March 1956. [Participating in the Motion on 'Election of Speaker', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 28 March and 19 July 1967, 8 August and 9 December 1969 on election of other Speakers of Lok Sabha].

in this regard is very heavy on account of the generally cavalier treatment which we receive from the Government party with its mammoth majority.

I feel, for example, that your election to this office could have been perhaps more felicitously pursued if different parties and groups were really and truly consulted before the Government party made its decision and announced it in the Press. The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is a very pleasant man. No wonder, for like the *kasturi* deer who exudes his own perfume, he reeks of a sense of strength and self-confidence because of the serried ranks of his party behind him, and, of course, he told us about the fact of your having been chosen by the Congress Party. But that was merely an intimation of a decision and not the intimation of an intention that the Congress Party wanted to discuss it with other members of this House. I do not make a point of it because I feel that this is not a grievance which we are presenting but I feel, at the same time, that a convention should be created whereby election to the Chair is preceded by consultation not merely in formal sense but in some substantial sense, between the different parties and groups in this House.

Turning to a pleasanter aspect, I should say that on account of the accident of my happening to be here in this seat very frequently in this House, I have had,—perhaps more than most members of this House—the advantage of your physical and spiritual propinquity. There have happened occasions when you have brought, perhaps, for the improvement of your own mind some classic of our ancient literature like the *Bhagwad Gita* and I have pounced upon them for quotations to bolster up my presumably heretical deduction. In my mind, myself, I feel that there co-exists a kind of fanatical love for the culture of our country and an almost equally ferocious hatred for those elements in our national life which have vulgarised and degraded that inheritance. As far as you are concerned, I have found your learning and your charming extrovertness, a great help in my understanding of our ancient culture, but, sometimes also a hindrance in regard to the understanding of the mind of certain sections of the community in this country. But, like the rest of us, in spite of your foibles—which I am sure we do not dislike,—I have grown to be fond of you like so many others of our House for the qualities which you have brought to bear upon your work and for the sense of humour which you have displayed so often in this House, when you say something very acid and something which hurts and then, after that, you make a sally and you laugh at yourself.

We remember today the remarkable man who held this dignified office; we lament his loss very deeply. You are taking his place and I have no doubt that when you are in the Chair you shall try to act up to the traditions of this office which have already been created. I have no doubt also that we shall have occasional differences with you—perhaps also sometimes strident

differences—in regard to the interpretation of our rights. But, I can assure you that as far as we are concerned, we do not believe in having a trace of bitterness in our mind over the squabbles, wrangles, controversies—whatever you call them—which arise from time to time between you as holder of this exalted office and ourselves. I wish you a term of office which I hope will be distinguished for those things which are necessary for a country like ours where parliamentary institutions have come to be worked, where parliamentary traditions need to be developed and fashioned in a manner which would be in conformity with the traditions of our country and with the interests of our people.

Mr. Speaker, thanks to technicality and the Government's predilection for putting its foot into it, the atmosphere of today's debate has been somewhat disturbed already. But, seldom have we in this House been called upon to consider legislation of similar moment. This is legislation of a sort for which our people have hungered and thirsted. But, this Bill comes before us with a kind of strange and characteristic irony, for Government has done its best to make a mess where there need not have been one and certain incredibly graceless, perverse, anti-people acts of omission and commission have spoiled largely a measure which everybody was only too ready and willing to welcome. Perhaps some of the damage may, if Government relents, be repaired in the Joint Committee to which this Bill is to be referred. But, as things stand today, much of the wrong done to our people by the Government's handling of this measure will not, I fear, be rectified.

I heard the Home Minister telling us in his opening speech that in regard to certain matters, he is going to take decisions in conformity with the wishes of the people. I take it, even though he did not positively aver it in that way, that that was his intention. Because, when, in regard to the question of the so-called union or merger or amalgamation—whatever way you call it, the stink is the same—of West Bengal and Bihar—amalgamation is the expression used by the Minister in the Statement of Objects and Reasons—a question was asked from this side of the House if the wishes of the people were going to be consulted in that matter, the Home Minister answered yes, but the people are not tantamount to members of a particular party. I shall deal with this matter in some detail a little later. But I do wish to pin the Home Minister down to this formulation. Everybody would grant that people does not mean members or supporters of a particular political party whether it is the Congress Party or any other Party. But, if the wishes of the people are really to be consulted in regard to the question of what the Home Minister calls the amalgamation of Bihar and West Bengal, then, surely this suggestion should be dropped at once without ceremony and an announcement to that effect should be made by the Home Minister straightway.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 29 April 1956, 7 August and 10 August 1956. [Shri Mukherjee also spoke on 24 April, 14 May, 6 August and 1 September 1956 and 20 December 1958 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for the reorganisation of the States of India and for matters connected thereto became 'The States Reorganisation Act 1956'.

I am inclined to be very charitable to the Home Minister and I am prepared to concede that he is, like the Prime Minister, certainly wedded to truth and non-violence. But, I suppose, like many wedded couples, they often live apart. As far as this is concerned, what he has said has nothing to do either with truth or with any other principles which are so often paraded. The Home Minister's Statement of Objects and Reasons is a very politely expressed study in political guide. As is the fashion with people in power today, the principles of linguistic redistribution of States, which at one time was zealously advocated as a primary factor, is obliquely and parenthetically referred to only to be dismissed in favour of what is called a more rational basis of reorganisation. This so-called rational basis has led him to pitfalls which are so numerous in this Bill. It has been said over and over again, but it bears re-telling that right up to their being pitchforked in 1947 into positions of power, and even up to the time of the last general elections, the Congress made no secret of its support to the linguistic principle.

In 1928, the Nehru report averred that the main considerations in the matter of redistribution of provinces must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. The point cannot be put better than by quoting the words of the report itself, this presumably ancient document, which says:

> "A democracy must be well-informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. Hence, it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language, as a rule, corresponds to a special variety of culture, tradition and literature. In a linguistic area, all these factors will help the general progress of the province."

Nearly three decades have passed since that report, but its formulation on this point remains indubitably valid. Those who prate very importantly today and talk of what they choose to call the evils of linguism, are slanderers of our people.

India is, as our Constitution says, a Union of States, not conflicting or warring States which have come together, which have agreed to some terms, but States firmly and fundamentally akin, their unity shining in despite certain diversities, and their culture a beautiful and multi-coloured mosaic, which if you break a piece here or crack and scratch a piece there, will damage it dreadfully. The unity of India, and our solidarity that is with our people a kind of categorical imperative. That is the first charge on our patriotism. But that unity will be consolidated and safeguarded as the apple of our eye, when the people are assured that except when inseparable conditions and difficulties supervene, except in those circumstances, linguistic States will be set up as a matter of course. Now, in so far as this Bill before us helps this process, it is welcome. But in so far as it hinders, it should be changed, and I hope that in the Joint Committee, some drastic alterations are made.

There is no hesitation on my part to welcome the abolition of the office of *Rajpramukh*, or the removal of the distinction between Part A, Part B and Part C States. We certainly welcome the formation of States like Kerala and Mysore, and the other linguistic States that are coming into being. Still, I wish here to put in a caveat. Why call it Mysore? Why not Karnataka? Why again, in the case of Andhra call it Andhra Telangana? Why not call it simply Andhra? If *Vishal Andhra* smacks of something like chauvinism—it does not perhaps really, but if it does, if it is suspected to be so—why not merely call it Andhra? Again in the case of Madras State, the city of Madras is there. But why not call the State the Tamil Nad? There is no reason for us to be shame-faced about it, except on the supposition that we do not like the linguistic principle. We may like it; our people may want us to like it, but the administration requires that we rather keep mum about the linguistic principle.

In regard to the zonal councils, which have been sought to be set up, I feel that this is a matter which should be gone into very critically by the Joint Committee. The establishment of zonal councils by itself cannot be a way out of the difficulties of tackling common problems or even mutual disputes between States. For example, in spite of the fact that Punjab and Delhi are in one zonal council, namely the Northern Council, whereas the UP is in the Central zone, there are perhaps more problems to be solved, and common interests to be pursued, between Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh than between Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, or say, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh in the same zone. Similarly, there are perhaps more common problems between Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka than between Andhra and Kerala or Tamil Nad. Therefore, the establishment of these zonal councils is not the real guarantee for the speedy settlement of mutual problems or disputes.

A solution for that lies in an integrated approach to the question of economic development of India. That is why my feeling is that the zonal councils can be permitted, provided their constitution is changed, provided a democratic character is injected into these councils, and at the same time, the zonal councils should have only social planning and economic planning to think about. Otherwise, we feel that unless we change the composition of these zonal councils in a democratic direction, and unless we make it certain that decisions will not be taken by majority vote, but that it would be a consultative apparatus which would lead to an understanding of what ought to be done, these zonal councils might be the thin end of the wedge for the introduction of certain administrative units which may be, Government have in mind. That is why perhaps Government are so very much against the idea of linguistic States. In regard to this, I find that in the Madras Legislative

Assembly, an hon. Minister initiating the debate on the Bill spoke on the zonal councils in these terms. He said:

> "If these zonal councils function properly, then we may perhaps later on assess the value of these councils and examine whether further powers should be given, and if so, what further steps should be taken."

Therefore, the danger of efforts being made to transform the zonal councils in to mergers through the back-door should be spotlighted, and that should be considered very carefully by the Joint Committee. I hope that if that consideration is made, the whole character of the zonal councils would be changed in the right kind of direction.

Now, I have no time to refer to the many points of omission and of commission, which Government have done mischievously in regard to this Bill, but leaving the case of Bombay to be argued by people who know it very much better than I do, I would merely say that the demand for the inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra is absolutely without a doubt a genuine, popular, democratic demand, and that the provision in regard to Bombay as formulated in this Bill can have only one objective, and that is to keep this as commercial capital of India, as some people have taken to describe it. These elements have got to be pondered to very carefully by the Congress, particularly on the eve of the general election, when specially the present-day Chief Minister of the Bombay State is treasurer of the Congress Party, with responsibilities which appear to be perhaps somewhat overwhelming in view of the general elections to come.

This demand of the people regarding the inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra has been resisted in a most thoughtless fashion by Government, and Bombay, even now, bleeds in silent agony. But I leave Bombay's case to be argued by those who are more capable of doing so. I only want to say that in regard to Bombay, justice has not been done at all. On the contrary, there is a kind of mechanization behind whatever is suggested about the future of Bombay.

Now, I shall refer to one other important matter. I am sure that the time at my disposal will not be adequate to discuss with any kind of adequacy the very many points which occur to me at the moment, but I shall confine myself to the question of the States in the North-East of India, particularly West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

I do not understand why the case of Orissa has been completely forgotten, overborne and discarded, however you wish to put it. Is it only because the people of Orissa are poor? But, at the same time, they have shown their spirit, they have shown that in spite of the power and pomp of the Congress

party, there is in that State a moment which is germinating into a tremendous power. But the claims of Orissa in regard to areas like Saraikella and Kharswan have simply been ignored altogether.

Then again, in regard to the questions pending between West Bengal and Bihar, the whole story is so sordid that some kind of explanation has to come from Government in regard to it. Between West Bengal and Bihar, there were certain controversies—right or wrong is a different proposition. We had gone over that matter once before, and I do not want to repeat myself. But as far as the States Reorganisation Commission was concerned, it reached certain conclusions; right or wrong, it reached those conclusions. Some of us thought they were wrong because they had not taken into consideration certain other genuine demands of West Bengal. Then after that, we got the Government's decision on the States Reorganisation Commission's Report. The decision was even worse because it truncated the award which was made by the Commission. But in any case, the Government made a certain announcement about the impending transfer of certain areas from Bihar to West Bengal. And suddenly, from out of the blue, there comes a notion of the merger between the two States. After that, as I said earlier, it has been described as a union and then the Home Minister says it is going to be an amalgamation. But, more or less, they amount to the same thing.

In the draft proposals regarding the Bill which were circulated by Government a month ago, there is a preface, and in that preface, it is said:

> "that in view of the proposals for the union of the two States, which is now under active consideration, no provision has been made in the draft Bill in regard to territorial adjustments between the States of Bihar and West Bengal. A separate Bill will be introduced in due course to implement the decision which may be taken about these States".

The Home Minister has repeated this same thing again. But what we feel is this: for sometime now, there has been carried on in the country a propaganda through a servile Press that a very large section of the people in West Bengal are in favour of the union. That is completely false; that is so much abracadabra. At the moment, there is going on in Calcutta, a campaign for the election to this House, in the place of the late lamented Shri Meghnad Saha. I was there in Calcutta till only the other day and I can say, and I can challenge the Home Minister to wait for a few days and to find out how the people vote, how the people in a constituency where nearly 40 per cent of the electors are non-Bengalis, vote. I want him to wait for a few days.

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In Calcutta as well as in other parts of West Bengal, there has been going on a campaign. There were two *hartals* all over West Bengal, and particularly

in the Calcutta region, which has the largest, numerically largest, concentration of Hindi-speaking people anywhere in India. And these two *hartals* were bigger *hartals* than any *hartal* held in India in the best days of the Gandhi age. I know Congressmen have come to me in this House and told me how they felt proud that in today's conditions in Calcutta, a *hartal* of this kind could be held successfully, non-violently, peacefully. For weeks now, *satyagraha* is going on, and I find in the papers dated 16 April, that up to 12 April, a total of 7,548 demonstrators were arrested in West Bengal in connection with the movement to protest against the West Bengal-Bihar merger proposals.

Now, this *satyagraha* is also conducted on the most unexceptionable lines. I know the Prime Minister goes out of his way from time to time—only too often—to say that this is a kind of coercion of the administration. What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose! This kind of discriminatory approach to the people's problems, this kind of failure to try to realise what is at the back of the people's minds, is symptomatic of the character of this administration which, in spite of certain good things being done—good things with which everybody is willing to collaborate—demarcates itself away from the people, is afraid of the people all the time, is afraid of the people's consistent co-operation in the reconstruction of the country. And that is why when the people practise this kind of *satyagraha* in the most peaceful manner imaginable, the news of the *satyagraha* is blacked out in the all-India papers, as far as I can make out, and then we are told, "You are trying to coerce us". What are we supposed to do?

I remember the Prime Minister was here on the day before the Calcutta *hartal* on 24 February. He was speaking on 23 February. Smt. Renu Chakravartty asked him a question, and he made a cheap jibe at us and said, "Tomorrow, we shall find out in Calcutta. You know more about how *hartals* are done in Calcutta", that is to say, buses are burnt, trams are broken and all kinds of enormities practised. And when the *hartal* continued, not in the Delhi fashion where when we had a *hartal* against the Goa incidents buses were running all over the place in the Capital—I was amazed to see why—but in Calcutta till midnight everything was dead in a region which ran for miles, and miles, when that *hartal* happened, not a ripple was caused in the dovecotes which prevail in this place. That shows the kind of detachment from the people that prevails here.

Any number of municipal elections have been held in West Bengal—at least ten—and in all those municipal elections, the Congress has been floored, in some of them, the Congress has not dared to appear, just as in the case of Bombay, Congress does not dare to put up its candidates for the bye-elections. In regard to the Calcutta Corporation, which is a queer body, with a very limited franchise, which is possibly unconstitutional,—because very few

people have the right to vote for the Calcutta Corporation elections—the elections were due this year, and Dr. Roy had said late in February, or perhaps in March, that the elections would be held—they would not be postponed. But they were postponed in spite of the open challenge given by all non-Congress parties in Calcutta and all over West Bengal that these elections would be an acid test. Those elections were postponed.

Today from Bihar, the Lok Sevak Sangh, founded by Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta—I do not see my friend, Shri Satya Narayan Sinha here; he knows more about Nibaran Das Gupta and his character—this Sangh under Atul Chandra Ghosh—not, thank God, our colourful colleague Shri Atulya Ghosh, who sometimes opens his mouth in this House—under Atul Chandra Ghosh, the Lok Sevak Sangh is conducting a trek—he is 79 years of age—from Manbhum to Calcutta in order to practise *satyagraha* there. If you go and ask the greatest Gandhi-ites who are living, about Atul Chandra Ghosh—not, fortunately, I say again Atulya Ghosh—they would know who he is; and he is going with a lot of his own people in order to tell them how this merger proposal is going to do harm to everybody, and how the restoration to West Bengal of those areas which indubitably belong to her by linguistic right is the only and proper solution of this problem. All this is going on and we are being given homilies about peace and non-violence. Go to Calcutta and see how this movement is being conducted. Every day, every afternoon, crowds of people are going to jail. People are enthused. Every day, day after day, rain or shine, it goes on and people are going to jail. This movement is being conducted. You go and see the election campaign and you will see how they are responding to this idea. Why, in that case, if you have a two-penny worth of consideration for the people's desire, are you going to make this imposition on Calcutta? This is political blackmail; I call it dishonesty of the worst water when Government comes forward and tells Parliament that it has got ready the apparatus for introducing a separate Bill for the purpose of the amalgamation of West Bengal and Bihar. But Government has not the guts to say on the 16 March—I think it was on that date—when the Prime Minister made certain announcements.... Certain definite proposals were made about the boundaries of West Bengal and Bihar and these proposals have been forgotten or withdrawn. How this happened, I do not know.

I have got here a copy of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a stridently Congress journal, which brings out with big headlines whatever Shri Atulya Ghosh has got to say. This *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in its Calcutta edition of 19 April, says that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, one of the triumvirate which rules this country, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a member of the Congress sub-committee on the S.R.C. Report had, in a special interview, categorically stated that the recommended areas for transfer to West Bengal should come under the West Bengal region of the Bengal-Bihar union. Earlier, in a Press Conference,

the Maulana had said that the union proposal was not an alternative to boundary adjustment. He also said in that Press Conference that in case the union proposal did not materialise, the decision of the Central Government for transferring the recommended areas to Bengal would stand. I would say that if Dr. Roy was here and if he was really to speak his own mind, he would tell the Maulana—

यह क्या शगूफा मुझे खिलाया?

what is all this, reminiscent of *Delhi ka laddu*?

दिल्ली का लड्डू जो खाया वह पछताया,
जो नहीं खाया, वह भी पछताया।

What is the point of all this? Why mislead people? Why not come forward and say, "we have got ready two alternative sets of proposals to be incorporated into this Bill before this session is out"?

I think my hon. friend, Shri Basu put a question—I was not here in Delhi at that time—to the Home Minister as to whether it would be done this session, and he gave evasive answers. I do not want him to give an answer, now. But, let him please, for heaven's sake, think of the matter; let him just ask himself why he should be treating the people in that part of the country so shabbily. It may be because you think that Dr. B.C. Roy is on the top of the world? But is he?

I remember that in September 1953, when there was a discussion in this House on the circumstances leading to the death of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in Kashmir, I had occasion to say about Dr. Roy, that, while he was a very eminent doctor, politically he was an imbecile. I repeat it. Depending upon the position of this person, they presumed, supposed and imaginary position of this person in West Bengal, you played ducks and drakes with the destinies of the people there.

I am sorry I have to concentrate whatever I have to say in regard to West Bengal—I had lots to say about other areas like the Punjab, Bombay, Orissa and Hyderabad, because I do not want to give an impression that I am a chauvinist Bengali; I am nothing of that sort,—but I want to say this.

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I do not say this as Bengali chauvinist. But I refer to this only as an instance of the callous, anti-people attitude of the Government and also as an instance which illustrates how Government is afraid of West Bengal remaining as West Bengal, unhindered by the majority of Bihar, West Bengal remaining as a bastion of militant fighters for the reconstruction of our country according

to the socialist pattern—which Congress also parades today. It is only because you are afraid of the people's movement in West Bengal that you are taking these measures. It is only because you have learnt your lesson from the *hartal* in West Bengal. I repeat—it is in the largest single concentration of Hindi-speaking people anywhere in India—that is, Greater Calcutta—that *hartal* was declared twice. Did it happen because the Biharis just succumbed to the coercion of the Bengalis? I have friends among the Biharis. If the Biharis wanted to resist, they would have done it; but they kept together to the slogan *Bengali Bihari Bhai Bhai.* We want Bihar also to be happy. We do not want the united, merged West Bengal—Bihar to be a jumping ground for politicians,—power-hungry politicians—trying to take advantage of this intrigue here or that intrigue there. We do not want that. We do want the people in Bihar as well as in West Bengal to go ahead. And, that is why I said that this is the symptom of the character of Government and this is the kind of thread running through this Bill. Why this distrust of the people? That is why I do not know whether I shall laugh or I shall cry, when the Prime Minister talks as he talked only the day before yesterday about emotional integration. Of course, we want emotional integration. But, how is that emotional integration going to happen? We are all Indians; we have no doubt it. We thrilled when the Home Minister spoke of "this great country of India". We know that the Himalayas are there as

स्थित: पृथित्या इव मापदंड्म्

"like the back bone of the world". We do not want the backbone of our people to be crushed and mangled and battered. We want the people in different parts of our country, who speak different languages but who, at the same time, share in the great totality, in the great entity which is the culture of India, to live together happily on equal terms of friendship and co-operation. We rely on the Central Government to obliterate difficulties between the States when they arise. That is why the Central Government is given the charge of planning. It is argued that the refugee problem would be solved if Bihar and West Bengal were combined; it is so much moonshine and nonsense. Bihar has no land to spare. It is only in the Adivasi area, where other people cannot go, that there is some land.

I have here some documents which I once passed on to Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, when he was Minister of Rehabilitation and I think I showed these documents also to Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, to show how the present rulers of Bihar, particularly the Minister called Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahai, feel. Here is a photostat copy of a letter which he sent to an organisation called the Colonisation Society of India, which offered land to 800 Bengali families for settlement in Bihar without any kind of trouble or difficulty. This was resisted and opposed by the Bihar Minister only because he is one of the

ruling clique of Bihar and he did not like the idea of Bengalis settling in that part of the country. Here, we find the statistics showing that so many hundreds of thousands of acres are there in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Hyderabad. Out of that Bihar has a share of 12,000 acres and that is not reclaimed. We cannot blame Bihar. I can say this that Bihar has no land and, therefore, the problem of refugee rehabilitation.....

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I was only trying to be fair to Bihar. I do not wish to say that arguments like the possible solution of the refugee problem by merger are advanced deliberately in order to mislead the ignorant population of both Bihar and West Bengal. It is not to hurt Bihar that I was saying this. I was only saying this that it is necessary to realise that there must be linguistic States. That is why I feel that there are some lacunae, that there are some defects and deficiencies in the Bill. I do not have the illusion that all these deficiencies will be corrected in the Joint Select Committee but I wish that they are rectified as much as possible. I do wish to conclude by expressing a hope that when the Bill comes back to us again, we shall find it in a very much better shape than it is here at the moment.

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My point of order is that these amendments, and particularly amendment No. 462 to which the Home Minister has accorded his support is totally out of order and patently *ultra vires* of the Constitution. I say this because the Home Minister has said that on certain occasions Parliament can take things into its own hands. But I would like you to please remember that Parliament functions within the ambit of the Constitution and if there is something which is sought to be done, perhaps with the best of motives, which, however, goes against the provisions of the Constitution, then naturally that cannot be countenanced. Now, the requirements of the Constitution, as envisaged in article 3, are not only procedural but have great value from the point of view of substance and of democratic propriety. Now, such requirements cannot be waived either by the Chair or by a numerously signed memorandum from the members of Parliament. My submission is that the amendments vitally extend the scope of the Bill and it is clear from article 3 that a condition precedent to the introduction of such a Bill is that its proposal or proposals should have been referred to the legislatures affected for ascertaining their views.

Article 3 reads as follows:

"Parliament may by law—

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State;

(b) increase the area of any State;

(c) diminish the area of any State;

(d) alter the boundaries of any State;

(e) alter the name of any State;

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule, the Bill has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allowed has expired."

By "proposals" I suggest it is meant not ideas floating in their air and being discussed by certain people, but proposals actually incorporated in the Bill, and by the "expression of views" I mean not casually expressed views by certain members in the course of discussion in a legislature, but views which have been ascertained as far as the proceedings of the relevant legislature can give us an indication of that. Therefore, I submit that the legislatures affected—and in this case there are four legislatures affected, Bombay, Hyderabad, Saurashtra and Madhya Pradesh—must have had an opportunity of directing their minds to a real consideration of the proposal or proposals. Whether a proposal is carried here in this Parliament or not is completely irrelevant when we bear in mind the provisions of the Constitution. I submit that this interpretation is in conformity with all rules laid down by Maxwell and other authorities.

I would like to draw your attention to a matter of very much lesser import where you yourself gave a ruling on 3 September 1953. On that occasion the Estate Duty Bill was under discussion and Government sought to introduce some additions. My friend, the ex-Minister of Finance was in charge of the Bill and he defended the proposition that the addition could be permitted. On that occasion you were pleased to point out that what the Government wanted to do was to extend the scope of the amendment, and even though you held that what the Government wanted to do was not inconsistent with the purpose of the Bill, you said—I am quoting from Parliamentary Debates of 3 September 1953:

> "True, it is not inconsistent. It is in the nature of things that it could be in the Bill. This is an Act of Parliament. All the same, technically I am afraid it is not within the scope of the Bill. I would suggest, therefore, that this rule may be suspended and if the hon. Minister makes a motion, then it is for the House to suspend the rule."

This is what you said in regard to that matter, but the question before us is very much more vital, it is very much more fundamental because there is a definite constitutional provision requiring that the proposals in regard to States reorganisation should be in a properly ascertainable form for the purposes of discussion in the relevant legislatures and in the affected legislatures there has to be discussion and the views of the affected legislatures have to be ascertained by the President. The recent constitutional amendment only removes the fetters in regard to the time-schedule, but as far as the obligation to secure the views of the affected States is concerned, the rights of the States are very much in the picture. Therefore, my submission is that it could never have been the intention of the Constitution that so vital a matter as the extension of States and large-scale modification of State boundaries and their amalgamation into a big unit could be decided without reference—specific and clear reference—to the States affected, in this instance Bombay, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh and Saurashtra.

I remember that when the question of having an amalgamation of West Bengal and Bihar came into the picture, the States Reorganisation Bill was introduced in this House but on that occasion the Home Minister said in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that it was a matter which had to be part of another Bill. It could not be brought in because it required prior discussion and prior consultation of the legislatures concerned. Therefore, I feel that the amendments which I am impugning are of radical nature. They seek to replace former proposals in the Bill. Neither in the States Reorganisation Report nor in the Bill as circulated by Government was there anything like the radical alternation of boundaries which is now sought to be put in by means of a stray suggestion which comes from certain members of the House, worked up into a kind of artificial movement and then paraded by the Home Minister as a declaration of national determination. I feel that is not the way in which we should proceed. I submit that an entirely new set of proposals are being sought to be introduced into the Bill, and if we accept it, then that would be a process nugatory of the provisions of the Constitution. It would not be proper for 250 members or even more....

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This Bill had roused great expectations, for, the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission and had been itself the sequel to demonstrations all over the country, which showed what the people really wanted. But over a large and important area, those expectations have been dashed. Behind the mask of patriotism which the Home Minister so impressively wears, I see every time the Treasury Benches indicate their mind, I see a fear of the people, sheer, insensate fear of the democratice aspirations of the people. It

is this fear which vitiates the Bill, which distorts Bill in essential particulars, and in the setting up, above all, of the polyglot State of Bombay, in the face of every canon of democracy and political propriety.

We have been witnesses in this House to, what I consider a dangerous spectacle, the steamrollering of genuine public opinion in Maharashtra and in Gujarat, by an unprecedented campaign of signature collection. Members of Parliament, most of them far away from the scene and insensitive to the agony of the people affected and to their deep-rooted aspirations, traded so to speak, in the name of national unity and furnished Government with, an excuse, an excuse for imposing a solution—if it is at all a solution—namely, the bilingual State of Bombay. If the Government was not so bloated with a sense of its own authority, it would have known that this was no solution at all; and so, Government is trying to thrust down the throats of Gujaratis and Maharashtrians, a State set-up which is very like the one which they had in the British times and which they wanted deeply and fundamentally to change, because now we are supposed to be the architects of our own destiny.

It has been said in this House, and I repeat it, that this is an act of political criminality and it has been motivated by no other desire than of appeasing the big money interests of Bombay. This expression, perhaps since my hon. friend, the former Finance Minister used it, has become respectable, and we have said it over and over again, but it did not seem to hit the headlines. Incidentally, I must say that I am unhappy over the former Finance Minister's recent political perambulations, because, in spite of his having made one or two good statements, he has acted in a manner which has produced a sort of Dead Sea fruit and he has done no good either to Maharashtra or to the rest of the country.

What Maharashtra wanted has been said over and over again in this House and in the country, and it does not need retelling. What Gujarat really wants, however, was long sought astutely, and with discretion, to be kept away from the House and from the country. But that discretion has been thrown to the winds by the valour and the patriotism of the people of Gujarat and that is why we see that they are demonstrating today. Whether we like it or not, they are demonstrating in defiance of the bullets which the Home Minister has in abundance. They are demonstrating for a Gujarati State of their own. That State is warranted by history, by common sense, by social, economic, political, cultural and by other considerations. In Ahmedabad, the town of Gandhiji, the town of my friend the Labour Minister, we are told, the writ of the Congress runs as nowhere else in the country. Gujarat was supposed to be a willing party and perhaps even an enthusiastic party to this bilingual formula which was canvassed by my friends like Shri C.C. Shah, but now, like murder, the truth is out. It is not only that students who are

emotionally disturbed and are carrying on the demonstrations in the streets, have got out of hand, but we hear of the Ahmedabad Bar Association and even the Millowners' Association and the entire general public coming out against the bilingual scheme. The blood of our citizens has been spilt on the streets of Ahemdabad. Curfew darkens towns like Ahmedabad and Baroda and other places. Let us pay homage to those who could not meekly stomach injustice to Gujarat and let us remember, as members of Parliament that, to our shame, we could not repair that injustice.

I know it will be said, and it has been said in the lobbies of this House, that a handful of mischief makers—generally the expression they are very much fond of is "anti-social elements"—are doing all the damage. They said the same thing in regard to Bombay. But when challenged by Maharashtra which felt that its self-respect was being outraged by that suggestion. Government did not have the guts or the elementary political decency to have an official enquiry into that matter.

There is no hyprocrisy more exasperating than the attitude of mind which condemns the idea of linguistic provinces as being contrary to that of national unity. How the Prime Minister who has made a serious study of history has reached this puerile conclusion is one of the minor mysteries of our time. To the citizens of the Union of States which India is, a most valuable privilege is to live an autonomous life in his own lesser unit, with an intrinsic life and purpose of its own. That is a fundamental right which nothing can take away, and that right, that privilege, has been denied, with a vulgar fanfare of patriotism, to the people of Maharashtra and to the people of Gujarat. And if those people raise their hands in protest, of course, they are given a dose of that "aggressive non-violence" to which reference was made by Shri Deshmukh, shooting to kill and all that being part of the game.

This is not the way to build national unity; it is to provoke national chaos. If the 200 and odd signatories who offered a spurious excuse to Government for a bilingual Bombay could have their way, they could, with the jubilant blessings of the Home Minister, go forward and have a merger of West Bengal and Bihar, a union of Karnataka and Kerala and so on and so forth. But, they have not succeeded for the present in doing so, because the people have told them that there is a limit to their patience. But I fear that this Government and its camp followers learn nothing and forget nothing. Maybe they have schemes up their sleeve of which the people are at the moment unaware. I have very great respect for my friend, the Home Minister. But since he has appeared on the scene, in this House, I must confess I cannot read his mind '*देवा: न जानन्ति कुतो मनुष्य:*' That seems to be applicable to the way in which his mind works. All the other weakness of this Bill stem from this basic disregard for the people, the refusal, for instance, to have a boundary

commission properly constituted—without such a provision, there will be fostering sores in our body politic, which it is our bounden duty to remove. But, Government has other plans and does not care.

There is again the case of Orissa. The case of Orissa was brought up over and over again, but the Home Minister said, "It is a big problem which cannot be tackled by a boundary commission". If such a big thing as polyglot Bombay could be pushed through in this Parliament, why was not the case of Orissa not taken into consideration? Then, for tribal peoples also, this Bill is a cruel disappointment. There is not a syllable in it which suggests that their problems even exist, though some of us have been shouting ourselves hoarse about radical changes in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution and for special safeguards for their social, economic and cultural progress. It is a pity that one of the principal spokesmen of the tribal people in this House—Shri Jaipal Singh—I am sorry not to see him in this House at the present moment—chose to leave his people in the lurch and with the air of an elder statesman went about collecting signatures for one thing or the other. We are always delighted by the inanities which his charming accent sugar-coats, but we are not prepared to take lessons in high politics from him. I say very seriously, the question of the tribal people has been ignored and we have not heard one syllable from Government in regard to this matter and this at a time when the Naga agitation is going on, an agitation which we have to tackle in an understanding fashion.

Perhaps I have said enough, and over and over again; the idea of linguistic States as the rock-like foundation of national unity has been emphasised in this House and in the country. When this Bill was in preparation, I knew that I would get a chance—you would be good enough to give me a chance—to speak. I knew also that you would have liked me to say:

संगच्छध्वं, संवदध्वं संवो मनांसि जानताम्

"Let us walk together; let us speak together; let us attune our minds together."

But the Home Minister has done a job of work which disables me from saying that in the context of this particular Bill, I wish we could say:

संगच्छध्वं, संवदध्वं संवो मनांसि जानताम्

But we cannot do so on this occasion. Government has behaved in an arrogant manner and in a shortsighted manner. Therefore, I accuse the Government of deliberately refusing a permanent and national solution of a national question. I accuse the Government of provoking disunity where unity prevailed. I accuse the Government of posing in this House and in this

country controversies where controversies would have been eliminated by the joint co-operative endeavour of us all. Government has not done it and I cannot even say in regard to this Bill:

एको ही दोषो, गुणसन्निपाते निमज्जतीन्दो: किरणंष्विाक:

It is not like that; it is not that a very minor error has crept in. It is not that only a very few bad things are here, but the generality of the Bill is very good. On the contrary, something has happened which has vitiated the entire atmosphere of the Bill. This Bill bristles with instances of injustice and inequality. For the small mercies vouchsafed certain areas in the country, we cannot oppose it outright. I repeat, we cannot oppose it outright, but we are acutely unhappy, I repeat, we are acutely unhappy, that Government has made such a very sorry mess of the problem of States reorganisation.

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL, 1956*£

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, though I have been a member of the Select Committee, I should like to say without immodesty that the Select Committee has done a good job of work. Thanks, particularly to its Chairman, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, it could go into provisions of the Representation of the People Act, which were untouched by the present amending Bill and the result is that a considerable amount of ground has been covered in the direction of making the election process comparatively simple and unencumbered by these technicalities which appears almost eccentric to the layman.

I feel, however, that I must say that we have not got yet anything like a real election code and a body of consolidated rules made thereunder. We wanted that election code which could displace a mass of dispersed law and piecemeal rules. And Sir, this has happened on account of the Government's 'hand to mouth' policy, if I might put it that way. This, our Parliament, the first Parliament that was elected on the basis of adult suffrage, could have given our country a truly and well thought out States Reorganisation Law and corresponding with it a comprehensive election code, but the Government wobbles and fumbles and thinks of fantastic make shifts from time to time and the results are calamitous.

In so far, however, as this Bill improves upon the present system regarding the regulation of election, it is welcome, and it is in the hope that the House will further pursue the process of improvement that I am addressing certain remarks.

Sir, in our ancient republics, some of which—like that of the Lichhavis—lasted nearly for a thousand years, as well as in organisations like the *Buddhist Sanghas*, the electoral process was well-known in our country. Perhaps, such traditions lingered in our racial memory, for the way our mighty electorate, 180 million strong, reacted when called upon to exercise the franchise has been something to be proud of. We owe it to our great people,

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 15 May 1956. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 18 April, 1966 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for further amending the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and Representation of the People Act, 1951, became 'the Representation of the People (Second Amendment) Act, 1965'].

great in spite of the sorrows and degradation we have suffered through the ages; we owe it to them to evolve as good an election law as we can.

At this point, I should say also a word about the Election Commission which, by and large, has behaved with dignity and with efficiency. Its report on our first general elections and its recommendations in regard to the future conduct is a valuable document.

I proceed now to make certain observations in regard to the way in which I feel we should change the Bill as it has now come before us. I feel strongly on a point, which has already had the support, happily, of my friend Shri N.C. Chatterjee, that clause (b) of section 7 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, should be deleted. It has been said before, and I need not dilate upon it, that in the socio-political context of our country, it is not right to have a provision of this sort. It may be unfortunate but it remains a fact that from time to time issues arise which impel some of our best people to face a conviction. Shri N.C. Chatterjee gave instances and so I need not repeat them, but actually, what has happened over and over again is that some of our very fine spirits have had to be convicted by courts for offences that do not by the utmost stretch of imagination come in the category of moral turpitude but they are offences which unhappily happen to be committed. That being so, I feel that Government should give very serious thought to this matter. I do not think it is divulging any secret in regard to the Select Committee's proceedings if I say that there was a good deal of discussion on this point. The Secretariat was of great assistance to us giving us material in regard to the procedure followed in other countries about the disqualification on the score of conviction, and it was clear to everybody that we are following a rigid rule, a rigid rule which is by no means in conformity with the interests of our people and with the position of affairs in our country at the present moment. I therefore wish that our law in this regard should not be harsher than what it is in the United States or in Canada or in the United Kingdom and in certain other countries. I wish to press very strongly for the omission of clause (b) of section 7 of the parent Act.

I wish that a slight change is made in clause 13 where it is said that the polling date should not be earlier than the 21st day after the last day for withdrawal of candidatures. I suggest that 30 days should be allotted for this purpose. I say this because there are areas in our country like Rajasthan or Himachal Pradesh or Assam where geographical, climatic and other considerations are very serious and if you are going to have a real electioneering campaign, it is only fair that the people should be in a position to hear what the candidates have got to say about themselves and their particular programmes. That cannot be done within the period of 21 days.

I wish also that in clause 15, sub-clause (3) the expression "disloyalty to the State" which is to bring a disqualification in regard to elections should be deleted. This expression "disloyalty to the State" might appear to be a very fine formulation but I fear that in practical terms it would be very difficult to apply it. I can understand the law demanding that everybody should be loyal to the country. I can certainly understand that we are all expected to be loyal to the State because the State is the embodiment of our freedom. It reconciles the inwardness of morality with the externality of the law. But as a matter of practical fact, what happens is that the State remains as a concept and an attempted concretisation of an emotion, but that attempt has not yet been fully successful anywhere in the world. That being so, what happens is that the Government is substituted in the place of the State and for all practical purposes, loyalty to the State comes to be interpreted as loyalty to the Government. I can say that we are loyal to India; we are loyal to the idea of freedom to the country to the last breath of our being, but if we are going to be hauled up because of something which is interpreted as being tantamount to disloyalty to the Government of the day, then surely we are prepared for all hazards and I am sure the finest spirits in our country, on whichever side of this House they may be at the moment, would say that "disloyalty to the State" is an expression which has been in practical life interpreted to be identical with disloyalty to the Government. That being so, this ambiguous expression should not be there in the law at all.

Then, in regard to the election expenses, I have certain points to make. I do not agree at all with Shri N.C. Chatterjee who wanted that the ceiling in regard to the election expenses which is there should either be not there at all or it should be high-lightened. My feeling is that if we are going to have decent political life in this country, the elections can be fought only on the basis of voluntary and almost entirely honorary labour on the part of our workers. My experience is that there are so many of us who have not got the wherewithal to finance an election even to a pettifogging little body where you have got a few electors if the election is conducted in the rather disgraceful way which is particularly seen in our country from time to time. Here is my friend, Shri Maitra who made his affirmation yesterday. I know the way in which his election was fought in Calcutta because I was there, and I myself fought the election in Calcutta where I got double the Congress vote. I had no money to spend and when I got two copies of the electoral roll I was out of pocket. Naturally, of course there was my party to finance me. I know there was difficulty. But, at the same time, what I depended on was, and what my friend, Shri Maitra depended on was entirely voluntary labour of so many people whom we have never known whom we shall never know as long as we live. In lane after lane in Calcutta there were festons, placards, posters, done by God knows who. We cannot give any account of that sort of thing. That happens to be so from time to time in our country when the

decencies of political life are properly respected and there is an upsurge among the people, and if the Congress Party can touch off that unsurge, God bless them. They have a right to the support of the people. If a real Congress patriot stands for election, he does not have to go about spending money in one way or the other. But money has to be spent for transport, for propaganda, for posters, for printing, etc. But then money ought to be found in a decent atmosphere by purely local initiative unconnected with any dictation from the side of the candidate. I know that I would be told that you are required by the law to furnish full particulars in regard to all the expenses incurred on account of the election. I cannot possibly get to know what has been spent by my friends in one part or another of my constituency. That kind of election accounts should not be demanded of me by the law. If this is law, the law is an ass and that should be subverted. What I am saying is that if we want a decent political atmosphere in the country and if you have a decent political atmosphere, voluntary workers should come forward as they are always coming forward—and there is no doubt about it. Even on the side of the Congress there must be voluntary workers. I know that so many malpractices are taken recourse to particularly by those who are the bigwigs in our country, and therefore the natural supporters of the Government party. I know that these things have happened. I know it, but at the same time, I know that there is a certain amount of political idealism in the country which can be mobilised, and in that case I feel that we must try to have a target, and that is to achieve a decent political atmosphere where the candidates or his party would not have to spend considerable sums of money out of their own pockets. But if large sums of money are permitted to be spent by individuals or by parties or by organisations, Big Money control over elections would become a terrible fact.

During the last few years, or a little before that, we heard of sugar magnates in Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere being hand in glove with the Congress Party. I am not sure and I cannot prove it for myself, but the report was current all over the place. Shri Asoka Mehta has told us something about the Congress collecting an election fund to the extent of Rs. 3 crores. I have seen reports—I referred to them on the floor of the House during the discussion on the States Reorganisation Bill—that the treasurer of the Congress Party happens to be the Chief Minister of Bombay State and all the hullabaloo over Bombay being taken away from Maharashtra is largely due to the fact that the financial interests in Bombay city do not want Bombay to be given to Maharashtra and those interests are operating as an influence on the minds of the Congress leadership and particularly the treasurer of the Congress Party who is worrying naturally a great deal as to what is going to happen in the next general elections. That being so, there must be a stop put to the kind of electioneering expense which goes on. I do not want that an exemption is given to political parties. If the political parties are spending money for the

sake of their own candidates, they must come forward and given an account of what they have spent and on what particular candidate. It is for Government to work out some ways and means by which a fair apparatus of calculation could be discovered. So, Sir, I feel that in regard to election expenses, this matter should be carefully considered by this House.

I am not happy over the requirement of security deposits from duly nominated candidates. Perhaps in a really socialistic society, there is no question of this kind of deposit. I was reading the report of the proceedings in our predecessor legislature and I found that one member had suggested that all the expenses of candidates should be met from the exchequer. That is a reasonable suggestion, if you think that there is a socialistic kind of society. If you do not think that we are going to have a socialistic kind of society, naturally you think differently. But anyhow, I feel for the time being that the deposits should be reduced. For parliamentary constituencies, I suggest that the deposit required should not be more than Rs. 200 for the general seats and Rs. 100 for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes seats. For the State legislatures, it may be Rs. 100 for the general seats and Rs. 50 for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes seats. I might be told that so many people would come forward and pose as candidates and the whole thing would be terribly complicated. I say that you can deal with it in other ways I am not very sure about my recollection, but I think that the Election Commission had suggested that you might change the rule in regard to forfeiture of deposits. If some candidate gets less than one-sixth of the total number of votes polled, then his deposit is forfeited. You might make it one-fifth or even one-fourth. In this country where in 99 cases out of 100 the man is poor, if he is a candidate for election, do not make it incumbent on him to come forward with a large security deposit and to pay a large sum of money for the purchase price of the electoral rolls and all that kind of thing. I feel, therefore, that there should be a provision in our law for helping the candidates. It is a good thing that our committee has suggested that the Central Government should permit each contesting candidate to send free of cost at least one post card to every voter in his constituency for canvassing his candidature. But, I feel that this is not quite enough. Actually in England, I find in their Representation of the People Act, 1949—the U.K. Act—section 79 says:

"Two ounces of paper can be sent post free to any voter by a candidate."

I feel also that every voter should be informed by the election agency in advance by the issue of cards indicating his roll number, his place in the electoral roll, the address of his booth, etc. as is done in England. That is something which should be done at once. In my constituency, it was the fag end of the electioneering period and I was told that as far as my candidature

was concerned, cards did not happen to be distributed to so many thousands and thousands of voters to tell them where they should go and all that kind of thing. For the life of me, I could not understand why it should be my business to tell my electors as to where they should go, and which is the booth where they should vote. This is the job of the election agency, the job of the Government. The Government should do it. There is no harm in it; on contrary, that is something of a provision which should be made in the interests of the candidates.

There are certain other matters also to which I would make a reference. For example, the question has arisen in regard to the quick counting of votes. My friend, Mr. More, has made a suggestion which I commend to the House I feel that quick counting of votes is a very important matter, because in the absence of quick counting, all kinds of suspicion arise and suspicion ought to be offset by whatever measures we can practically adopt. I had myself suggested that there should be a right on the part of the candidate or his polling agent to seal the ballot boxes of any candidate to his satisfaction. I was told by some people and I have put in my minute of dissent that in certain instances, it may be desirable to allow candidates to post their own volunteers to help the State sentries, policemen and other people, in watching the places where ballot boxes are kept for safe custody. Personally I do not like this cumbrous procedure; on the contrary, I would support Mr. More's idea according to which you can get the counting done almost the same evening in every polling booth. In every polling station, the counting could be undertaken. Perhaps this might not commend itself to many people and some friends are shaking their heads. I feel sure that this kind of provision should be given very careful thought by Government.

I am glad that some amendments have been given notice of—particularly, I notice one by my friend, Mr. Deshpande, who is not here, suggesting that among corrupt practices, the practice of Members of Government utilising their position when on tour for election purposes should be included. I have read the proceedings in 1951 and I have found that the Law Minister of that day said in answer that the Council of Ministers had always to be there advising the President as to what he should do from time to time; they had to go on tour and so on and so forth, and therefore, this kind of business would be very difficult to pin down, so to speak, in legal technical terms. I am not very expert in regard to legal technicalities and I cannot pronounce upon it very finally. But, I Wish Government to come forward and say that a convention is going very definitely to be created that Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and all that numerous tribe, should not utilise their official position on the eve of the elections in order to carry on at Government's expense, at the people's expense, propaganda in favour of their own political parties. In regard to this also, I think we can copy something

of what is done in England. In England there are many feudal survivals, hangovers of the past days. There are also some very good things. I read that—this has been referred to in Parliament in the early days of the life of our House—when Mr. Attlee, the former Labour Prime Minister, used to go on his electioneering campaign, his wife would drive the car and he would go from town to town to whichever place he had to go and carry on his electioneering campaign in that way even at the time when he was Prime Minister of His Britannic Majesty. If in England they could do that kind of thing, why could we not start a convention that as far as Ministers and other members of Government in various capacities are concerned, they would not take advantage of their official position on the eve of the elections.

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I wish to refer to another point and that is in regard to broadcasting facilities for all parties which are denied every time. In regard to this, I shall draw the attention of the House to the reference of the Election Commission to the fact that in the last general elections, the success of the entire proceeding was at least partly due to the peaceful campaigning which was done by the political parties and surely in the period which we are looking forward to, the chances of a really peaceful conduct of elections are very much more bright than ever before. This time, therefore, every opportunity should be guaranteed to all parties in the country, especially the recognised parties in the country, as far as broadcasting facilities are concerned. In regard to this, the Election Commission in its Report at page 194 made a somewhat half-hearted, but all the same positive, recommendation.

The Election Commission writes:

> "On account of the multitude of parties, the strength and standing of some of whom were difficult to ascertain, the matter became too controversial and the Election Commission advised Government that it would be almost an impossibility to apportion broadcasting facilities amongst the numerous 'recognised' parties with reasonable fairness and to the general satisfaction of the public. The Government accepted the Commission's advice and no broadcasting facilities were extended to the parties for their election campaign. Now that the number of 'recognised' parties has considerably decreased and their comparative strength in the country accurately ascertained, it may be possible to re-open the question and evolve a reasonably satisfactory scheme for extending this facility to the parties for the next general elections."

This has been put very mildly in a very sedate form by an official body and I feel that in regard to this something ought to be done by the Government.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the Bill. This measure is in pursuance of the discussion held by the Prime Minister with the delegation of representative Nagas who came to Delhi towards the end of September. As far as we are concerned, we desire that this measure is put on the Statute-book as soon as ever that is possible and we wish also that the healing touch is effectively applied by the adoption of administrative, and, what I might call, human measures, which would bring about real and stable peace in this part of our country.

Sir, we are all very keen that the trouble in Nagaland should cease and we know that it will not be possible for us to pretend that the situation is entirely without complications. On the contrary, as the Home Minister has pointed out, there are certain aspects of the situation which would require very careful attention.

Sir, I would like to say, to start with, that the insurance in this part of our country, however undesirable and unfortunate it has been, represents a kind of historic vengence for the sins of the administration and particularly the administration in the period of British Rule.

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We know very well that the British had their own plans. They isolated Nagaland; they sowed the seeds of anti-Indian spirit in that area; they kept it as the exclusive preserve of British political officers to administer and white missionaries to educate. But as far as our national movement is concerned, we have never hesitated to point out that the unity which subsists in the diversity of our India can be consolidated only if those people who inhabit our country are given rights of which they are the legitimate claimants.

Sir, I recall a statement which was made by the Prime Minister—he was not the Prime Minister then, it was before 1947. He made a statement on 5 August 1946 in which he said:

> "Widest possible freedom and autonomy should be granted to the tribal territories so that the tribal people may move onwards in accordance

* *L.S. Deb.*, 25 November 1957. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 31 July 1956 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for the formation of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area of Assam as an Administrative unit, became the "Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, Act, 1957".

with their respective traditions and customs.... I do not understand why an administrative and judicial system should be imported into the Naga territory from outside. The Nagas should have full freedom to administer themselves with the help of rural panchayats and tribal people's courts."

Now, Sir, later there came up almost entirely on account of foreign provocation the Naga demand for independence, a demand which has been a queer perversion of geography and of historical development. But this demand for independence was nurtured in a specific context which today we want to transform altogether.

Since 1952, in particular, trouble has persisted in the Naga area and today what we have to worry about is not only the specific Naga trouble, but also the dismay which unfortunately more or less exists in the minds of other tribes in the Assam territory. Now there are dubious foreign elements which have been fishing in these troubled waters and that is why we have to proceed with as much wisdom as we can possibly muster. Real statesmanship is needed, in regard to the solution of this problem. As the Home Minister has said, and as Government has made clear ever so many times, there could have been no possible truck with the separation demand. After all, the Nagas have to march in cooperation with the rest of India towards a democratic setup all over our country and that is why we wish that greater efforts are undertaken to enlarge the autonomous rights of the Nagas.

There have been many occasions in the past when in this House we have asked for a real amendment of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. There is a feeling that the provisions of the Sixth Schedule, as they are applied at present, do not really satisfy the Nagas. Perhaps there might be administrative measures adopted; perhaps the human touch might be introduced into the situation so that even the present provisions of the Sixth Schedule might be so amplified and the demands of the people might be comparatively satisfied.

I say that the autonomous rights which are envisaged in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution should be enlarged. I say this particularly because of the persistent propaganda which is being conducted by certain very dubious foreign elements. In this connection I want to recall what I said some time ago in this House in 1955. On 31 March 1955, speaking on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs I pointed out as an instance the operation of certain very equivocal foreign elements in Nagaland. I mentioned the instance of a man called Sidney D. Ripley, who was the Director of Operations for South-East Asia in the Office of Strategic Services during the war and this office was later merged into the Central Intelligence Group of the United States in 1946. Now, this particular person who ostensibly had

some qualifications as a biologist went to Nepal and wrote in the *National Geographical Magazine* an article, very sumptuously produced, on "Peerless Nepal". In January 1955 he wrote again in the *National Geographical Magazine* an article on "India's Nagaland". I say all these equivocal foreign elements have been very busy for some time and we know very well how as late as last September the *New York Times* published a letter from Phizo, the Naga rebel leader, reiterating his demand for an independent Nagaland.

This kind of thing goes on, and that is why it is very important that we proceed with as much wisdom as we can possibly mobilise and the autonomous rights of the Nagas should be enlarged as far as that can possibly be done.

I wish also to say that since this Bill is now on the anvil of the House, we should impress on Government the desirability of making adequate economic grants for development projects, and also see to it that the co-operation of the Naga people is properly mobilised for the utilisation of those enlarged economic grants. I wish also to say that recognition of full right to language, culture, customs and tribal institutions should be effected and, if necessary, proper changes should be incorporated in the judicial machinery.

There is another point also to which I wish to make reference, and that is the relations which would subsist between this area under Central administration and the Government of Assam. A few days earlier, I had occasion to ask a question of the Prime Minister in which I wanted an elucidation. My impression—I am subject to correction— is that in the Naga area, there is, rightly or wrongly, a lively apprehension of the possible intervention of the Assam Government and its subsidiaries in the affairs of the Naga territory. I do not wish to reflect on the Assam Government at all. On that occasion, I said that nothing should be done by the Assam Government which might queer the pitch for a really effective settlement by the Centre with the Naga people. The Prime Minister answered that it was not proper to reflect on the attitude of the Assam Government. I do not wish to reflect on the Assam Government, but I do find reports from time to time from Assam to the effect that this territory, even though under Central control, would be part of Assam, with whatever implications I cannot quite judge.

Now there is a kind of feeling in Naga areas and also among certain other tribes in Assam, that this relationship with Assam ought to be defined more carefully so that the rights of the tribes are not jeopardised. I, therefore, say that Government should do whatever is necessary in order to remove the misgivings of the Nagas, and if that is done, if administrative and human measures are taken in order to satisfy the aspirations of the Nagas which have gone astray, which have been distorted, which have been deliberately deviated into certain desirable channels by hostile propaganda activity, then

we shall bring about a complete change in the atmosphere in that part of our country, and this problem, which has been crying for solution since 1947, would be finally settled.

I, therefore, conclude by saying that we welcome this measure. We wish this Bill to be passed into law as soon as ever that is possible, but we want Government to come forward with some assurances regarding the adoption of those administrative and other measures which would allay the misgivings of the Nagas, which would really and truly expand the ambit of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, which would give some concrete content to the rights of autonomy envisaged in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution and which would solve not only the problem of the Nagas in India but also the problem of the other tribal populations who come up from time to time with certain specific grievances of their own. With this qualification, therefore—which is not really a qualification—I offer my full support to the motion moved by the Home Minister.

IN SUPPORT OF PUNJABI SUBA*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we meet today in the context of certain events that have a potentiality of political danger and are also emotionally surcharged, events which are serious in themselves and which, if not properly tackled, might produce consequences which are terrible to contemplate. That being so, I had expected, though it was hoping against hope that my friend, Shri Mathur, would speak in a temper which would contribute to easing the tension, which exists today not only in the Punjab, but also in contiguous territories.

The Prime Minister, is leaving tomorrow, but he has not, I am sorry to note, ostensibly relaxed the rigidity of the stand which he has taken up on the question of Punjabi Suba and Master Tara Singh's fast. It might sound trite, but the statesmanship, the generosity and understanding which it connotes, continue to be potent and I do say that it is being given the go-by. I notice from the correspondence which the Prime Minister laid on the Table of the House how he has described Master Tara Singh as a person who makes, highly irresponsible statements. But what is more important to the country, whatever Master Tara Singh might or might not do, is that the Prime Minister shows a greater sense of responsibility in regard to what is going to happen to our country.

What everybody wants in this country is that normalcy and harmony return to the life of the Punjab. But what we see from day to day, as Master Tara Singh's fast continues—he is a very old man and one never knows what might happen; even as we speak, there is perhaps an element of danger—is that these tensions, far from being resolved, are being aggravated. We find tensions and uncertainties are being aggravated. The situation remains grave and yet, we do not see Government displaying a real anxiety and political prudence and that is why I am very sorry that the Prime Minister's statement laid on the Table of the House yesterday is so unsatisfying.

The Prime Minister dismisses the demand for Punjabi Suba. I have noticed also a tendency in many quarters even to refer to the words Punjabi Suba in a slighting manner. I do not understand it. Suba is just as good a word as Pradesh. We have Andhra Pradesh and if the Punjabis call for a Punjabi

* *L.S. Deb.*, 29 August 1961. [Participating in the debate on Statement made by Prime Minister re: 'Punjabi Suba', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 23 September 1965 on a similar subject].

Suba, it is a very good way of expressing their claim. But in any case, that is not a matter about which we are quarrelling.

With regard to the formation of a linguistic State for the Punjabi-speaking people, as far as we are concerned, our stand has been communicated urgently and personally to the Prime Minister; and that is that we support in principle the formation of a linguistic State where Punjabi is the principal language. In principle, we support the formation of the State and we desire that the Government makes an announcement to that effect. I say so because, I may tell my hon. friend, Shri Mathur, the people of Punjab are keenly interested in regard to this matter. If most of them happen to be Sikhs, it is not any crime on their part. I do not know; it might be found on a proper delineation of the Punjabi-speaking areas that the Sikhs perhaps will not be in a majority. But majority or minority—if the Sikhs do happen to be in a majority, that is no crime. That is not an offence on their part. And, you meet Sikhs wherever you go, in India, in Delhi or anywhereelse, you talk to Sikhs of any persuasion, political or any other, and you will find how deep down in their heart the Sikhs today have accepted the idea of Punjabi Suba as something which they ought to have, and I do desire the Prime Minister to make an effort to get into the skin of the other fellow. That is why he has been our national leader, not particularly because of some intellectual attainments but of a capacity which surely we have discerned, of his being able to find out what the other man feels.

What about the Punjabi-speaking people? Perhaps some Punjabi-speaking Hindus are opposing Punjabi Suba. I would not like to say any word which you have advised us to avoid—because I was going to say it is vulgar—but it is undesirable. When the Punjabi-speaking Hindus repudiate their own language there must be some peculiar communal motivation behind their repudiation—of many Punjabi-speaking Hindus—of their own mother language. But that has happened. So what are we going to take as a criterion of the wishes of the Punjabi people? Are we going to take only the opinion of those people who can go even so far as to repudiate their own mother language, or are we going to take the opinion of those who really and truly are Punjabi-speaking people? And, if the Punjabi-speaking people are asking for something, we have got to understand that and it is no good taking up a bureaucratic view of the matter.

I notice that in contrast with the parts before independence, because the Congress has formed the Government of the day, an executive view of the matter is being taken about everything, an administrative slant is given to every thing. Here is a demand. Is it going to disturb law and order of a particular area and the Home Ministry will be up in arms against it? But it is necessary not to pursue in this matter, not to have a purely executive and

administrative view of the matter when the sentiments, the deep emotions of the people are involved. And, that is why I say, that if the Punjab was such a very happy family today, if the toiling masses of the Punjab, as my hon. friend Shri Mathur described them, are so very happy about the shape of things there, then surely the movement of Punjabi Suba would not have taken on the huge shape as it has done today.

I do not like many of the aspects of their movement as it is being conducted today, but it is neither here nor there. The basic demand of a Punjabi-speaking State is a demand which is underlined with our tradition, and that is why it is our duty, it is our responsibility, it is a matter of principle for us to accept the idea of a Punjabi Suba. I say, therefore, accept the principle because it is just and proper.

I say also, at the same time, that the implementation of that principle will have to wait, and I say that because I know that for a variety of reasons which are very undersirable the Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus by and large perhaps do not agree in the manner in which they should. That is why it is necessary to have sometime after announcement of the acceptance of the principle to say that the implementation of the principle will naturally take sometime. The Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus have got to remain together. The artificial animosities which have been whipped up by certain communal organisations have got to be resolved. The Hindi-speaking areas will have to have somewhere special provisions and they will have to have the necessary safeguards. Naturally, this process will take some time. But the principle should be immediately recognised, because without that you cannot win the heart of Punjab and unless you win the heart of Punjab, all this talk of national integration which it is going on every-where—wherever I go I am hearing this talk—will produce a mouse, all this talk will be found to be so much moonshine and not sunshine.

I know the Akalis who are so very much in the picture have been communal. We ourselves, the Communist Party, have had to fight the Akalis so many times. We are against the idea of the mixing up of religion with politics. Like my hon. friend, Shri Mathur, we have openly come out against the misuse of Gurdwaras and whenever and wherever communal passions have been roused, we have tried to fight it with all the resources at our command in order to restore the normalcy and harmony in the life of our people. So, as far as the Akalis are concerned, perhaps we can produce a bill of charges against them. Who does not know that the Akalis have often behaved in a very communal manner? But is it necessary, is it statesmanship in the year 1961 to rake up those things about Master Tara Singh and other Akalis? Are there only Akali communalists? Is not Hindu communalism also very much in the picture? That is why I say, let us take a principled stand and then ultimately you will rectify these things.

The Prime Minister in his statement has argued the matter and he speaks as if the linguistic States principle was not a national decision to be implemented, the idea being that the linguistic States idea was possibly arrived at in the pre-independence days for some opportunistic purpose. I do not think so. The idea of having linguistic States in this country was a national decision whose rationality has not gone by the wall; it continues still to be a rational and rightful thing. And it is a pity—I am sorry to have to say that—even from recent experience he seems to learn nothing and to forget nothing. In 1952 he resisted the idea of an Andhra State. He said on those days that it was not a viable State. He said that a separate Andhra State would hurt India's unity. But he was proved to be wrong. Andhra Pradesh was set up and it is functioning since then. Of course, Sriramalu had to die, a great many other people had to suffer and a very high cost had to be paid for the achievement of Andhra Pradesh.

Then again, only a few years ago, when we were members of Parliament, in 1956 he was fighting to the last ditch and he was being supported by large numbers of members of Parliament belonging to different parties in the House, against the bifurcation of Bombay. All members of Parliament who stood by him—they always do that—signed memoranda arguing how Bombay should not be split up at any cost. But the people of Maharashtra and the people of Gujarat—whatever the members of Parliament in 1956 might have thought—thought differently and they had their way. But a very heavy price in struggle had to be given, a price in lives lost and sufferings undergone, and it was Government which was responsible for this because of its obstinate resistance which ultimately proved to be not only futile but foolish. Any-how, Maharashtra and Gujarat are there today happily working and, paradoxically, Congress claims credit for the formation of those States—Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Now, following upon our experience in 1952 and 1956, in 1960-61 we have had this demand for a Punjabi Suba. Again the idea is being revived in the old manner. But all means, as I said before, let us point out the wrong way in which the Akalis pose it and fight for it. But is it because a rightful principle is being posed wrongly by a wrong set of people we should not accept it? Since that appeals to the emotions of our people and if, not only that, it really and truly makes for effective administration, administration in conformity with the interests of the common people whose language has got to have a certain position as far as the Government is concerned? Now, just because the Akalis are a kind of people whom we wish to malign, perhaps for good reasons, we try to adopt this attitude. That is why, because of this executive approach to this matter those who are in charge of the administration are trying to repress all trouble. That is why the Punjab State Government is trying only to adopt this kind of attitude which is completely wrong. I cannot

go into any detail about what the State Government is doing, but the administration as a whole is entirely dependent on the governmental machinery of repression. They can control the situation for a time, but they cannot for all time heal the wound in the Punjabi heart. But if something happens, if something tragic happens—I do not know, the Prime Minister will have gone tomorrow, and if something very bad happens, and it might very well happen the wound in the Punjabi heart will take a very long time to heal, and that would be something damage which you do to the integrity of our country. That is why I say, please do not take recourse to bureaucratic and administrative and repressive methods in order to put down a demand which appears from all the available facts to have captured the imagination of the people not merely in a sentimental fashion but also from the point of view that linguistic States are the principal medium for linking the administration with the lives of the people. And Punjab is the only area in the country which has been deprived of the application of that linguistic principle. The Punjabis have a sense of discrimination, only because of that, not because of the fatuous charge which, we think, is completely fantastic that Sikhs are not getting sufficient jobs. Sikhs, of course, are getting very good jobs, and why not? They are a very good set of people and they are getting jobs also. It is not discrimination of Sikhs in regard to employment, but it is discrimination against the Punjabi language, it is discrimination against the Punjabi-speaking people, it is discrimination against those people who are out of Punjab.....

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Punjabi is a major language scheduled in the Constitution, a language spoken by the majority of the people in a certain area which is contiguous, and this is a language which is not being given its rightful position.

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I know the Prime Minister has said "We do not have unilingual State only". I shall come to that point. He said "We do not have unilingual States only". Of course, we do not have unilingual States alone; but our States are delimited on the basis of a language being the language spoken by the majority of the people there in that area. You make the amplest provision for linguistic minorities, and it is terribly important, as events in Assam and other places have shown, but do not quible words like "unilingual", "linguism" and that sort of thing. Do not merely say that we do not want unilingual States. Who wants unilingual States? And where in the world do you find a completely unilingual State? Does not France contain people near the frontier who speak something like Spanish, a sort of *patois* and more or less a mixture of German and French? You cannot find that anywhere. In our own country, in every State naturally, there will be people speaking other Indian languages, and no

particular province will be a completely unilingual State. Punjab would not be a unilingual State because Punjab have got a very large Hindi-speaking minority. You must so demarcate the area that the Hindi-speaking minority would be lesser, they might perhaps go to other areas, or there may be special safeguards for their own language and they might remain inside Punjab, but the point is..... If Punjabi is not a majority language, that is a different matter, but Punjabi is the majority language, and, surely, Punjabi is being kept out of the arena as far as the rightful application of the principle is concerned.

I have seen also in the statement the Prime Minister asking Master Tara Singh to give up his fast. We all ask Master Tara Singh to give up his fast, because fasting perhaps leads nowhere. But the Prime Minister goes on to argue that it is a wrong and antidemocratic method of doing things. I wish to remind the Prime Minister of the saying that father ate sour grapes and the teeth of the children were sitting on edge. The Congress ate a lot of sour grapes and the teeth of the children of the Congress have been sitting on edge. You started this business of fasts. You cannot say "heads I win; tails you lose". You have made fasts a method of political campaigning and instrument of popular mobilisation. I do not like it myself and you may not like it in your personal capacity, but you have, in your political career, over and over again utilised the method of fasts in order to mobilise the people, until you change this context of things. Do not blame your political opponents for taking recourse to a method which you yourself were pleased in adopting before. But I say this, we want Master Tara Singh to give up his fast, because merely fasting is no good. Besides, the principle has to be established and propagated fairly and truly, and that would be achieved if Master Tara Singh gives up his fast. But I think it is up to the Government, at the same time, to make a generous and statesmanlike gesture, and that is to say that the linguistic principle, being something which the whole country has adopted, should also be applied in the case of Punjab.

In regard to the regional formula the Prime Minister has stated certain things at page 8671 of the Uncorrected Debates where he said that he was fully prepared to have the matter of the regional formula examined by the representatives of the region and the Punjab Government. It is a good thing, but it is very unhappy that wisdom dawned on the Prime Minister so late. If only he had said this thing sometime ago, some two or three years ago, the whole face of the Punjab might have been changed, but he did not do so, and the wisdom came too late, and that too in small instalments so grudgingly, so gradually, that he seems to be losing his grip, and that is why it is necessary that something is done about it.

Punjabi-speaking people and the Punjabi language are not supplicants at anybody's door. The Prime Minister says "We shall do these things for the

language; whatever your claims, some of them have been conceded; we shall give some more things". They are not asking for favours, they are not asking for a little more of encouragement and that sort of thing. They want what the rest of the country has got, as a matter of right, and they alone cannot be singled out for this kind of discrimination, and that is why I repeat that you have to accept the principle of linguistic States in regard to Punjab and you have to work out the details very carefully and without any hurry.

We have to make sure of Sikh and Hindu harmony and co-operation and, for that purpose, the Sikhs also, after they have been properly approached, would have to make the right kind of response and, I am sure, they will, if properly approached, generously approached, the Sikhs would make the right kind of response. The Sikhs and Hindus are both Punjabis and they have to live together in their own country by creating a strong Punjab which will be not only the soul of India, as in the past, but very much more, an agency of reconstruction, economical, industrial, technical, cultural and in so many other ways, and that is why in our own emerald country, this wonderful country where there is so much of distinctiveness, we want that distinctiveness should flourish and separation should never come into the picture. Let that distinct quality of the union of this country be recognized, and then they will come together and integrated properly and truly, in a kind of real unity of the whole of India. That was the kind of vision which was brought out in our national anthem—

पंजाब सिन्धु गुजरात मराठा द्राविड़
उत्कल बंगा बिन्ध्य हिमाचल यमुना गंगा.....

The whole concept of the unity of India is emblazoned in our national anthem. That can only be achieved when you have understood the desire of the Punjabi people and acted generously like a statesman and not with a footling little mind of a bureaucrat ruling the administration. Approach the Punjabi heart in that spirit and you will win the Punjabi heart and that will really make a contribution to the national integration.

Normally, this Bill should have gone through without any opposition. ... But the difficulty is that perhaps our Government still continues to inherit certain legacies of the British bureaucratic regime, and when it drafts a Bill of this description, it falls back upon the prototype which the British, in their condescension, have left to us. And here is a Bill which is almost exactly in the same terms as the Defence of India Act of the British regime used to be.

On behalf of our group, certain amendments have been given, and apart from the points of detail which are discussed there, one amendment has the intention of changing the title of the Bill, to call it the National Defence Bill, not the Defence of India Bill which, even in its nomenclature smacks of the bureaucratic tradition of the previous age.

But it is not merely a matter of words. It is a matter of substance. This Bill, as it is framed, sows a vivid disregard for the feeling of our people. There is no question about the resurgence among our people their desire to repel the aggression which has taken place, their patriotic determination to see that the crisis is overcome. There is no question about it. And yet, there is such persistent distrust of our people as can only be matched by the bureaucratic attitude of the pre-independence days. And that is why I say that it is necessary for Parliament to apply its mind much more carefully than has been suggested by the speech of my friend, Prof. Sharma, or even by the speech of my hon. friend, the Law Minister who made the motion before the House.

Having said that, I would like to emphasize what Prof. Sharma has referred to, that we have got in this country this unanimous determination of our people, that we have seen reflected in this House that desire of our people, that we have every section of the House, some of which had very serious differences with Government even in regard to foreign policy, sections of the House like the Swatantra group, whose leader went so far as to say that a change in the leadership is necessary in times which are not peaceful,

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 22 and 28 November 1962. [Shri Mukerjeee also spoke on a similar subject on 4 December 1971].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for special measures to ensure the public safety and interest, the Defence of India and civil defence and for the trial of certain offences and for matters connected therewith and became 'The Defence of India Act, in 1962'.

but in spite of that kind of serious and fundamental divergence, we saw that the temper of the country is such that it is bound to be reflected inside the House, and here in this House, as Prof. Sharma recalled, we all stood, because it was a historical occasion, in order to give our unanimous support to the resolution of the Prime Minister.

But, in spite of that, we find things are being done, and are being sought to be done, which goes against the grain of what Prof. Sharma cherished, namely the context of the democratic way of life. He said that this Bill has been formulated in the context of the democratic way of life. I would like him to go into the details of the provisions of this Bill, and find out how far they really are in tune with the context of the democratic way of life.

I do not propose at this moment to go into much detail, because during the discussion of the amendments those details can be more profitably discussed, but I wish to refer only to one provision, that is clause 18, where the sentences of special tribunals are referred to, and there we find that there shall be no appeal from any order or sentence of a special tribunal, except for those who are sentenced to death or imprisonment for life or for a term of ten years. This is a kind of provision which surely Parliament cannot be expected in a hurry to say yes to.

Even when war takes place on a scale which we surely are not in a position even to imagine, even when the Battle of Britain was going on, Lord Atkin, Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, made a remark which has become classical. He said that the laws are not silent even in this clash of arms. It is necessary to have that much of respect for the law, and we find that in this proposed legislation there is an absolute disregard of those rights which our people have come to expect as a matter of course. We live in a free country, we do not live in the kind of country that India used to be under the British domination.

We do not want legislation which is an exact replica of the British Defence of India Act of the previous times. That is exactly what the Government is doing, because of its lack of imagination, because of its having inherited bureaucratic legacies of the past.

I say this very seriously also, perhaps because I am speaking under a sense of stress on account of certain things which have come to our notice very recently. This morning we read in the papers about the arrests and detention of several hundreds of members of our party, including a number of those whose names have been mentioned in the papers, who are fairly leading personnel. A little before I came to Parliament, actually after I had taken my seat here in the House, I came to learn that the General-Secretary of our party, Shri E.M.S. Namboodripad, has been arrested from his office

where he was working. It might be said that all this is being done in order to further the defence of India. I do not know what the connotation of the defence of India is. I am a member of this House elected by a certain section of our people, and as members of this House, as long as we are inside the House, we are entitled to understand certain things.

I have spoken in this House only the other day, in support of the Prime Minister's resolution, and I said on that occasion quoting, as those who are rather philosophically minded might remember, Kant's words about categorical imperative. I said on that occasion that a situation has arisen where all together to be behind the Prime Minister and his policies is a categorical imperative. It was exactly in those words that I expressed the support of my party to the resolution of the Prime Minister.

When the Prime Minister himself spoke in reply to the debate, he referred to the resolution of my party's National Council as a resolution which could have been drafted by any non-communist patriot of its country, and he said also that whatever doubts and dubieties there might be in the minds of certain people regarding the Communist Party, here is a resolution which is something to be welcomed highly, and here is a resolution which should be utilised in our task of getting everybody to come behind the national effort. I am not quoting his exact words, but that was the sense, very clear sense, of what he said.

Everywhere, wherever we had an opportunity, we have stated our stand. In the West Bengal Assembly, for instance, unanimously a resolution was passed, and our people who spoke there made our position very clear, no doubt about it. When I spoke in my humble way, I tried to make it very clear that we have taken a stand, and when we take a stand we mean it. We might be wrong-headed sometimes, we might not be as intelligent as so many other people, but when we make up our mind, we state it, we do not play hush-hush about it, and when we pass a resolution, believing in the identity and unity of theory and action as a social imperative, we try to execute that resolution into action. It becomes a binding obligation on every single member of our Party. Every single member who considers himself to be one of the communist movement should translate that resolution into effect. We have done it and we are trying to do it. We have been hindered by certain forces. In West Bengal for instance we want to hold meetings and in Calcutta at any rate we can hold meetings that would be as big as any that the Prime Minister himself can hope to address in that area.... We were stopped there. The police stops that: permission is not given on account of the fictious plea that we cannot keep order in our meetings and that other people might come and create disturbance. We are stopped from having that meeting although we can tell our people what is wanted to be done by very single citizen of this

country in view of the present emergency. We are ready and willing to do our bit; we are doing what we can even here in this House. I am not referring to what we have done in our individual capacities. We are doing all we can. But in spite of that, in spite of this categorical assertion which we make in the highest forum of our country, in spite of the declaration which we have sent out to all the world, this kind of a step is being adopted against us. I know on many occasions in this House we were told about the international character of the communist movement. It is used as an argument to prove that therefore the communist in India would have international affiliations and would not perform his national duty. I say categorically that a communist is only worth his name when he can link up the sheerest patriotism with his understanding of what should be the new kind of society for all peoples, for all nations in the world; it is only when he can link up the two things that he becomes a real communist. I say also that the Communist Party of India today has passed a resolution which is not hushed up by us, which goes out to all the world and all the countries of the world know about it. The communist movement of the world today has come to realise how strongly the feelings of the Indian people are represented by the Communist Party of this country. We have done this in spite of our being part of the international movement, in spite of some people suggesting that we are subservient to certain international interests. We have sent out to all the world this determined declaration about the identity of interests of everybody in this country, communist or non-communist. That is a step which whoever knows anything about the international communist movement—the Prime Minister knows a great deal about it—knows it is important and whose importance you cannot forget or ignore. But I do not know in what kind of wisdom Government chose to act and Government proceeds in this fashion; rounding up our people all over the country. Do you think that it is going to help the war effort? I do not know. When I spoke on the motion, I made a categorical declaration; I said there was no qualification about it. I said at the same time as I said that there could be an attempt by the Government to see that price rises are not manoeuvered by the money bag interests. I said at the same time that the working people in the fields and factories as far as the influence of the Communist Party extends to them will deliver the goods. It is an unqualified support, an unreserved statement. Naturally we expect the big money interests would also play their role but we never made it conditional, one on the other, because we know that today the working people have to come forward. They are the salt of the earth and they bear the burden of life and it is on them that the real tasks fall—not on the likes of us who live in upholdstered comfort, sit in Parliament and get up and make speeches from time-to-time. It is for these working people that the Communist Party tries to do whatever work it possibly can; it is for them that the Communist Party tries to carry on in a dedicated fashion. The worst enemies of the Communist Party

can never deny that here at least are such people; here are people who live a dedicated life, who may be wrong-headed from time-to-time, who may not always understand the pulse of the people but who at the same time having made up their minds to serve the people do nothing else in this life, as long as they live. Inspite of that we find this kind, of thing going on; inspite of that we find this kind of legislation being put on the anvil; inspite of that we find the Government trying to take more and more power in its own hands. Who is it going to be used against? I am not going to speculate. We may be the first victims. I do not know what the Government policy is likely to be. They may push us out of the picture as far as political life is concerned. But surely if Government goes on in this way, we shall not be the only victims. The victims will increase and other people would also get it. What will happen to the determination of our people? Why do we take such risks? Why are we deranging the minds of our people in this fashion? Why do we distract them and bring in these absolutely irrelevant quasi-political considerations? Why is there so much distrust on the part of the Government as far as the people of this country are concerned? Cannot Government feel all over the country there is this determination and that determination is necessarily voiced by whoever is there? What is wrong in that? Is it not a fact of life today? That is the real fact of life. But Government does not realise it. I do hope that at least in this House, reflections would not be made on one another's patriotism. Let us come to blows; let us have controversies but let us not blackguard each other and behave in that fashion. Let us not cast doubts on each other's *bona fides* and let us not question each other's patriotism. I know there are people on the Congress side with whom I have very vivid differences and for many of whom I know I have great respect.

It would never occur to me to question their patriotic *bona fides*. I know it is cheap and easy to smear at communists and say they are not patriotic. But please, for heaven's sake, let not that sort of exchange be made in this House and let not that feeling be propagated in the country because there is no question about it; there is no question at all about the patriotism of our people all sections of our people. There cannot be any question about the determination. It is reflected in the decision of the Communist Party.

It may be said that the Communist Party was so late in finding out what should be done. I am not going to delve into past history. I know even the Prime Minister has been upbraided by people for having followed a certain course of action in international relations for years and years. I know of people on the Congress side who have been to China and other places personally—I have never been to China—and who have said warmer things about the People's Republic of China than we have ever done. Is it easy to understand the complicated world in which we live today? Is it quite so easy to pontificate and to imagine that one is always right? How is it possible for

the communist movement in a country like India to find out all the ins and outs of things? Even today we do not know, Government does not know, nobody seems to know the motivation; you find a lot of speculation all over the place but you tell us: you were so late in finding out what should be done and therefore you cannot be trusted. We have put our cards all the time on the Table of this House. This is not the first time that I am speaking in this House on the India-China border issue; so many times I have spoken. I remember two years ago I have used these words: trust in negotiations and possibility of peace but keep your powder dry. This is the kind of expression which I have used and honest members of the House, some of them will remember, because after all it was a picturesque way of putting a thing. I have said that I do not want to go into details. Here is an attack made on us, on the eve of Parliament passing the Defence of India Bill. There is an attack made on the principal group in the Opposition in this House, on the second most important political party in this country on the basis of dubious attacks made in bad taste against the patriotic *bona fides* of the Communist Party and only in view of that certain steps have been taken. I do not know what is in the minds of the Government. Even the devil does not know what is in the mind of man. I cannot hope to assess what the Government really proposes to do. But some things have happened this morning even, which have upset so many calculations which seem to suggest that the Government does not wish to follow in the wake of what the Prime Minister himself suggested the other day, that Government does not wish to implement what the Prime Minister himself proposed the other day, namely, the utilisation of the unity of the Communist Party with the rest of the country over this effort. It suggests that Government proposes to take into its hands certain powers and very likely they are liable to be abused. Therefore, I feel that very careful attention should be given to the provisions of the law. Since we are so fond of quoting British precedents, I shall quote to you what I have quoted before, namely, Lord Atkin's saying that even in the clash of arms the laws are not silent. Let not the laws be covered over by emergency provisions of a sort which would give an overall authoritarian strength to the Government of India. We want the Government to proceed to the tasks of national defence with all the vigour at its disposal; the country will give it to the Government with tremendous enthusiasm, but I do not wish that abuses take place, and abuses have already been suggested by the actions taken by the Government and that is why I have my misgivings about this Bill as presently formulated.

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It seems that the emergency envisaged in that article of the Constitution is an emergency of such a sort when even Parliament cannot meet. The

emergency at the present time is one when luckily Parliament is in a position to meet and have its deliberations. In view of that, my suggestion is—I am not questioning your ruling; I am not even saying that the provision in the Constitution has to be defied or anything of that sort—that Government should take into consideration the desirability of consulting Parliament when Parliament has actually been summoned by the President himself, and asking the Parliament's advice in regard to a certain emergency declaration which the President has made. That is a matter of propriety, that is a matter of courtesy to the representatives of the people. That is the point which I wish to convey.

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My point is that Parliament is not in the picture at all. The President issues an order which surely has to be obeyed by everybody, irrespective of the fact of Parliament having discussed it or not.

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Parliament cannot discuss it. But my point is that the makers of the Constitution envisaged a period when Parliament cannot meet; it is such an emergency. Therefore, President orders. ....

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It may be so; naturally, it has to be provided for differently, because you have to envisage the functioning of the country without Parliament. But the country today is functioning with the Parliament very much in the picture. Therefore, it is necessary in the interests of Parliamentary propriety, for the Government to come before Parliament and to explain the reasons why President has been advised by the Council of Ministers to make that order so that Parliament may have a full opportunity to discuss it.

Sir, I support the suggestion made by my hon. friend, Shri S.M. Banerjee. As I said when I spoke at the consideration stage, it is necessary that this kind of an emergency legislation is implemented in the spirit of having the complete trust and the confidence of the people. That is why the nomenclature also has a certain significance. If today instead of having the bad old British title of the old day regarding the defence of India, we have another title which is more in conformity with the understanding of our people today, it should appeal to the heart. That is why it should be easy for Government to accept it.

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We shall be putting on the statute-book the Defence of India Bill in a very short while and I wish to say at this stage that, while we would have been

happier if certain provisions suggested from this side of the House had been agreed to by the Government, even so, it goes without saying that, in an emergency, when extraordinary steps are necessary, the Bill should have our entire support and the Bill, as the wisdom of the House has fashioned it, does have our complete and un-ambiguous support.

We had sought to amend the provisions regarding the constitution of Special Tribunals, the right of the detenu to represent his case against the charges on which he is held, his right of appeal and such other things. A colleague of ours, Shri Nambiar, was here yesterday pressing for some of these provisions. Today, I am told, he has been whisked off to jail. I wish he could be told, why he is being held and he could also give his side of the case to the authorities. Anyway, we asked for certain changes because we felt, and we are convinced, that national defence can best be conducted if the total unity of the country against aggression can be trusted by the Government and utilised to the maximum extent. However, since the emergency is very much there, we do not make a grouse of these things and I reiterate our support to this Bill. We hope in its implementation, the Government would act with firmness, no doubt, but at the same time, with justice.

I say, I reiterate our support, advisedly because, in the course of the debate on this Bill, our attitude has been sought to be seriously mis-construed. I do not know why. The Law Minister, when he spoke, chose to say that I spoke intemperately and raised what he called the sole discordant voice against the Bill. I do not know why he did not mention my good friend, Shri Ranga whom I heard very carefully, who was perhaps a great deal more critical of certain provisions of the Bill than I was. I find the West Bengal Press, certain sections of it, are trying to make out as if we had opposed the Bill. As a matter of fact, I have done nothing of that sort. My hon. friend, the Minister of State was perhaps not there. But, the Deputy Law Minister listened to what I had to say. I never raised a discordant voice against the Bill. I said categorically that it was imperative and a necessary corollary from the Resolution that we had all unanimously accepted, the Resolution moved by the Prime Minister. Of course, I felt strongly about certain things and I expressed myself. I felt strongly about the large-scale arrests of Communists which I cannot but consider extremely ill-advised. Even now, I ask the Government to re-consider this policy of arrests. As far as we are concerned, our decision is there. Our Resolution is there, and whatever the Government does to us, we shall back with all our strength the national policy proclaimed by the Prime Minister and that is why we have every hope that at least the unanimity of the country in regard to the duty of our people at this emergency is not disturbed in the process of the implementation of this Bill.

In regard to this, I seek your permission to refer to the report in today's papers of a resolution adopted by the West Bengal State Committee of the Communist Party. It is very significant and I crave your indulgence for quoting a section of it. In one part of the Resolution it is said:

> "Had we not struggled with our understanding to come to the realization—which we have, today—and instead, made a volte face overnight, that itself would have been unreal, insincere and suspect. Mindful of the past hesitations we pledge to do all in our power to rally the entire party on the basis of the National Council Resolution in defending our motherland, to prove by our blood and sacrifice that the Communists are among the best sons of the motherland."

I know, sometimes, all kinds of things have been said about us. The Law Minister,—I am sorry he is not here; I am sorry also that when he spoke, I had some other work and could not be present in the House—quoted something which I had written in an article in some newspaper some 12 years ago. It is a magazine article, a copy of which I do not have even with me. I am not a very wise man as the Law Minister said. Perhaps, I am not a very discreet man either. I do not keep copies of these things. But I write pretty often. I have written about Mahatma Gandhi, I have written about Jawaharlal Nehru so many times and at least the country should know what my position is in regard to these problems of national significance. But, I am not referring to my particular case. I would ask the Government and the country through my position here in Parliament to ask certain questions to themselves. Is it not a fact of tremendous significance that when the Chinese Revolution took place, it raised high hopes which were expressed by everybody including our Prime Minister and so many other people? It raised high hopes especially in countries like ours which were fighting for their own freedom and had just emerged into freedom. But, then, after a decade or so, dogmatism in China has led to the degeneration of that Revolution.

Is it not a stupendous fact of human history? Is it a fact which has to be trifled with? Is it a fact which can be understood just like that straightaway by everybody? We do not claim that much of knowledge that much of insight. We had some hopes about the Chinese Revolution behaving very differently, just as the Prime Minister had hoped about the People's Republic of China behaving differently. This kind of thing has happened elsewhere. In the French Revolution also we have seen how a revolution degenerates. Is it not a fact of seminal significance that the Communist Party of India asserts unequivocally its denunciation of the cruel blow which China has dealt with India and defamed and degraded socialism in the process. That is the actual thing which has happened. That is why today we find so much of feeling against what China has done. That is why the country is today genuinely

and sincerely united in its determination that what China has done cannot and ought not to be supported. That is why we are all absolutely positive in regard to our duty as to what should be done in the present crisis.

I do not wish to speak much more about it, but since I do not know what might happen in the near future, and since so many of us perhaps are still suspect, I would like to repeat here what I once said to our former Speaker, when some suspicions were voiced about the patriotism of the Communists of this country. I remember how even among those in West Bengal who are arrested—my hon. friend, the Minister of State can verify it—there are people who have spent nearly 25 years in jail, people who went to jail in the British times at the time of the Chittagong Armoury Raid in 1930 or even earlier. Our patriotism is suspected from time-to-time, and I told our former Speaker on one occasion, quoting from the *Ramayana* when Sita's *pathalapravesha* is described—my hon. friend, the Minister knows it so very well—that if this was the age of miracles, I could, by changing a few words, just changing for the word 'Rama' the word *'desha'* or *'Bharat'*, use the very same words, and the earth would open to take me inside. I could very well say:

मनसा कर्मणा वाचा यथा देशं समर्थये,
तथा मे माधवी देवी विवरं दातुमर्दति।

I could have said that:

यथाहं भारतादन्यं मनसापि न चिन्तये,
तथा मे माधवी देवी विवरं दातुमर्हसि।

I could have said that, and if this was the age of miracles, the earth would open, and everybody would have known where justice lies. I do not want to press this point.

I happen to belong to a university, the Calcutta University, where Ashutosh Mukerjee was the Vice-Chancellor for a very long time, and in a collection of his speeches as Vice-Chancellor, which I read a long time ago, there is a reference to a poet; and those lines have stuck, in my Brahminic memory and they have still stuck in my memory, and I want to repeat them to you. He quoted these words of a poet whose name I forget. He had said at his convocation to the students of Calcutta these words. He said, 'You take this vow', and this was the vow:

"I vow to thee, my country,
All earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect.
The service of my love,

The love that asks no question,
The love that stands the test,
That lays upon the alter,
The dearest and the best,
The love that never falters,
The love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted
The final sacrifice."

If we can mobilise inside of ourselves that love for our emerald country, then no matter what danger threatens from abroad or from inside, our country shall be on top of the world again, our country shall again reach that glory which it has been its tradition to achieve during ages past.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a matter of great importance, but I have a suspicion that the listless way in which the House is dealing with it is some indication of the lack of genuine seriousness on the part of Government in tackling the problem of corruption. I have no grouse, particularly against anybody in the Ministry, but I have been noticing all day that except for Shri Hathi who, with conspicuous conscientiousness has been here almost throughout—he is out only for a short while: maybe, for very essential reason—the Treasury Benches have been completely empty except for the sudden emergence—I do not know for what reasons—of Shri Tyagi.

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I would like to see him as often as possible; but that is another point. I do resent that Shri Nanda, who has made a name for himself as the paladin of the fight against corruption—and I believe in his sincerity; no doubt about it—even he has been kept away by heaven knows what particular State occasion. I shall not mention any other name, not even of the Prime Minister, but, unfortunately, again perhaps for overriding State reasons which we are not in the know about, he is hardly ever seen in the Lok Sabha these days.

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I say this because Shri Nanda definitely has shown genuine signs of earnestness about this matter. He said the other day—I read it in the papers—that we cannot afford to fail and he has put before the country a kind of perspective. He says that in the next couple of years or so he is going to adopt such measures as would really make a qualitative change in the situation. I do not see evidence, factual evidence, of any serious effort to deal effectively with the problem of corruption in a couple of years' time. I do hope that he was not merely playing to the gallery. I do hope that Shri Nanda will realise his responsibility to the country. I do hope that the esteem in which he is held in Parliament and the belief in his sincerity that we all share comes to be justified by results.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 18 November 1964. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 16 June 1967 and 5 May 1972 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for changes in the law to ensure speedy trial of cases of bribery, corruption and criminal misconduct, and to make© the law otherwise more effective became 'The Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) Act, 1964'.

I do not wish to say, as perhaps some people do from time to time, that our country is seething with corruption. I think, we should be a little more careful about the use of words, specially in Parliament—when my hon. friend, Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka, was talking he said that we should not talk too much about corruption—I feel, at the same time, that the problem of corruption is at least so serious and in recent times has assumed certain dimensions in such a way that we should apply our minds very carefully and take some drastic steps in order to stop the rot that appears to have emerged. And that is why a great deal of seriousness is wanted.

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I do not want to pick a quarrel but I feel that it is better in the interest of the country that we do not exaggerate the extent of corruption and at the same time it is necessary that we try to tackle the problem which has appeared in rather extra-ordinary shape from time to time.

The appointment of the Santhanam Committee itself was evidence of the fact that something drastic had got to be done. It is a pity that the Government has thought fit not to follow up the report of the Santhanam Committee in the manner in which it should have been done. The Santhanam Committee has very correctly pointed out that the problem is essentially one of the entire system of moral values and of the socio-economic structure. This means that perhaps no basic change may be expected until the system of values and the structure of society are changed. But while fundamentally speaking that is so, there is not much point in our being fundamentalists in this matter. We should take whatever concrete steps we can adopt at the moment for the eradication of corruption from public life. Therefore, while we should keep the ideal of a change in the social structure which Shri More was pointing out as the most important instrumentality for the eradication of corruption, at the same time short-term remedies have got to be adopted as quick as they are possible. Even from that point of view, however, the Government's Bill falls very short and the more significant aspects of the Santhanam Committee Report are left in the lurch. That is something against which we hope this House, if left to itself, would certainly raise its voice. I say this because a point which has been made over and over again is that the definition of a public servant has not been expanded in the way in which the Santhanam Committee wanted it to be done, from Cabinet Ministers to Chairman of Cooperative Societies who are in the employ of the Government in some way or the other. The Santhanam Committee had recommended that they should come under the purview of legislation. When Shri Hathi spoke yesterday he said that certain categories suggested by the Committee were not included as it was feared that would make those people hesitant to bear their responsibilities. It is rather a very dubious and a dangerous proposition.

Possibly the idea in the mind of Shri Hathi—he is not here—was that when a man becomes a Minister or something else, he should be absolved of all anxiety on the score of attack on his integrity. I do not quite understand it. Like Caesar's wife, somebody who becomes a high dignitary in our Republic has got to be above suspicion. If he cannot be, he has no business to be on the Treasury Benches. It is no reason for the Government to imagine that there are people in this country who should adorn the Treasury Benches and should be absolved of all anxiety in regard to any accusations against them being put up. I do not understand this at all. I say this because it is a melancholy fact that it is particularly Ministers of the country at the highest level who have come in recently for adverse criticism, to put it very mildly, and very serious charges have been made against them, brought out publicly, bruited about noised and agitated all over the place. I do not say that every charge brought against the Minister and published in some paper or other is a correct charge. I am not in a position to pronounce upon it. But the fact of the matter is that these charges against Ministers in the very highest position in our country in the Centre as well as in the States are noised about, talked about very freely. I was in Bombay only the other day and in the most reputable company, company of people who had no political axe to grind, of any sort who had no political convictions of a particular category, I heard open talk in regard to the corruption which is reported to have been practised very high up and the acquisition of properties by a person who was a son of a Cabinet Minister. We have been sent documents about the veracity of which I am not in a position to vouch in which it is stated that bodies of Congressmen have examined these charges against the son of a very important former Cabinet Minister in Bombay. Everybody talks about it in Bombay. As a member of the highest legislative body in the country—I am not going to mention the names even here—I am not in a position to know what is being done in regard to this matter. The charges appear in the papers. The Ministers themselves sometimes give statements to the newspapers which reflect upon their own conduct. But nothing is done regarding this kind of a thing.

Sir, during the last session, I had the occasion to refer to some instances of Ministers alleged to be misbehaving. I am not in a position to pronounce upon this aspect of the matter. But these things are thrown about and it is very unfair, on many occasions, to the persons concerned. Possibly, the charges are absolutely baseless; possibly they are malicious. There is no apparatus for examining those charges. And now, what is suggested is that the Prime Minister will look into the allegations against the conduct of Ministers at the highest level—here in Delhi. I do not know. I do not reflect on anybody. But I am not going to be satisfied with a provision that the Prime Minister is going to look into the allegations against any of his own colleagues. I say this because I recall what was said by a man for whom all of us have had the

highest conceivable respect, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—he was here till the other day. When the charges against the former Chief Minister of Punjab accumulated, everybody was shouting about it. Reflection of that noise outside came inside the House also. It was the former Prime Minister who got up to tell us that he had examined that position and that he had given a clean bill of health to the former Chief Minister of Punjab. I cannot understand it. Even earlier, the former Chief Minister of Punjab was in trouble and the Congress appointed a committee under Shri Dhebar for whom we still have the greatest respect. He produced a report exonerating the former Chief Minister of Punjab. Naturally, if I have to deal with some allegations against a colleague of mine, there are certain presuppositions, certain conceptions in my own mind which with the best will in the world I cannot get over.

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The former Prime Minister had told us that he had examined the position and that he had given a clean bill of health. It was only later, when great pressure was put upon the Government that the Das Commission was appointed. My point is that when the examination of the charges against a Minister or a person in comparably exalted position is done by a colleague of his even in a superior position, it cannot be done properly. It has to be done on a different basis. A little over ago, Mr. Tyagi suggested that it would mean quick results. We do not want quick results if they are likely to be the wrong results. I want the ascertainment of facts and it is only fair to the person concerned against whom these charges are made. It is no pleasure for us to refer to charges made against our colleagues, whether on this side of the House or on that side of the House, because we meet here on terms of friendship, as much of intimacy as can grow between us, as between one man and another. It is no pleasure for us to refer to the charges having been made elsewhere. But these charges are always being made.

In regard to the province, the States, we have been told that the Chief Minister of the State would examine the allegations against other Ministers.

Now, what is happening in Orissa? The Siamese twins of Orissan politics have created a situation in the country which is a disgrace to the entire political structure of India. They are behaving in such a fashion, and everything appears in the papers. The present Chief Minister of Orissa sent out a circular for all the world to read that he and his wife could give over all their assets to anybody for the sum of one rupee. Is this kind of joke to be practised by people very high up in political life? And that kind of person who naturally renders himself liable to be considered to be either an insolvent or a criminal,

that kind of person continues to be in power and that kind of person is vested by the code of conduct suggested by Government with the power to examine allegations against his colleagues. This kind of thing goes on. It passes muster. I cannot understand it. I am not bringing allegations against anybody. I am not saying that X or Y is guilty. I am not in a position to say it. Even if I feel like saying it, I cannot say it, I will not say it; it is not right, it is not proper for me to say it. But this kind of thing is taking place. It is complete anarchy in morals. And why should this happen? Why should this kind of thing happen?

We find, for instance, Congress Party lawyers going about as an investigating team. They went to Bhubaneshwar, they went to Cuttack, and God knows where else. We never heard of teams of the Labour Party or Conservative Party lawyers or other people going round to investigate charges against their colleagues and flinging their own certificates in the face of a clamorous public. What is the good of this kind of certificate? It is only fair that the Ministers concerned, against, whom certain allegations are made, sometimes may be wrongly, it is only fair to them also that their cases are brought up properly and they are examined.

Now, the Santhanam Committee wanted section 21 to be amended so that Ministers could be brought in and described as 'public servants'. But this has not been done. Then again, the Santhanam Committee had recommended that if ten members of Parliament or ten members of a State Legislature could bring charges against certain Ministers in that case they would be examined by members of the National Panel to be appointed by the President. But that also has not been incorporated here.

I do not understand. I say this because you cannot tackle the problem of corruption merely by landing small fry in your net and punishing a few inconsequential persons who might have behaved rather badly. You can fight corruption in two ways; but the two ways must go together. One is moral exhortation which the *Sadachar* Committee of Shri Nanda might very well carry on. But moral exhortation alone will not have any effect. Moral exhortation plus some concrete action, action which would show that even those who are in high positions would be touched, and touched effectively, if they have gone wrong, is required.

Therefore, you have to make an example of those people who are in positions of high authority and who have been proved after proper investigation to have done something which they ought not to have done. This is the only principle on the basis of which you can go ahead. But Government does not proceed in that fashion at all. Government brings legislation only to bring about some footling little change in procedure.

I do not say that this Bill is altogether bad. In so far as it goes ahead it is something which is good. But it does not go anywhere near far enough and does not tackle the basic aspects of the problem. And I am perfectly convinced from what I see, from what my experience has been, even in the time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister. I have seen how when people in high places are found to have done something which at least is doubtful and which requires investigation, the lapses or the alleged lapses have a tendency to be covered up because they are people in positions of high authority.

It gives me great sorrow to have to say this because I have sometimes felt, in this House, in the Lobby and elsewhere, embarrassed in speaking about them, some member of Government or former member of Government with whom I have been quite friendly but about whom I have heard some allegations, about whom having heard those allegations I have tried to convey them to people higher up. But nothing happens. Shri Santhanam wanted me to tell him something about my views and I gave him some details about that kind of thing. He also expressed his complete inability to do anything in the matter.

But I think it is a terribly intolerable situation, because, morally speaking, we meet here and we have to be sure about each other's *bona fides* at least to an extent which is absolutely esstential. Sometimes we hear these complaints against people; as I told you in Bombay, when somebody asks, what can I say about this; somebody says "what do you think about so-and-so about whose son all these things are circulating?" And they have been printed in papers which have never been prosecuted so far. And why does this happen?

Then again, Sir, I feel that while these allegations are made and if they are pending investigation, the Ministers concerned should step down at once. In Orissa, for instance, how can the present Chief Minister continue for so long? Where is the morality about it? Where is the political ethics? Has it vanished altogether? What is the good of talking about *sadachar*? What is the good of punishing even a Deputy Director-General of Supplies or someone who was hauled up the other day? It was a good thing he was hauled up; but what is the good of doing that when the Chief Minister of a State who obviously has behaved wrongly is let off scot-free? Mr. Nanda told us this morning in answer to a question that the allegations in regard to the Orissa people run into many volumes. Here are people against whom allegations made apparently by respectable people run into many volumes; here are people against whom the Central Investigating Bureau and the Special Police Establishment are busy ferreting out documents and finding out the truth about them; and they are still in positions of pomp and power and they occupy the position of head of government in a particular State.

What is the point in this? What is the point in talking about corruption? What is the good in saying that Government is really keen on eradicating corruption when you keep these things hanging fire, when all these reports are there and nothing is done about it? I am very sorry, Sir, that I have to speak in this strain. And I cannot go into details in regard to this matter, because I feel it is quite useless.

In so far as these little measures are concerned, they are all right. Shri Hathi and Shri Nanda are welcome to them; we do not mind at all. But this is not the way in which you should proceed in order to tackle the problem of corruption. Let *sadachar* be preached by any amount of moral exhortation, I am with them. We are always prepared to support Shri Nanda, even against some of his colleagues who have been reported in the papers—rightly or wrongly, I do not know—to be rather against the idea of this crusade against corruption. We are ready to back every effort on the part of Government to root out corruption. But we are waiting and waiting and waiting to see what steps, concrete steps, courageous steps, are taken by Government in order to make an example of people in the highest places against whom these allegations are made. We are waiting to see those steps being taken. They have not been taken—ever since the day when the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that he would have the hoarders and profiteers hung up on the nearest lamp-post. Nothing was done about it. He was never stern enough to be the real leader of a movement which could have brought about a definite change in the socio-economic structure of our country. Ever since those days we hear this talk. But this talk is never implemented. Between conception and execution falls a dark shadow. That shadow is looming behind Shri Nanda's exertions. Unless that shadow is removed, nothing will take place.

MOTION OF NO-CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS*

I beg to move:

"That this House expresses its want of confidence in the Council of Ministers."

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is on our part a last resort, step, but never before since Independence has Government so deserved from Parliament the order of the boot. Its record of infamy has truly exhausted the people's patience and we hear cries of anguish from all parts of the country and from all sections of our population, workers and Government employees and students and others, and by this motion we ask Parliament to do its duty.

It is significant also that exactly on the eve of this no-confidence motion, the Government has come forward with legislation which we were constrained to have to oppose even at the introduction stage, because that kind of legislation is the blackest possible which any Government which pretends to democracy could put forward in this House.

Devaluation and other recent goings-on of Government have indeed been the last straw on the camel's back as far as our people are concerned. They represent the biggest betrayal up to date of India's interest and even more of India's self-respect and dignity. This country which carries the load of the centuries could have borne much, but it cannot bear the affront to its honour and the sell-out of our economic independence. I remember an hon. member on the other side having said that we are too many and just cannot be sold out. He is right, but the point is, when the sell-out is attempted in the interests of a clique that fattans on the backing of predatory international capital and its collaborators in India, Parliament must be stern and do its duty and punish the culprits.

The sordid story of how devaluation was decided upon will perhaps never be told but the indications of what had taken place are dirty enough. The humiliating dependence of those who have been pitchforked into

* *L.S. Deb.*, 1 and 4 August 1966. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 31 August 1961, 19 August 1963, 14 and 19 September 1964, 9 and 15 March 1965, 26 August 1965, 4 August 1966, 27 February and 13 November 1968, 18 February 1969 and 21 November 1971 during discussions under similar motions].

policy-making positions in this country and cunningly condescending to American guidance was pathetically underlined on that black Sunday in June when in betrayal of every decent canon of political conduct, devaluation was announced. Perhaps two or three individuals in the Cabinet, non-descripts in the Congress Party, with little expertise and less political understanding, who had no right to commit the country as they obviously did during their trips to Dollarland, had taken the initiative in this process of craven surrender, but they seem to be very much on the right side of the Prime Minister and the whole uneasily assorted lot of them are responsible for this perfidious stab in the back of Indian economy and Indian independence and the primacy of Parliament. They are unworthy and unfit to govern the country and in all conscience they should get out.

How can Parliament ever forget the sequence of certain things which took place? Repeatedly during the last three month-long budget session, the Finance Minister and the Planning Minister asserted that the Government was not going to devalue the rupee. ... This kind of thing happens too often, this is just one of the so many pinpricks they give. On 17 February, the Planning Minister in stentorian tone said:

> "The Union Government does not propose to devalue the rupee, speculation in the foreign press notwithstanding. There is no question of devaluing the rupee so far as the Government is concerned."

The Finance Minister piped into the same effect from time to time. Shri Asoka Mehta, who takes the cake in all this business, declared on his way to the United States that he would refuse, the brave man that he was, to discuss devaluation abroad. And then, a mere three weeks after Parliament was conveniently bundled off, the Government comes forward stealthily like a thief in the night to announce devaluation. It took the country's breath away—the matter and the manner of the decision. This Government has not hesitated to treat Parliament to deliberate and systematic falsehoods persistently purveyed over a period of time. The irony of it is that while many of us on this side are charged repeatedly with having no genuine respect for parliamentary proprieties, Government poses as the paragon of parliamentary virtue. This House has recently had occasion to punish some of us and suspend them from the service of the House on account of their resistance to the self-confessed tricks that Government had planned to play on all of us. This is a queer world; or else, this kind of thing would not have happened. This House, I say in all seriousness, will be guilty of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel if opposition members continue to be penalised, when Government's contumely and contempt of Parliament is condoned. It is terrible to hear also—I wish Government comes forward with a decisive repudiation—that while Parliament was kept in the dark altogether, several interested parties in India and abroad have been given prior intimation regarding the devaluation decision. I know this Government will try to cover

up the traces of its crime, but it should be common knowledge here in this House that the decision to force India down to her knees had been made by the cloak and dagger aid-givers of America long ago. The so-called Bell Mission, led by a man whom a knowledgeable ex-Cabinet Minister is said to have described as not good enough to be a Deputy Secretary in this country, had reported at the end of 1964, but was for a while given a short shrift. Then the World Bank called in its ally, the IMF, which put the screw on when it got the chance to do so over repayment of IMF standby credits. Open tricks followed and we were ordered to put our economic house in order, that is to say, in conformity with their dictates. When our problems piled up with the Indo-Pakistan confrontation and the sudden death of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who had been growing into new dimensions of understanding, they found exactly the situation they were waiting for, the time to apply sternly what Eugene Black, an old World Bank head, had called diplomacy of economic development. In his well-known book on the subject, he wrote:

> "The relationship between economic aid and the security of western nations is indeed a direct one. I have suggested that economics should be the principal means by which the West maintains its political and economic dynamic in the under-developed world."

Now this western dynamic, this subsidiary alliance which the Government has entered into with the United States in particular, impinges on our economy. Even this Government jibbed at devaluation and accepted the rest of the package given to the Prime Minister during her United States visit, the package containing relaxation of controls, import liberalisation and such things, is not so slow and searing stages. The ultimatum came, as a note circulated to Congress members of this House puts it, "Action on devaluation could not be postponed as all further aid negotiations hinged on it." So, the die was cast and the Finance Minister now dishes out fairy tale economics. The Prime Minister and her more valiant colleagues made putrid broadcasts and the country knows, howsoever Government tries to prevent its knowing, that the USA comes in this manner to those who are or who will be its pawns.

Are we expected in Parliament to truckle down to the effects and implications of this stinking story? Do we not realise that the collapse of the rupee—mind you, this devaluation is only the beginning of the rot and so many other steps would follow in the wrong direction—the collapse of the rupee will lead, unless we are mightly careful, to the collapse of our economic and eventually also our political independence? It is crystal clear that this Government has neither character nor the capacity to rule the country. This Government is an accessory to a crime against our people and this House cannot forgive them.

While naturally the Cabinet as a whole, led by the Prime Minister is tarred today with the same brush, some outstanding performers among them are today particularly in the dock before the people. The first to come to my mind is the Minister paradoxically of Planning whose book learning is so formidable and who has travelled so serenely perhaps in the company of the Prime Minister from Dogma to Pragma—I am coining words—who has been a protagonist for years of massive food imports, since he was Chairman of Food Enquiry Committee, who glibly said sometime ago that what we needed was a year's plan holiday, who has before an audience of technicians in Bombay twitted the public sector as a sacred cow he refused to cherish—that same public sector to which a nearly forgotten man called Jawaharlal Nehru had allotted the commanding heights of our economy and in an elusive moment in Moscow his daughter repeated that phrase. But our friend here has broached a new philosophy, which has fluttered even the sedate dovecots of Yojana Bhawan, the philosophy of foreign aid as the prop of our plan. He has succeeded in nearly scuttling the Fourth Plan and he will be blessed in some quarters for this performance. I have got neither the time nor the inclination to give here an inventory of his recent doings, but there is one thing which strikes me every time I see him. I am sorry, I do not see him now. Whenever I see him it comes to my mind, here is the man who advised the Americans about the virtues of back-seat driving, that is to say, using us Indians in the role of *Shikhandi;* here is the man who so overwhelmed by a meeting of minds in the United States perorated that India would be opening up her womb to foreign capital; here is the man who had offered a torn mat to United States capital for wiping its feet on it before entering India almost in the role of a new East India Company; he is today in the pillory and I wonder if the country, if not Parliament, will ever forgive him.

And, what can one say of the Minister of food imports. I see him there, Sir, luckily the face which launched a thousand food ships from the United States. He waxed eloquent at one time, last November,—you might have forgotten about it—I am quoting his words:

> "If we have to starve we are prepared for that, but we won't go on begging."

Despite all this—it is forgotten altogether, erased from everybody's memory in the Cabinet—he went on to speak about a national food plan with systematic procurement and distribution of foodgrains, when he began his somersaults, that have not ended yet, and his assumption of shortfall has arisen from two to eight million, then to twelve million tonne, which his American counterpart, with whom he has hob-nobbed recently in the country, now says is eighteen

million tonne. In an essay which he has sent us free—I read it with interest—on devaluation, he writes on page 14—I am quoting his words:

> "The goal in the relative long run is self-reliance; the goal in the immediate present is survival."

Here is a Food Minister who in November was talking about a plan of self-reliance, something like a new *Swadeshi* movement which we have been all asking for in this country; here is a man who only a few months ago writes in his own book—which he sends us gratis, without having to pay a paisa for it—that the goal in the immediate present is survival. We have to survive, that is what he says. We have been brought down to this pass. Who in the country is responsible for this, but the Government of this land? How can the Government get away from its responsibility? Is it a joke governing a country like India and saying all kinds of things from time to time? That is exactly what is going on. There is no reason, he says, why indigenously produced goods should go up in prices at all. He does not know. Meanwhile he recommends, what he calls, the mighty task of refashioning India's economic structure; refashioning indeed, for his aim is to alter the pattern of Indian economy and to yoke it to the chariots of American free booters who are now asking for their pound of flesh by way of payment in dollars. Since his Prime Minister does not either know or care, Parliament should tell Shri Subramaniam that the alternative is not that of starvation or mammoth PL 480 imports but limited imports to be paid for and strict implementation of acceptor policies like the intensified procurement; social control on foodgrains trade, land reforms and greater incentive to the tiller of the soil, stern action against hoarders and profiteers, nationalisation for rice mills and such things. The Food Minister is, of course, pursuing a policy of tie-up with the United States, and our best economists fear the existence of an American vested interest in Shri Subramaniam's plaintive yet slyly purposeful exaggeration. What can one say. He bears the name of a God of war, but when I think of him "Subramaniam, thy name is subservience; that is the point to which you have brought this country."

I see my friend, the Finance Minister, straying into Congress from his accustomed forensic and financial haunts rather like a man who carries the big drum which another fellow beats. He, naturally, has not taken long to convince himself that there is no shame in handing over the economic management of the country to the World Bank. Politically inconsequential, he still occupies the centre of the stage but in the wings are more powerful people, bigger fish who flourish in deep water like my very good friend, the Railway Minister who has an eye on the elections and, therefore, preference for the time being to keep in the wings. And, of course, there is the Prime Minister, sometimes slightly bewildered from the look of her but firm in her support to new-fangled policies and more to new-found porteges in

her Cabinet. She is welcome personally to whatever ideas she has got and whatever company she chooses to keep, but with that she has no business to be the Prime Minister of this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I say this because the Prime Minister cannot be unaware of the nagging pressures of those who have openly made their aid, whose extent is doubtful and whose quality is worse as it is contingent on so-called monetary reforms. She obviously does not see the irony of a situation where devaluation of the rupee has been effected not to defend, our economic frame by substituting trade for aid but specifically and clearly for securing even more aid in order to be added up to the load which our descendants in succeeding generations would have to carry. Her Government has neither the conviction nor talent needed to nationalise banking and the export-import trade two steps which could have rendered devaluation unthinkable. They are incapable of taking firm measures to discipline the national economy on account of dependence on vested interests and not on the masses. They have not the faith and the purpose fullness needed to bring about higher production and equitable distribution through effective steps towards socialisation of the basic means of production and a policy control of the distribution machinery. They have neither the inclination nor the equipment which is needed to prevent prices spiralling under the manipulation of big business at whose mercy it has placed the economy. It can only be refrigerated elegance, in which the Prime Minister lives, moves and has her being, that is perhaps responsible for such glib statements as "the rise in prices since devaluation has been hardly noticeable". Her Minister of Commerce, whose report for 1965-66 had explained how devaluation would not boost Indian exports found himself in hotwaters the other day over the issue of rise in prices even of vegetables, edible oils, pulses, medicines, matches, tobacco and all sorts of things that everybody use. A post-devaluation survey reported the rise to have been between 15 and 30 per cent in seven weeks. The Reserve Bank is stated to have pitched on the figure of 7 per cent as the rise in wholesale prices in that period and I saw Congress newspapers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta* of yesterday screeching, very rightly, about the prices reaching dizzy heights. Of course, there has been set up, under the auspices of our good friends in Government, a super-market, to be followed elsewhere by prototypes, where cars congregate and the prosperous make their purchases, combining economy with excitement. This is a devil of a joke, but I guess the Prime Minister and her flock do not see it.

The Prime Minister, of course, is her father's daughter. That is, however, a meagre point of geneology hardly worthy of any special significance. But one cannot help recalling that even in his twilight days, when perhaps he

* Now known as Kolkata

was doing certain things under pressure which he would not normally have done, Jawaharlal Nehru never swallowed certain things. He could rouse himself to abrogate the VOA Agreement once its implications in terms of the nation's honour and independence were explained. It is ridiculous, of course, to expect anything of the same sort from the present Prime Minister. After all, as the Information and Broadcasting Minister, she permitted, so everybody says, a sort of modified VOA Agreement by the backdoor, by authorising, the American Peace Corps members to set up and work transmitters in our countryside. Perhaps she has solved the daughter's dilemma, but she cannot ride rough-shod over things. She cannot get away with reversing basic policies and putting the national economy out of gear. Her entourage, so largely composed of political upstarts and slimy bureaucrats, hand in glove with Indian and foreign money bags, may flatter her in a sort of smug vanity, but it is unworthy of her not to realise such obvious things as that devaluation, or the notorious fertilizer deal, or limitless food imports are not only wrong in themselves but, being also fundamentally linked, are causing an erosion of our independence, our dignity and our political morality.

This is seen in such things as Government's acceptance of the Indo-American Foundation, which is barely concealed attack on the intellectual and patriotic intelligence of Indian education and an invitation for CIA agents, about whom Shri Chagla ought to be familiar with, to penetrate our academic and political life under the garb of education and research. Even more egregiously it has been seen in our country's official attitude on the issue of Vietnam, which overshadows every other issue in the world today. For quite some time the Prime Minister and all else in authority tried to keep mum over the issue, not daring to irritate our wonderful aid-givers. Then, with her proposals, or ideals, or suggestions, whatever you may call it, about peace in Vietnam the Prime Minister opened her mouth, only, however, to discover during her peregrinations abroad that she had put her foot into it.

So, let there be no mistake about it, there is going on for years now in Vietnam a horror war, launched in defiance of every cherished principle of international conduct and even of humanity by the Pentagon. Their owners, the American people themselves have raised their voice against it. There have been giant demonstrations, massive indictment by intellectuals and others and even self-immolation in protest by white Americans. All honour to them. Even before the criminal bombing of Hanoi and Haipheng, and more recently of demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam, which India as the Chairman of the International Control Commission is supposed to safeguard, Bertrand Russel, one of the greatest men in the world today, was so moved by United State's enormity that he made a broadcast in May to the American soldiers fighting in Vietnam, asking them to give up the job and go back home. He also proposed a tribunal of Nobel Prize winners like himself and

others, eminent and most distinguished in the world, trying those who were responsible for, what he calls, American war crimes in Vietnam. I would like to read to you part of the broadcast made by Bertrand Russel, which is very relevant about which most of us in this country do not seem to be aware of. He says in an early part of his speech—I am quoting his words:—

> "When the United States first began to intervene militarily in South Vietnam, the pretence was made that the United States is merely helping a Government in Saigon, put down subversion from outside. But you American soldiers have seen for yourself what kind of Governments have existed in Saigon. They are brutal, corrupt, dictatorial and completely despised by the people. Why is it that these Governments have been able to continue, one after another, in Saigon, despite the fact that the students, the women, the villagers, everyone, risks life itself to overthrow them? The sole answer is that the United States is using its enormous military force to impose on the people of Vietnam puppet Governments which do not represent them...."

Then he talks about horrors which are being practised.

I am quoting his words again:

> "The US rulers have built an economic empire which is being resisted from the Dominican Republic to the Congo, and especially in Vietnam. Could you imagine yourselves voting for Cao Ky? If a foreign power occupied the United States to steal American resources for itself and if a traitor Government were established by force, would you feel it was your Government? Worse than this, because the Vietnamese people are so determined and show such fantastic heroism that the greatest military power has found it impossible to conquer them. You American soldiers are trained to use every modern, weapon of war. Your air force is flying 650 sorties a week in the North."

—this was in May—

> "and the tonnages used in the South are higher than those used during the Second World War or the Korean War."

This is what Bertrand Russel says:

> "You are using napalm, which burns everything it touches. You are using phosphorus, which eats like an acid into those who are in its path.
>
> You are using fragmentation bombs and lazy dogs, which cut up in pieces and lacerate women and children in the villages hit without discrimination. You are using poisonous chemicals which cause blindness,

affect the nervous system and paralyse. You are using poisonous gases which are listed in army manuals of world wars as poisons, and other gases which are so deadly that even soldiers with gas masks have been killed by their own gas."

I could quote so much more but I have not the time. But the point is that the Americans have been using the worse possible weapons against Asians and they have always used it only against the Asians—the atom bomb against Japan, the germ warfare in Korea and now in Vietnam germ warfare which was not so effective in the sub-Arctic conditions of Korea but which in Vietnam in the sub-tropical conditions are particularly powerful. You may not believe these, but these are statements which have never been rebutted. The Gandhi Peace Foundation, to which sometimes I have the honour, with my friend, Professor Ranga, to be invited, has prepared a document listing the atrocities which are reportedly being committed by the Americans in Vietnam. Of course, from other sources we can get the information. American journalists, Australian journalists have given reports which have percolated into a selection of our press.

What is happening and why is all this happening to a small country like South Vietnam with a population of 14 million, less than one-thirtieth of the population of this country? The cost of United States in South Vietnam in 1965-66 was 13,000 million dollars. They have got 270,000 American soldiers there. They are saying: we shall send 400,000. If they send 400,000, the cost would be 21,000 million dollars, which is a great deal more than the total gross national product of this country, spent in one single year by the Americans in order to crush the freedom instinct of the Vietnamese people. This is the kind of thing which is happening.

I remember the occasion when the House was unanimous, when the use of napalm bomb by the Americans came into the picture, except for a fringe which looks upon India as having a boundary on the Mekong river or somewhere, the entire House was unanimous in indignation against this kind of thing which has been taking place in Vietnam. The United States' imperialists have challenged the world to question its divine right of intervention. What is the reaction of our Government, a Government which is responsible as Chairman of the International Control Commission, to report to the world at least as to what exactly is happening in that part of the world? I remember, the Prime Minister on 30 June made a speech in Bombay, expressing her concern over United States' bombing which was now being extended to Haiphong and Hanoi.

At Calicut she made a statement on 2 July giving an impression that perhaps she should not get involved too directly in this dirty business. Then something happened and the mystery needs to be explained. On 7 July she

made certain proposals. She suggested a meeting of the Geneva Conference unconditionally, not having consulted anybody who mattered. Then she said on 16 July in Moscow, "Solution only within the framework of the Geneva Conference of 1954". In Parliament she said, "Convene a Geneva type Conference".

She goes on making all kinds of statements, but in the beginning on 7 July she sullied the face of India by making a proposal without careful thought. She went to all kinds of countries, like the UAR, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and nowhere, in no country, did she get the slightest support because they thought that it was trying to produce something like an alibi for the Americans; except Britain which is always holding the baby for America whenever America wishes her to do so. No other country came forward to support her.

Why did she make this kind of a proposition without careful thought? Somebody called it "kindergarten diplomacy". Who were the advisers who told her to do this kind of a thing? Why plunge in the waters, whose depths you do not understand? Why not take a moral stand which you have taken all the time without getting yourself in difficulty as Chairman of the International Control Commission? Why could you not say certain things which could have been said without any kind of difficulty? Is it all because the new projects loan is a sort of a Damocles' Sword hanging over our head and the United States is revelling in a puppet show to which our foreign policy seems to be reduced?

Not long ago when the hush-hush negotiations with Washington were going on, the Prime Minister made the surprising statement which in effect implied that it was not possible in today's circumstances to ask the Americans to withdraw from Vietnam. She spoke in America about the President being a man of peace whom she admired greatly because of his pursuit of peace at a time when all these enormities and barbarities were taking place. In Moscow when pleaded for a lenient treatment of American pilots who had gone over in defiance of every canon of international law to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, but she did not plead with President Johnson, at least not to the knowledge of anybody, in regard to the stoppage of the brutalities which have been accumulated for so many years now in this part of the world.

We have travelled a long way from positions built up over 17 long years, that of standing firmly and uncompromisingly by the victims of imperialist aggression. That reminds me that 'imperialist' is now a word which the Prime Minister sought to define or rather leave undefined in a very, very different way from what she had learnt in the bad old days when her father wrote letters on world affairs to his daughter.

The Prime Minister should know that expression of platonic regret coupled with what is virtually acquiescence in United States, barbarity in Vietnam falls entirely short of the country's expectation and blackens India's image everywhere. The Prime Minister should remember that we should think of our fellow sufferers in countries who have fought against imperialism and who now discover they have to fight still for the fulfilment of their hard-earned freedom. It is a pity that it was left to an Indian employee of the Foreign Office to be the first diplomat from the non-aligned world to propagate the Washington lie that South Vietnam was a sovereign and independent country and, further, that United States, bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong should induce North Vietnam to agree to negotiations. This was our man, our Consul General in South Vietnam. When the Prime Minister was asked about it in a press conference, she hum-hummed and haw-hawed, hesitated, almost quibbled; then, of course, she had to say something. I want to know: Has he been recalled? He seems to have come back. Why has he not yet been sacked? How long are we going to tolerate such pseudo-fashionable riff-raff functioning as our diplomatic representatives in very sensitive areas and always queering the pitch for Indian diplomacy to function?

Let the House warn the Prime Minister. She never even whispers the name of the South Vietnam Liberation Front as a factor in the situation. She hardly ever names who is the aggressor in Vietnam, who is the foreign presence in Vietnam. She has not yet commented officially, nor her Government—Shri Swaran Singh or anybody—on the world Court judgment which is scandalous in regard to the case of South West Africa. The more Government moves away from our best traditions, from conviction and idealism and the strength that it gives, to the present degeneration of make-shift pragmatism and double-talk, we would be going from one clarification to another, from one deceipt to another and, not too distantly, from drift to disaster.

In regard to Vietnam I have heard my people's voice, not in the corridors of perverted power in New Delhi, but in Calcutta's streets that have echoed recently to the call of our poets anguished by US atrocities in Vietnam and yet elevated by Vietnam's heroism.

"मुक्तियुद्ध अविराम वियतनाम, वियतनाम
स्वाधीनतार और एक नाम, वियतनाम, वियतनाम
तोमार नाम, आमार नाम, वियतनाम, वियतनाम।"

(Unceaselessly our fight for freedom, Vietnam, Vietnam; It is another name for freedom, Vietnam, Vietnam; Your name and my name is Vietnam, Vietnam).

That is why white men in America are burning themselves to death in protest against that barbarity. You may laugh. You may not have the sense; some people do not have the sense to understand why white men in America are burning themselves to death protesting against the enormity of the conduct of their own rulers. We do not have to think in that way, but our rulers do not even have the desire to say something which would have been morally acceptable to this country and to the world.

I know I cannot call back this government to sense and sensibility; I cannot call back this Congress Party to sense and sensibility. I know that in the mistaken hope that by playing up the danger from Communism, India can get massive US aid on Marshall Plan scale. The Prime Minister has stressed that the conflict with China is ideological, an approach which her father had scrupulously avoided. She has even talked about the containment of China and of Communism. I have heard that at the Pentagon entrance there is a bust of a former American Defence Secretary, Forrestal, who was so bent on containing Communism that he went off his mind.

The Government has launched, as a harrowing half-year has just concluded testifying, a massive attack against the people everywhere. In the UP where the Congress writ ran and will never run in the future, in West Bengal, in Kerala and elsewhere the voice of the people has been heard. People will fight back the dire consequences of devaluation on the life of the toiling masses. At the last Indian Labour Conference, the working class has given notice to the Minister of Labour.

This growing surrender to the United States was invariably accompanied in every country, where this has occurred, by utter suppression of democracy. That is why we have got the latest unlawful activities' Ordinance now to be turned into law ostensibly directed against secessionist activities. It is an evil omen and a child of devaluation. I find in it the definition of 'unlawful activity' including a sweeping clause—Shri Nanda should listen—regarding activities intended to overthrow the lawful Government. He is sitting next to a jurist; he is supposed to be a jurist. The intentions of the Opposition are to be punished. The police state mentality is growing but the people cannot just give in.

Jobs have to be done but the Government does not do them. The Congress is having a fight. I do not know how the Congress is carrying on its fight, but in a dog fight every dog gets beaten. Please remember that. Look after the hundred crores of rupees of foreign exchange secreted, that Shri Khadilkar talked about. As a member of the Santhanam Committee he ought to know about it. Make sure that the ministers at least turn over their foreign-exchange assets to Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri. Stop all talks about wage freeze and the like. Link dearness allowance to wages. You did not funk when allowing big

money to have a bounty of bonus shares and so many other things. Come forward, Mr. Finance Minister, to catch the tax thieves and others who have put it in the C.B. Gupta Rs. 65 lakh fund or something. This is black money all the time. Find out the sources and punish them. Do not come and put up a sombre face and tell us that you are doing all that you possible can. Go and do it, catch the thieves who are operating all over your Congress territory.

Above all, remember what one of your members said in the last session: Don't make India another Brazil. He asked: Are we to be another Brazil or are we to be India? This was said by a Congress M.P. in the last session. Let us be India; let us have new Swadeshi movement; let us have self-reliance—not in the mad way in which Government is opening the flood gates to imports. One order of 21 June made a staggering list of 59 industries where imports have been relaxed. Of course, let us remember a thing like what Dr. C.V. Raman has said: We stand on our own legs and let us be fearlessly independent. If we have time, let us remember Mahatma Gandhi: *Ahimsa* was a method; nonviolence was a means, method and an instrument of action but the spirit was *Abhaya*, fearlessness—shed all fear....

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...I ask you to recall the message of Gandhi; *Abhaya*, more than *Ahimsa*, fearlessness; fearlessly proceed with your duty. I know it is a cry in wilderness when I see the kind of audience that is before me. This Government is inefficient, insensitive and corrupt. It has no moral right to stay in office a day longer in spite of its majority in this House.

Let us act once in a moral manner. Let us show to the world the strength and the reality of the kind of a feeling which is there all over the country. This Government has forfeited the confidence of the people.

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**I am sorry to have to say that even though I was prepared to be disappointed; I was not quite ready to hear from the Prime Minister a speech compounded of innocence and of confusion which might have sat very well upon a young lady entering public life, but they are not good enough for the Prime Minister of this country.

A very conspicious feature of this debate has been that there has been expressed an almost national consensus against devaluation which is the biggest single economic fact symbolising all the misdeeds of the Government.

**While replying to the debate on the Motion of No-confidence on 4 August 1966

Those who spoke against my motion like Shri Mathur, Shri Azad and most pre-eminently Shri Krishna Menon, pointed out arguments in their side which amounted to an admission that devaluation was wrong and that we have now somehow to manage a very difficult situation which has thereby been created. They were rather shamefaced about it, even Shri Patil, and now the Prime Minister also joins Shri Patil's appeal to us to help Government to solve the problems which they have created by their own default. I say that it is no part of our job at least in this debate, there would be other debates, other occasions, but it is no part of our job in this debate to elucidate what we ought to do now that Government has committed a criminal act by way of devaluation. It is not for us now to pick the chestnuts out of the fire which the Government itself has brought about. But I know they have a guilty conscience about it.

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That is why they only....

....They tell us we should all unite in follow-up action to prevent the situation going too disastrously downhill. What was the essence of the only defence of devaluation which was sought to be made by Shri Patil. He said, in complete disregard of what Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had written himself in the second chapter of the volume on the Second Plan which I hope Shri Asoka Mehta knows almost by heart, in complete defiance of the principles adumbrated there, he said that our three Plans were based on massive foreign aid, "we cannot get aid even for servicing our debts; so we had to devalue". From this it follows that without devaluation we are not going to get dollar aid and the entire planning was faulty, something to warm the heart of Shri Dandekar or Shri Masani on this side. This was the kind of thing which he said. My friend the Railway Minister is much too intelligent to hug the illusion which he tried to spread that organisations like the World Bank and the IMF give us purely "advice" from the economist's point of view and have nothing to do with ideology. Our Prime Minister also said that she had "advice" from economists in this country as well as abroad. In regard to the role of the IMF, I have got here an extract from a book by Mr. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House.* He writes and I quote him:

> "The insistence on monetary stability before all else received the ardent support of the International Monetary Fund which imposed deflation on a number of Latin American States as the condition for IMF loans. Undeterred by past error, the International Monetary Fund in 1964-65 persuaded a complacent Government in the Dominican Republic to accept a fiscal programme which reduced per capita income, increased unemployment and led in the spring of 1965 to political convulsion and

United States invention..... If the criteria of the IMF had governed the United States in the nineteenth century, our own economic development would have taken a good deal longer. In preaching fiscal orthodoxy to developing nations, we were somewhat in the position of the prostitute who, having retired on her earnings believes that public virtue requires the closing down of the red-light district."

I would like very much to know—there are eminent economists like Prof. Gadgil in the other House and so many other economists in this country—the kind of economist's advice which was taken by the Government before this very decisive step was taken. We have read about Prof. Sir Roy Harrod; he is no Marxist, no fellow-traveller and no progressive. He has said: "My own feeling is that the IMF advice must have been based on false promises". That is about the economic advice which my friend Shri Patil pointed out was the most paramount element in their consideration.

When devaluation or something like that has to take place and a crisis arises, what is done in countries which have a more lively sense of their independent functioning? Let us take the UK; we have a great deal against her but she has a certain personality. The UK is trying to stave off devaluation, taking advance measures, not follow-up measures. Government, particularly Shri Patil whose was the only serious speech on the Government side, makes a big play of the other idea that we had to be very confidentially moving in the matter; the whole thing had to be kept as a top secret decision. Of course it had to be. But do not talk in this way; you cannot hoodwink the people. If it was the result of your own volition, if you were not hustled into it by the World Bank and the IMF, you should have armed the Government in advance with proper controls to check the after effects of devaluation. Even now, the Government has no clear idea. It is not my job to tell Smt. Gandhi, it is not my duty in this particular debate, it does not devolve upon me in this debate to tell the Government what they should do. But even now, I know Government has no clear idea of how and where a sizeable export boost is expected in which industries, tea or jute, and how and in which period of time in the future are you going to have a sizeable export boost and where a sizeable export boost is expected; what will be the nature of import substitution which you are talking about; what is the extent of installed capacity which is idle and which will now be working; how far they are useful to the pattern of economy which we wish to see set up in this country. So many other problems are there Government has not said a syllable so far about these things. Of course, Government thought only of placating western Big Money and not of befriending the fellow sufferers in the underdeveloped world. In the underdeveloped world for the last 15 years or so,—Shri Manubhai Shah is there, he goes and attends the international trade conferences and that sort of thing—billions of dollars worth of advantage are gained by the

developed countries because they beat down the price of our exports and raise the prices of our imports, and as a result of that, they are getting an advantage in comparison with which the aid which they give is nothing at all. They give us by way of aid very much less than what they get because of this particular advantage which they get by beating down our export price and raising our import liability.

Now, they are talking about secrecy. They were talking of it as if it was a war-time measure and therefore one has to be very careful about it. I agree, you had to be very careful, but when you declare a war, naturally, the news is kept top secret, but before the actual outbreak of hostilities, all necessary preparations are made, soldiers are moved up to the front, the supply lines are kept open and the entire logistics are worked out. In this case, my hon. friend, Shri Patil,—whatever he told us, I remember all that—gave us very little evidence. The only logistics of which the Government has given evidence are the super market and the All-India Radio's price bulletins. That is the only logistics of which they have given any kind of evidence.

I am sick of hearing this talk of follow-up action which we are supposed to suggest to the Government so that they can possibly throw out something by way of exercising their own gray matter. The only follow up action which is needed—people say in terms which are understandable to them—is, sack the Ministry; kick the whole lot out of the picture. At least let three or four Ministers most closely concerned, let them get out; let them seek re-election when the Election Commission can be persuaded to allow this kind of thing happening. Let them go to the country; let the three or four people particularly responsible for this go and fight the re-election.

Shri Patil told us that there was nothing wrong in importing food. Whoever said that there is anything wrong in importing food? Of course, there is nothing wrong; but what have we done all these years? Our food imports from abroad, overwhelmingly from the United States, have amounted from 1948 to 1965, both years inclusive, to nearly 65 million tons. Their costs have amounted to the staggering figure of Rs. 2,667 crores. Of this amount, payment for PL 480 supplies alone amounts to over Rs. 1,500 crores, up to 1965. If you wanted to have it, of course, we have it. But what about the promises made by Government? What was the complacent smugness with which Shri Patil, as Food Minister, used to regale the House. He used to say in those days—1960 or so when this business became consolidated into our economy—that he would build buffer stocks. That was the only justification for importing such enormous amounts of foodgrains from abroad. Nobody likes it; of course we have to pay through our nose, and now we are going to pay by saying good-bye to our self-respect. With this money so many things are taking place. The US embassy has so many hundreds of crores of

rupees at its disposal, doing all kinds of damage to our honour and our interests. The peace crops-wallas are going round, and there is a paper which reprints from a Congress newspaper, edited by Shri Chaplakanta Bhattacharya who is sitting over there—*Jansevak* and it shows how the peace crops chaps in Calcutta—they were having as we learn a wonderful "beans"—were tearing up copies of the *Discovery of India* by Jawaharlal Nehru.

....Copies of the *Discovery of India* by Jawaharlal Nehru were torn up by these people and thrown at passersby and they were molested and a Calcutta case is proceeding. It is a very small matter, but all this money in the hands of foreign people like the US Embassy and its agencies and the CIA operating in ways which they do not divulge to Shri Chagla who is also here—Naturally they did not tell him about it; they are operating, keeping this money in their hands. Where is the buffer? Only day before yesterday, in reply to Starred Question No. 106, Shri P. Govinda Menon said, "There is a proposal to build up a buffer stock of six million tons of foodgrains". Still we have this proposal which, in the early sixties, was made in this House by Shri Patil! We hear about these food imports. We know what Jawaharlal Nehru or any decent person had thought in regard to food imports. This idea of buffer stock which Mr. Patil has popularised is the biggest bluff. There are other ways of taking PL 480 assistance. Smt. Gandhi, only the other day, saw Shri Nasser and some Indian pressmen said nasty things about Shri Nasser keeping mum about Vietnam, because he had taken food from America. Shri Nasser made a speech on the UAR National Day, only three weeks ago. He is not cowed by fear. He says, "I would rather go without food that give in on policies and principles." There are ways and ways of accepting PL 480 food also, but this country's Government does not known how to do it. Some people, including Shri Patil and also, of course, the Prime Minister in a different way—she does not happen to know the kind of vocabulary we specialise in; I pleaded guilty to the charge of being in the know of all kinds of vocabulary—they have made fun of our reference to Vietnam. She has not, but some other people have. From out of their own ranks, Shri Krishna Menon has answered that charge. I say in all sincerity and seriousness that India has not only moral, but a definite international, political commitment. Till this day, the Government of India has not protested against the violation of the neutral zone, which is under our direct charge. Why can't we muster courage and warn the USA to keep out?

The Prime Minister has talked first about a Geneva Conference, then about something in the framework of the Geneva Conference and then about a Geneva-type conference. Wherever she has gone—Cairo, Belgrade or Moscow—she could not sell this idea because they knew that she ought to have known as head of the Indian Government that this could not possibly be accepted by Hanoi. At a time when the Americans were practising the

most egregious imaginable brutalities, to ask Hanoi to sit down without any conditions and to have a Geneva or any type of conference with America is something which only the Americans like, which the British seconded and nobody else did. That is what the Prime Minister has done.

I have no time to analyse this matter, but the Prime Minister ought to know. She goes on explaining—even the other day in Parliament she said—that she used the word "imperialists" in Moscow because like a good student in the old days she learnt the maxim. "In Rome, do as Romans do", but she did not mean the United States—Who the devil was meant by it? In regard to Vietnam, who else could have possibly and conceivably been meant? I am sorry to have to say that according to the cynics of this world, Eve has a new face for every situation, but at least two are absolutely essential for the Prime Minister of India! I do not like this kind of thing taking place.

There is a distinct link-up between the concessions on fertilisers, Shri Asoka Mehta's "back-seat driving" talk, devaluation and our supine and dishonourable Vietnam stand. It was good to hear Shri Anthony—I never knew he was so ancient; he said he was the second senior-most member of this House—it was good to hear him about the American arm-twisting. It was good to hear him say, we have been made to "lick the American boot" which no self-respecting Indian must stand. That is the kind of feeling which everybody has got. Why do I have this preoccupation with Vietnam? I have it because if the Vietnam peasant can give a hell of a fight to the Americans, why can't we even stand up to them? We are rightly proud of what our people did during the days of the Indo-Pakistan confrontation. Let us have a sense of proportion. Let us remember how Vietnamese people are fighting for decade after decade in conditions where the mightiest country in the world is spending in one year more than the total gross national product of this country in war against the Vietnamese. They are fighting against them. I take my hat off to them. I sometimes think what Shri Masani says about the Mekong river being the boundary of India, it has some kind of relevance. It is along the Mekong river that the fight for Asian freedom, Asian self-respect, is being fought. And, here we are not being forthright, we are not being straight, we do not stand up before the world and say we are not going to tolerate this kind of enormity. And, we are Chairman of the International Control Commission. I know some people ridicule us. The "Three Musketeers of Devaluation", of course, they never spoke, possibly because they do not have muskets but crutches which the Prime Minister finds it so difficult to rely upon, but even those who spoke had the gumption to ridicule our pre-occupation with Vietnam. I ask Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter to remember that after Jawaharlal had returned from Europe in the days of the Fascist advance in that continent, he went to Khali, somewhere in the Himalayas, and wrote: "I cannot rest because I hear the echoes of barbarian feet stamping

the streets of Vienna". Here is something happening in Asia and you do not respond, this Government does not respond. Here is something happening in a part of Asia which is part of our country. If you know a little of Indian history, it is part of *Suvarnabhoomi*, in other words, it is a part of Greater India. It is here that the people of Asia are fighting, it is here that they are fighting a war. I want the Prime Minister to remember that here in India we have a kind of tradition which makes us take the world as our province: *yatra vishwam bhavatyek needam*—all the world becomes a single nest. That is the only justification for whatever foreign policy we try to put forward.

In September 1965 our people rose as one man to defend our country and there was a demand for self-reliance. But we have forgotten all that. We have forgotten the Patton tanks and we go abegging for dollars. The Cabinet is responsible for all that. All of them are responsible. They are talking about their joint responsibility having been performed very properly. They are parading their unity. But there is no unity worth the name. I have no pity for them. Acharya Kripalani wanted us to show pity to them. It is not pity; people feel angry because the people are suffering and they are trying to repress the people in blood. They shoot wherever they have an opportunity, even before an opportunity conceivably presents itself. I do not pity the pretty plumage. I pity the dying bird about which Gandhi had told Kripalani and others that he could not soothe with a song a dying bird. Our people are like a dying bird. I do not pity the plumage, I pity the dying bird, and I curse those who are responsible for having roused the anger of our people. I have no pity, I have anger, our people have anger. If they believe that by administrative methods, by repressive apparatus becoming stronger they are going to suppress this anger and indignation of our people, they are living in a particular paradise about which they would soon find out.

I, therefore, say that I press my No-confidence Motion. I know I shall be defeated by the vote, but I make an appeal to the moral conscience, if they have any, the moral conscience of this Parliament.

ABOLITION OF PRIVY PURSES*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I offer on behalf of my party full support to my friend, Shri Madhu Limaye's proposal regarding abolition of the privy purse and concomitant privileges. My friend has suggested what might appear to some of our friends here as rather a bitter pill to swallow, but if the pill is swallowed the body politic will improve, and that is why it is very important that this motion is supported by a majority in this House.

Since the AICC has recently passed a resolution on this subject, this House has a right to know whether Congress means business in regard to this matter or whether, as certain reports which circulate appear to indicate, some assurances have been given to the princes, on whose support certain Congress governments depend in several States, that this AICC resolution, like the earlier resolutions passed at Avadi, Bhubaneswar, Nagpur or Jaipur, on land reforms or ceiling urban property and the socialist order of society, like all those notorious resolutions, would be scuttled and reversed; this House has a right to know what Government intends in regard to this matter.

I think in regard to the merits of this proposition the position is quite plain. The privy purses and concomitant privileges are an anachronism which should have gone a long time ago, and they should now go, particularly when the AICC has passed this resolution. I heard my friend, Shri Desai put a legalistic defence, but if the ponderous immobility of the law is the only argument which is going to be advanced in this forum of Parliament, well, I can only think why Shakespeare wrote the "law is an ass" why in a particular period of British history, when things had to change on a drastic basis, people said, according to Shakespeare's own words, "let us go and kill all the lawyers." If law is static, I say that nothing is going to happen in this country.

And why talk only of the promises, the assurances the guarantees which have been given to the princes in our Constitution? Why only say that the guarantee to the princes alone is perpetually binding? Is our Constitution such that we have guarantees only to the princes? Our Constitution, if we go into the essence of it, does not care for princes, prelates and periwigged charioteers; it cares for the people. In the preamble it says, for instance, there is to be equality of status and of opportunity. Does our conscience go to sleep

* *L.S. Deb.*, 13 July 1967. [Participating in the Short Duration Discussion under Rule 193, raised by Shri Madhu Limaye re: Abolition of Special Privileges and Privy Purses of Former Rulers of Princely States].

and our sense of honouring the Constitution get atrophied, so far as such promises are concerned? There is a whole chapter on Fundamental Rights. The Directive Principles of State Policy talk about education for our people. Is not that a promise? When Jawaharlal Nehru spoke about "promises to keep", did he think of the promises to the princes or the promises to the people which have not been performed?

If the law has to be considered, what is the structure and the spirit of the Indian Constitution? Article 14 guarantees equality before the law and equal protection of the laws as justifiable rights, and the provision in regard to princes, who have discriminatory privileges and prerogatives, that surely goes against the spirit of the Constitution. And the commentators on the Constitution who know law, they saw that the cumulative effect of articles 14, 15, 17, 18 and 19 they are very much more powerful than what Jefferson had said a long time ago about equality as "the denial of every pre-eminence, particularly the denial of pre-eminence by birth." According to the law, you cannot have pre-eminence only on account of birth.

Sir, it is not the princes' fault that they were born with a platinum spoon in their mouth; it is not the fault of the princes and, as far as I am concerned I shall not accuse them of being unpatriotic. I do not wish to recall the ugly days of British rule, when princes generally were subservient, but even some of our great leaders, whose portraits adorn the Central Hall of Parliament would applaud the British Raj in those days in terms which today I cannot recall without shame. Besides, I find, so many of the princes, present day princes, in this House and they are decent people, very well capable of earning their keep by decent, honest labour and there is no reason on earth why they should not try to do so now that the tie is more than ripe.

Therefore, I would say that the princes can have no entitlement whatever in justice, in equity, in good conscience and in the name of humanity, for ever to earn unearned, unjust and utterly inequitous and injurious rights like privy purses and associated privileges and prerogatives.

I would refer only to the fact that article 291 which refers to privy purses also indicates certain things which are very suggestive. Some life-time arrangements were made as in the case of the *Nizam*, which were liable to change by Government action. That change has to a certain extent been made. This in itself is evidence that the rights in perpetuity could not possibly have been really intended.

Then, I cannot understand why the princes so far have never volunteered, as my friend there pointed out, even to give up the exemption from income-

tax which they have enjoyed in regard to their privy purses. I find also that in article 366 "Ruler" is defined—I am quoting article 366, clause (22)—

> "Ruler in relation to an Indian State means the prince, Chief or other person.... who for the time being is recognised by the President as the Ruler of the State, and includes any person who for the time being is recognised by the President as the successor of such Ruler;".

It is the President of India chosen by the democratic process who retains the powers of paramountcy; it is not the princes who have retained a shred, a minute particle, of the paramountcy which they were good enough to concede to the British Crown and they are not good enough to concede to the Indian State.

Therefore, all that you can say is that there is a promise, a legal assurance. But, of course, law is a dynamic proposition and not a static something which we swear by all the time. All that you can say is that in so far as the law has got always to be obeyed, there is a kind of a moral obligation but you cannot bring in what you call a moral obligation to operate as a perpetual blight on the country's advance and today there is no doubt about it that the country wants to go ahead. It is only part of the paraphernalia of the country's programme for advance that the attack on the privy purses is being made.

That is why certain other things have also to be done. They come in as cognate propositions. Article 314, embodying the rights and privileges of the Indian Civil Service "neither Indian nor civil nor service," must go. ICS raj is by no means yet a dispossessed tribe of India.

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Sir, I see a difference between the princes, who have inherited dignity and grace for generations, between princes who are being attacked and do not turn a hair, and certain other people who, merely because a mention is made of something by my quoting something which everybody in this country knows, get rattled. The princes do not mind because they have inherited—at least, God bless them for it—a certain kind of dignity and grace. That is not inherited by certain other people. Therefore, I would say that this kind of a special privilege enshrined in the Constitution in article 314 should go. Why only the princes, the big monopoly houses, when the Monopoly Commission has mentioned....

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It is a cognate matter. Here are 75 houses which makes me recall the 200 families of France which, before the Second World War, were responsible for the subservience of France, the land of liberty, equality and fraternity.

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I am merely saying that when we are talking of the people's desire and the absolute urgency in today's context of mounting attack on privilege as represented by the privy purses and other concomitant privileges, at the same time it is necessary and rightful for the country and Parliament to think of the desirability of the attack on privilege, monopoly and power in other sections of society which are extremely important and injurious to the health of our country and the reputation of our motherland.

THE SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1969*£

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am entirely opposed to this Bill, and I can assure the House, whatever Shri Naidu might say, that there is no double-thinking about our position. Shri Naidu, for reasons which he himself appreciates, went on saying with impunity that members of this House take money from X, from Y, from X individual, from Y individual, from X country, from Y country. He was indulging in conduct which is most utterly reprehensible, but I did not intervene because I know the House will treat that kind of statement with the contempt which it deserves.... I hate to have to function in this House among with people who have the gumption to say in regard to colleagues that they take money from X or Y. They seem to think that this is a gossip chamber. I am not given to gossip in the Central Hall. I can tell him--he may know more about the Communist Party of India; he may have his own ways and means of functioning dubiously; I do not know—I may tell him that I am the representative of the Communist Party of India in this House and what he has said about the Communist Party having taken a certain decision is complete nonsense, fantastic nonsense. But he can indulge in that kind of thing, because of the kind of behaviour which has become chronic in this House, which some members specialise in, because they have an eye on the paper. This is how this House has degraded itself to this extent. We have to justify to our people why this demand for more money is to be taken.

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The Joint Committee's report is here. The Jan Sangh representative, the CPI representative, the CPM representative, the SSP representative, Independent Members like Shri A.D. Mani of Rajya Sabha—they have expressed themselves against the salary increase. PSP, as far as I can make out, were unfortunately not represented on this Committee but they are against salary increase. If the point of the Government is that in order to give the amenities which most members wanted are to be given, a lot of money is to be involved, let us discuss it. We need not have these amenities if they are

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 5 August, 1969. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 14 May 1954 and 25 September 1964 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which proposed to enhance the salaries and perks for MPs became 'The Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Act, 1969'.

to be too expensively purchased at the cost of the country. There is no reason why we should do it. I do want to raise my voice against the kind of thing which is being said by members, even by reputable members like Shri Tulshidas Jadhav. We do not come into politics in quest of a comfortable life. Some of us came into politics when the country was in the throes of a fight for independence. The younger people came into politics when the country is trying for a new kind of life. We have other incentives, other than economic gain or that sort of thing. We are not in politics for the sake of a comfortable life. That is why I was so astonished when one of our colleagues in this House wrote in his paper—I would not mention his name as he is not here—'MPs on beggar's doles' and he ended by saying 'While the M.P. who represents one million people goes through this well-designed torture...' By 'torture' he means the kind of life which M.Ps in Delhi have to live. I do not know. I have never felt I am living a tortured life because of lack of amenities. Anyhow this is what he said. 'The nation spends on the Minister over 100,000 rupees every year and pays a bureaucrat life—Rs. 56,700 on salaries and perquisites every year plus another Rs. 50,000 for overseas picnics.' I am not reading the names. My question to men like Shri Tulshidas Jadhav—I keep out Shri Naidu—is : Do we not wish to have some kind of austerity ideal in this country? Do we not live in a country where we have heard from childhood such mottos as "कौपीनवन्तः खलु, भाग्यवन्तः" I know it is not possible in modern times to go about in loin cloth although Gandhi made that gesture because he wanted to have some kind of link with the life of the people. I am not asking for the impossible. Mr. Jadhav seems to suggest that because our people live in sunshine and rain, we should not have this kind of canopy over our head and that we should hold our session in sunshine and rain. I do not say that. We will have to compromise in life. Should we have an idea that affluent conditions should be available for us? Shri Jadhav said that big capitalists do not care for us because we do not have money. Have I or you, Sir, or any member of the House any consideration that our people respect us because we have money? Is that the way in which people look upon us? I remember those things in the Bible, what Jesus said about money-lenders and that sort of thing. If we have respect from our people, it is not because we have money. And once we begin to think in terms of money, where is the end of it? Napoleon was jealous of Julius Caesar, Julius Caesar was jealous of Hannibal, Hannibal was jealous of Alexander and Alexander was jealous of Herculus who did not exist. It we come to this sort of a thing, there is no end to it; there is no end to jealousy. This is the world in which we live.

I do not want to talk particularly in the atmosphere which has been created. But certain things have been said to which a reply has to be given. Let us remember that in this country of ours—I am quoting Dr. Chandrashekhar, the Minister of Health and Family Planning—six crores of our people go to bed every night hungry because they have not had

enough to eat. This is the country in which we live; this is the country whose representatives we are supposed to be. Shall we be denigrating Parliament, blackening whatever the image of Parliament is, in the eyes of our people?

I read the other day how in the British Parliament one member was constrained to call the House of Commons an idiotic circus. He said...I am quoting:

> "I was elected to a serious body and not to be a member of an idiotic circus. They elected me to do a serious job, not to be part of an idiotic circus."

I am sure, when our people watch us performing, they might be making comments, something of that description. Are we going to aggravate that kind of an impression which has been produced in this country? Why do we not discuss these things?

I would say, let us have more amenities for better work. I don't object to that. Let there be unanimous recommendations to provide amenities for better work. If the amenities asked for involve a very huge expenditure, I would wait, I would think twice, thrice, for it. Let us have amenities for better work, Let us not have any more money. Let us not think in terms of money, of any more provisions of money, when people are talking everywhere how these provisions of money for members of Parliament often lead to abuses.

In conclusion, I beseech this House to take a proper view of the position and to remember that parliamentary property requires respect to be given to those understandings which are reached by unanimous discussion in the presence of the Speaker. I would beseech this House to remember, while you are entitled to make provision which help better work, you cannot ask the country for money in the way in which this Bill has been brought forward. That is why I am entirely opposed to this Bill, to any kind of delay, short or long, and I want to push it out altogether and, if in regard to amenities some more thought has to be given in order to economise the amount of expenditure involved, I am ready to sit with the Government and discuss it with them.

NEED FOR SOLVING PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful for the charming interlude furnished by the mellifluous Tamil eloquence of my friend, the leader of the DMK, and I am glad he has spoken in his own language. But I would like to add that I am waiting for the day when provision for simultaneous translation in all the languages in the Schedule to the Constitution would be here so that we can all speak in our own languages, because otherwise, as Mr. Anbazhagan has said, we cannot fully express ourselves. However well or badly we know English, it is not a language which we learnt at our mother's knee, and it is important that in Parliament, facilities for speaking in our own languages are provided.

I have heard the roar of the heavy artillery trained on Government by the Syndicate-Swatantra Sangh combine, and you know that my party and I stand in a position which is poles apart from that which is held by that combine. But I am afraid as far as this Address is concerned, I find little to enthuse over it. There is a certain element of studied buoyancy, some talk of a new sense of direction and purpose as well as realisable goals, but it strikes me as somewhat phoney and futile. I say it because the President concludes with a reference to "great expectations" among our people. But it is exactly these expectations we find little evidence of genuine fulfilment in the Address. I do not mind Government determining to build "brick by brick"—to use the President's words—a society which is democratic and socialist. I know the task is long and hard—again the President's words—but a snail's pace movement in this quick changing age is not the right thing.

I recall that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, as the Congress President, appointed a National Planning Committee and he said, our country would have a forced march; otherwise, we cannot get to grips with the world's problems. I remember how Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to say, particularly towards the end of his life, that we have to hurry. But in the Address, there is no suggestion of this sense of hurry, which the country wants this Government to implement. This Government has got the support from large

* *L.S. Deb.*, 26 February 1970. [Participating in the Discussion on The Motion of Thanks on the President's Addresss, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 22 May 1952, 13 February 1953, 18 and 22 February 1954, 23 February 1955, 20 and 23 February 1956, 17 February 1958, 22 February 1965, 1 March 1966, 21 March 1967, 14 March 1972 and 27 February 1974 on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address].

sections of our people because our people have got an idea that this Government will go ahead fast enough to satisfy their expectations. And, it is about that I do not find very much to enthuse over in the Address.

My friend, Shri Ranga said, there is no mention in the Address of the Gandhi Centenary, which was perhaps the biggest event from the Indian point of view in the last year. There is a very valid reason for it—a sense of shame. Even the provision of drinking water for our villages, which at one time before the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations it was projected would at least be made this year, has not been made yet and possibly out of a sense of shame, the President did not refer to the Gandhi name.

The Address also bristles with many statements. One of them is "perceptible increase in the standards of living" but it is not true. Only on 25 February 1970, *i.e.* yesterday, Unstarred Question No. 401 elicited the reply that per capita national income in 1966-67 was Rs. 302.4; in 1967-68 it was Rs. 321.3 but in 1968-69 it came down to Rs. 319.3. So, this is not the right sort of thing to say in the President's Address. In the Rajya Sabha on the 21 July last year, a question elicited the answer that the per capita availability of food grains in 1968, the year of the so-called green revolution, 1966-67 was 3.7 per cent less than that in 1965, when this availability was 173 kgs, cotton cloth, edible oils and the sugar consumption fell by 11 per cent and so many other figures were given at the same time. On the other hand, conspicuous consumption of such things as motor cars, air conditioners, refrigerators, confectionery and art silk fabrics has increased a great deal. That is not an evidence of increase in living standards as far as the people are concerned.

I find again at another place a reference, which I am constrained to call sanctimonious, to manifestations of violence. I am glad that the shame of Ahmedabad and the communal riots which took place was just referred to in that paragraph. But there is no indication of an attack of those nefarious communal reactionary chauvinists who with their slogans like "Indianisation" of non-Hindus in India are pursuing a dirty and dastardly policy of provocation for communal riots. I say this in spite of my friend, Shri Vajpayee, who with his spell-binding oratory has tried to give an interpretation of "Indianisation" to make it acceptable to everybody. Indeed, I have no sincerometer to measure his sincerity in regard to his conception of whatever he says. I judge people by results and I judge the Jansangh, and also their friends of the Swatantra Party combine, by what they are doing from place to place. And Ahmedabad continues to be a shining example of the squalor and disgrace to which we are reducing our country, whatever might be the high-sounding shibboleths which can be explained away in an oratorial fashion on the floor of Parliament. There is no doubt about it.

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I have absolute conviction, whether you agree or not, that the anger of our people has got to be concentrated against whatever goes against the

humanity of this country and the unity and integrity of its people. But, as far as the President's Address is concerned, it reserves its anger not for the communal chauvinists but for certain extremist political groups. The stress is political rather than communal. I am quoting his words:

> "While we are anxious to remove genuine causes of social discontent, violent activities have to be dealt with firmly."

It is true that violent activities have to be dealt with firmly. But you put the cart before the horse. Dr. Chandrasekhar, one of the Ministers of Government, made an under-statement when he said something which was largely true. He said that 60 million of our people are hungry when they try to get some sleep overnight. I have got here a question which was answered in this House only on the 23 February, Unstarred Question No. 5, according to which 14,000 children go blind every year in the southern and eastern regions of India on account of deficiency of Vitamin A in nutrition. This country is still an area of darkness and yet the Government has the gumption to inveigh against the poor because of violence on the part of our supremely patient people. This is just putting the cart before the horse.

I now turn to the question of the Supreme Court striking down the Bank Nationalisation Act which, to my mind, is not something quite unexpected as far as the Government is concerned. Yet, Government responded to it with a half-hearted Ordinance. In spite of today's faster changing political atmosphere, Government is inhibited from taking any action against the vested interests. The money-changers, far from being lashed out of the temple, threaten to be brought in again. The Supreme Court majority, perhaps without intending it, had on a common sense reading of its judgement, provided Government with an opportunity to acquire for the nation the rest of the banking undertakings in the country, including the foreign ones, but the opportunity has been carefully thrown away. By doing only the minimum repair essential for re-floating the boat of nationalisation, Government has acted as, what the Americans call, the strict "constructionist", in regard to the Constitution.

I do not know, perhaps in terms of temporary political arithmetic, in which the Prime Minister seems to be so proficient, Government has discovered some advantage in whatever reprocessing which the Government is now taking,—perhaps Government's idea is to keep many options open on many different sides; I will not expand upon it—but if that is so, it bodes ill for the country, and if there is betrayal of the people's widely roused expectations, it will not be forgiven.

Meanwhile, thanks to the Supreme Court, some private sharks will be richer and immediately so by at least an extra Rs. 25 crores, for which the budget will have to provide. What is worse, this money will not go to the individual shareholders but to the companies; that is to say, to the directors of the erstwhile undertakings who will get this bonanza of Supreme Court given funds and do what is delicately called "other business" for which the Supreme Court has opened the gate wide for them.

In the meantime the country's needs cry out. I come from Calcutta, with its city and the environs, which is India's great asset almost dying today. They need national assistance but no, monies with New Delhi would not be available for that sort of purpose. It will rather go to the sharks of big finance.

This is not merely in order to pinpoint the Government's defaults that I say this but a supremely national problem has been put on the agenda of the day by the action of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution not only in this country but particularly in the USA, which in regard to written federal Constitutions of our type is so often quoted, has often been quite a hurdle in the way of action for economic development, particularly economic development which is based on the people's will.

In the United States of America, for example, from 1890 to 1936 the Supreme Court pitted its own prejudices against all legislative attempts to regulate the excesses of Industrialism. Our Supreme Court, with all respect to it, is emasculating whatever looks like far-reaching socio-economic legislation.

I recall how President Roosevelt had said in regard to the supreme Court's striking down absolutely necessary legislative measures. He had said at that point of time:

> "We have reached the point as a nation where we must take action save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. We must find a way to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution itself. We want a Supreme Court which will do justice under the Constitution, not over it."

In regard to what the Constitution says it is not merely the judicial pundits who will give their interpretation. Those who have a great deal more to do with the real implementation of the constitutional provisions, which means Parliament, must have a say in regard to it. I recall Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru having said at one time :

> "No Supreme Court, no judiciary, can stand in judgment over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the will of the entire community. It can pull up that sovereign will if it goes wrong but in the ultimate

analysis where the future of the community is concerned, no judiciary can come in the way. Ultimately, the fact remains that the Legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the courts of law in such measures as social reform."

The latest decision of our Supreme Court necessarily leads to the conclusion that in effect, Parliament has no power even to abridge property rights in the interest of the people. The country is now confronted with a dilemma. Legislation scrapping the power of property is liable to be struck down because property right is a fundamental right. On the other hand, there can be no amendment by Parliament of the fundamental rights so long as the six to five majority decision of the Supreme Court in the *Golak Nath* case stands. This dilemma has got to be settled and it cannot wait upon some future contingency when the Supreme Court does or does not change its decision. Something has got to be done.

There is a tendency on the part of lawyers to be on the side of stability and static conditions. The late Oliver Wendell Holmes, Supreme Court Judge, highly celebrated in American history, said that the "inarticulate major premise" of all Judges seems to be the upholding of whatever is the present economic order. When that present economic order itself is to be changed, we cannot depend upon the good wishes, the behaviour of the Judges and the country has got to intervene.

I know that Government is trying to go slow, To a certain extent I can understand that the Government cannot in a huff do something which might be thought to be the people's real desire. The Government for the time being, I can understand, is trying to avoid a certain confrontation. But the crux of the matter remains and will have to be tackled; the sooner, the better. And that is the Supreme Court view of socio-economic measures which must come. Unless that matter is decided, all talk of socialism is so much abracadabra. So, we must proceed to do some drastic overhauling of the Constitution. Exclusion of the right to property from the Chapter of Fundamental Rights is something which is being asked for from different quarters today. I would say, let us get on soon as we can with Shri Nath Pai's Bill even though I know it will be no solution of political problems that are being shot up to the order of the day by the Supreme Court judgments. Let us overhaul the Constitution. Let us begin the process. It is a long process of overhauling the Constitution. Let us do away with the dichotomy between Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. The will of the people will prevail or violence of a sort might erupt compared with which the violent happenings of today would be like a tea-party.

There are so many of the constitutional problems also. The question of the Statehood for Manipur, for Himachal Pradesh and for Tripura are demands which have certainly to be conceded if justice is to have its satisfaction. There is the question of Centre-State relationship which was implied so very vividly and vibrantly in the speech of the leader of the D.M.K. a little while ago. That has to be looked after. Then, there is the problem of having a Meghalaya type of sub-State for areas like the Nepal-speaking region in West Bengal. That kind of problem will have to be tackled. Therefore, it is very necessary that we go to the whole question of overhauling the Constitution.

This brings me to the question of the princes and their privy purses and other privileges. How long, I ask Government, because the country is impatient, must this issue hang fire? What is the precise connotation of Government's placatory assurances regarding transitional arrangements? I don't understand. I heard my hon. friend, Shri Patil. Naturally, he is the paladin of the Syndicate forces. He defended the princely order. We have friends, as far as princes are concerned, personally speaking but on a matter of principle, we have to take our stand. What is it that we are thinking of? Shri Patil talked about what Sardar Patel had done and how we should be eternally grateful to him and how we should not go back on whatever word was given by him. With all respect to Sardar Patel, I would say, it was not only to him that we should pay our tribute for the integration of States but much more should our tribute go to the struggling people of the Indian States who fought and gave their lives and by their own blood, they cemented the integration of States. It was because of the movement of the peoples in different States and not because of the diplomatic maneuovers at the top that the princes had to agree. Otherwise, they would not surely have agreed. Take, for instance, Travancore. They wanted to have a separate independent State. Hyderabad took an attitude which we cannot easily forget.

Let us not talk too much about the patriotism of the princes and the supreme wisdom of Sardar Patel. Let us talk more about what our people did at the point of achievement of freedom and what their expectations were. Why should this anomaly of princely privileges and similar things continue? I take it that the princes, born princes for no fault of theirs, are proud people; I take it they are self-respecting people; I take it that they should be fed up with the endless goings-on between them and the Government. Why can't they tell the people that they have had their innings for a long enough period and that now they are bowing out and would no longer cost a penny to our poor country? On the contrary, some of them would prefer hanging about in the corridors of the Prime Minister's Secretariat or at a later stage of the Supreme Court for justice. It is a foolish proceeding that is going on. I ask the Government: How is it that Government is not fulfilling a promise given to Parliament after the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) resolution? I think,

it is more than two years old and nothing has been done in the meantime. The Government must move at once. The privileges of the ICS must go just as the privileges of the Princes must go. Article 314 wherein the appointees of the Secretary of State are singled out for a very special treatment also should go.

The abolition of the privy purses is a symbolic gesture. It does not involve a lot of money but even so it is important and, therefore, it cannot be delayed. But I think even more important is the determined attack on monopoly an economic privilege which must be begun at once. The recent concession to the Birlas over the Goa fertiliser plant will need a lot of explanation from Dr. Sen and his chief, the Prime Minister. It looks something of a sell-out because Birlas hold a mere 16 per cent in terms of the investment and the rest is foreign capital from the United States Steel Corporation routed thorough an innocuous-looking subsidiary. The claim that the management will be entirely with the Birlas hardly camouflages the fact that United States private capital has entered a vital sector in a big way. Sir, it appears that the revised plan for the Mithnapur fertiliser plant will be okayed soon and with 15 new fertiliser plants coming up, the big business houses—Tata, Birla and all—will make up with the Government and live happily ever afterwards. It is some hope indeed. But they are forgetting one little factor, namely, the people. Perhaps this explains what my friend, Shri Ranga, said yesterday with that crystal clarity of reactionary single-mindedness that he wanted a Government of all Parties except the Communists. Very good, Sir, let him have it as soon as ever he can. But whatever the big idea on Shri Ranga's part, the Government is on test. The Government must remember that it has got a remarkable accretion of popular support on account of a singularly courageous breaking away from the most egregious and reactionary elements in the Congress. But it is on test because of the power of the people and it will be judged on the basis of its real work. It must not continue to be only the lesser evil to be tolerated—the lesser evil than the people represented by the *Syndicate-Swatantra-Sangh* axis towards which some of my friends form SSP after their confabulations at the Sonepur fair appear to be gravitating. If that happens, then it will forfeit all popular support, and I give this warning to the government.

I shall refer only very briefly to a few aspects of our foreign policy. At page 16 of the President's Address, I find that it notes about Vietnam:

> "In Vietnam, the hostilities still continue. My Government have consistently advocated the withdrawal of all foreign forces so that the people of Vietnam are able to fashion their own destiny without any outside interference."

Again, how judicial! How terribly judicial! And how insensitive to the deepest human impulses, which today have produced an upsurge even inside the United States of America for the denunciation of US depredation in Vietnam. Jawaharlal Nehru's heart bled for the destruction of Guernica in the days of the Spanish Civil War. But Jawaharlal's daughter has not said one memorable word about the "My Lai" barbarity, not even about the American use of bacteriological and chemical weapons in Vietnam about which you can see evidence in the *Manchester Guardian* of the old days and now the *London Guardian* which is a pro-West newspaper. Since even over Vietnam, Government prefers diplomatic discretion to any kind of moral valour, it only follows that it hesitates over the full recognition of the German Democratic Republic and almost forgets that the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea is heroically fighting for years the United States' imperialist attack, attack which is against all of us, 'Gooks' because they call us 'gooks' of one kind or the other. To them whoever is an Asian is a 'gook' and, therefore, is not entitled to human treatment. I know India need not speak overmuch particularly when her capacities are limited. But, as a country which has known and experienced imperialist subjugation, we should not be petrified by fear. There are certain categorical imperatives of our foreign policy of peace and freedom which, unfortunately, find no place in the Address.

Sir, it is a pity that Government has not utilised the Address to concretise its programme for the people. The people have welcomed their breaking away from the more rapidly reactionary elements which used to compose and bring about the decomposition of the old Congress party and to that extent it has a tremendous responsibility. If, in all honesty, the Government seeks to bring some solace and relief to our people and some hope for the country's future, it will have our support. But if the Government fails, if the Government refuses to take the necessary steps, the position will be entirely different.

The Government have a good deal of the people's sympathy today, because, we all see how the *Syndicate-Swatantra-Jan Sangh* combine waits avidly to pounce upon power. But let the Government read the writing on the wall. Let the Government realise why it was that in the days of bank nationalisation, when Morarji Desai was pushed out of the Cabinet, the people come over enthusiastically to support Indira Gandhi. It was not merely a hallelujah for Indira Gandhi as an individual. But it was the desire of the people for something new, something which would break fresh ground which would make something which would put an end to the rot and the corruption which has percolated into every aspect of our public life. It is that expectation which remains to be fulfilled. That is the writing on the wall. Let Government

read the writing on the wall so that our people really and truly can turn over a new leaf in India and its history. In the meantime the President's Address is here, by no means an inspiring document, sometimes trying to be very buoyant, but it does not satisfy the people, and I do not think it would satisfy Parliament unless Government comes forward and gives some evidence of its real, tangible desire to do something objective for the good of our people.

STYLE OF NAMES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT*

Sir, with your permission my friend, Shri Sezhiyan and I wish to raise a matter under Rule 377 relating to the publication in the list of questions for Lok Sabha, which is a public document available to the press and people outside, of the names of certain members in a peculiar method of nomenclature. Five of them, we discover, are described in a very peculiar way—Smt. Gayatri Devi to whose name "of Jaipur" are added; Smt. Krishna Kumari, to whose name "of Jodhpur" are added; Shri Marthand Singh, to whose name, "of Rewa" are added; Smt. Vijaya Raje Scindia to whose name "of Gwalior" are added and Hon. Maj. Narendra Singh who is content with the word "Panna" within brackets added at the end of his name. It appears to us to be an indirect way and rather laughable way, of circumventing the result of the abolition of privy purses and the abolition of discriminating descriptions of citizens of this country. The more prominent of the members of the princely order do not seem to have adopted this particular back-door method of self-nomenclature, but some others have. We have also learnt—I am speaking subject to correction—that the Ministry of Home Affairs in its wisdom has decided that this kind of self-discriminating nomenclature can be permitted to certain members of this House. You, Sir, have to decide the legality or propriety of this kind of measure. I consider this laughable. It is an indirect but peculiar way of circumventing legislation which has for its object the establishment of the equality of status of all the citizens. It will be peculiar if Shri Sezhiyan adds the words "of Madras" at the end of his name or I add the words "of Calcutta" at the end of my name. It is reminiscent of those days of the Earl of something or the Baron of somewhere who used to have the latter part of their names in a different way to distinguish themselves from the rest of the citizens. I wish, therefore, some steps are taken. But the Home Ministry should be whipped up and told that it is none of their business to practice by the backdoor this sort of discrimination, particularly through the instrumentality of the Lok Sabha Secretariat. How did it happen that the Home Ministry's intervention took place over your head, behind your back?

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We raised this matter on a question of principle. I did not raise it to get a decision. I could have gone to your room if I wanted to know your reaction.

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*L.S. *Deb.*, 7 May 1973. [Speaking while raising a matter under Rule 377].

I came up to this House because I want to be satisfied that the House wants to be satisfied that the people know the mood of the House on a matter of principle.

Here is the Home Ministry intervening in a matter which suggests discrimination in the description of certain persons which goes against the entire idea of legislation which we have passed recently. The Home Ministry keeps mum. And you take the consensus of the House.

THE PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1972*£

I have had only a cursory opportunity of looking at the Bill as reported on by the Joint Committee and the predominate impression in my mind is, that this is a gratuitous piece of legislation with which unfortunately our Parliament has occupied itself for quite a considerable period of time, and the result is, legislation which is completely uncalled for.

I really find it very difficult to understand the motive behind such legislation unless it be, as my friend, Shri Chatterjee suggested a little while earlier, that it is to put curbs on the normal decent democratic way of securing elections, even to the highest offices in our country. I have no manner of doubt in my mind that when the Constituent Assembly was in session, they gave a great deal of thought to the dignity and the supreme importance of the office of President and also of the essentially of the office of the Vice-President and they set out a certain mechanism for the election of these two of our foremost dignitaries.

But, perhaps, when after the election of our President last time, there were certain legal proceedings, and the President did appear before the Supreme Court, it may be that some sticklers for the ceremonials in Government, got an idea that there should be efforts made to put the President, and to some extent also the Vice-President, in such a very separate category, shrouded in some kind of oil paper which should be absolutely beyond the ambit so to speak, of normal legislative principles of selection.

I do not know why it is that because of the likely appearance of a few people with frivolous intentions of self-publicity—we should try to shroud the office of the President and the Vice-President in this particular manner.

As a matter of fact, it was only in the Committee that the number of electors required obligatorily by the President for the purposes of his nomination for selection is brought now to 20 instead of 40, as said earlier. Why on earth should it be obligatory for a citizen of this county to be nominated by as many as 20 people and not less, and they have to be members of the Legislature? What harm is there if in a country where certain minorities

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 19 February 1974. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 29 April 1974 on a similar subject].

£ [The Bill which was aimed at amending The Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Act, 1952, became 'The Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections (Amendment) Act, 1974].

which are not represented in the legislature even to any extent do get an opportunity of contesting the office of a President? Why should not even symbolically the office of President be permitted to by contested by individuals? Is it because we think some cranks would get into the scene? The cranks can get into the scene in this country even though you make provisions of this sort. We should have no exaggerated idea of our own legislators, including ourselves, that if we put the number at a very high level. Then, of course, nothing wrong would happen. We see what sort of things take place. Parliament is now in possession of the Defection Bill, which again is another example of the kind of degeneration which has overtaken the legislative life of this country, where you find legislators, elected representatives of the people behaving in a manner which is most dastardly.

It is no good merely adding to the number of likely nominators of the President, to make sure that only very serious nominations for Presidentship would take place.

I do not know why one has to go on motive—hunting of a motiveless malignity, as somebody said about a Shakespearian character, in so far as Government's legislation is concerned; What is the reason for it? What is the provocation for it?

What is the reason for limiting the right of the electors to propose somebody for the office of the President and Vice-President? The experience of the last four or five elections has not been so dismal and disastrous and all that. The elections had proceeded in a very smooth and harmonious fashion. One or two candidates had appeared when nobody ever knew. Their names appeared in the papers for a few days. And everybody laughed over them. So, please let us not put this legislation in our Statute Book. I do not see any reason why we should try to limit the rights of the electors in so far as the proposal for Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship is concerned. I find it almost impossible to accept the idea of the change which has been suggested by the Joint Committee in so far as the grounds for disqualification of the returned candidate are concerned.

Instead of 'connivance', the word 'consent' has now been put in. What difference does it make? Shri Chatterjee was arguing quite convincingly. I do not see what Government can say in justification of removing the expression 'connivance' and putting in the word 'consent'? Is it not an implied reflection on the character of a person who gets himself returned as the President of this country? After all, if connivance charge is made against him, he could get away with it but, if he had consented to it, then, of course, he cannot get away. I would not even remotely think of casting that kind of indirect reflection upon a person whom I consider to be capable of getting himself elected as

President of this country. What kind of political life are we envisaging? Do the Government not have other jobs to pre-occupy themselves with? Is the condition of the people not an enough assignment which they have got to ameliorate earlier than anything else? Why do we busy ourselves with this kind of gratuitous legislation which means nothing to anybody in this country? Is it because we have this feeling that the President's Office is a high one and, so a very special legislation of this type is necessary? It is about time that this country sheds the feudalistic idea about the position of the President and Vice-President being in the clouds, so to speak.

We are suffering on account of the hangover of this mentality which continues to plague the political morality of our lives. Why the President should live in Babylone on splendour in a country like ours where deprivation is the destination of every single individual. In our country, we keep the President in a condition which is a sharp contrast to the living conditions of our people. Here, in our country, where perhaps hundreds of millions of children go to sleep every night hungry, we keep our President and other ceremonial heads of the country in a peculiary affluent condition. This is a continuation of the feudalistic tradition which should go.

Only yesterday, we had the repetition of the ceremonial ritual which has been performed only because the President, according to the constitutional connotation, appears to be a successor to the Viceroy who was the representative of the King and, therefore, should have the regal kind of paraphernalia of beating of the drums and sounding of the bugles, the procession and all that sort of things. This is a reminiscence of the Mumbo Jumbo of the feudalistic period.

I refer to all this because the Government of this kind also appears to think that the President is something out of the blue. We seem to put him on a pedestal as if there is a link between him and everybody else in this country.

Mahatma Gandhi had talked about the President being a person and perhaps, an untouchable lady should be installed as a President in this country. He was symbolically trying to give expression to something of the sea change which this ancient country of ours requires to have or wants to have. If that is so, then our people are going to have nothing at all. I know that perhaps the Law Minister would say that all this is not relevant to this Bill. It is absolutely relevant. I say that there is nothing in this Bill which affects the interests of our people at all, and in so far as it affects the interests of our people, it affects prejudicially the right of our people to nominate anybody whom they like whatsoever for election to this office, but because of our conception of the President's office as something very peculiar, very sacrosanct, we get into this kind of absolutely unnecessary legislation.

I have made a very quick and cursory study of the provisions here. I find that there is no need whatever for this.

In regard to the office of the Vice-President also, I agree with what Shri Chatterjee has suggested about this office. If not the very existence of this office, the very connotation of the office and its duties will have to be thought over much more carefully than this Bill seems to do. The Vice-President more or less is here as someone tagged on to the office of the President. That may be more or less the position as it is in our country today. The Vice-Presidents have normally very little to do except to preside over the Council of States or the Rajya Sabha, and then, if something happens to the President, step in into his shoes. Otherwise, the position of the Vice-President really needs examination. Even in the United States, for instance a Vice-President is more or less non-entity unless for some very special reason he can push his way to the fore front. There used to be a saying that in a family there were two sons, and one went to the sea and the other became Vice-President, and neither of them have been heard of ever since. But that apart we have in this country the office of Vice-President which we consider to be a dignified enough office. Why potter about with the manner of election to the Vice-Presidentship. It is a good enough mechanism what you have got already. Why have this kind of additional legislation? Why curb the right? If we are going to think of the position of the Vice-President, do make some deep examination of the position of the Rajya Sabha which some people, when our House of the People was called the Lok Sabha, described as *Paralok* Sabha, but since that time, insistently, but from different angles, the position of that House continues to be a matter for examination. Examine it properly. I find here Shri Samar Mukherjee's note of dissent, also seconded by Shri Chatterjee's speech, where references are made to the whole idea of re-examining the *locus standi* or the *raison d'etre* of the Rajya Sabha and to bring about whatever changes might be necessary in a Union of States which is the Republic of India, I can understand that this is a matter which requires examination but I just do not understand this sort of thing at all.

I could understand if for example Government came forward with legislation which was suggested after some events when the President's Address was disturbed. I was suggested that we should have a change in the Constitution which would make it unnecessary for the President to come in a peculiarly ceremonial atmosphere and make an Address to Parliament which is absolutely of no moment whatsoever in so far as our parliamentary and public life is concerned, that there should be in all conscience and in all reason an effort change the Constitution, so that the obligation that he has unfortunately to come here and Address both Houses together is gone, so that at least the seemingly unnecessary and uncomfortable events can also be avoided at the same time. I can understand some sort of practical legislation

to get more time for parliamentary work and less time for unnecessary ceremonial. I can understand that kind of legislation. But why this legislation? Will you save money? Will you save time? Will you bring a better moral atmosphere to play into the office of these two dignitaries? I do not think so at all.

We have had very fine people as our Presidents and Vice-Presidents elected by the processes envisaged in our Constitution, which do not require any change whatever. The changes which have been suggested in the present legislation are changes for the worse, because they fetter the right of the citizen. They fetter also the right of the judiciary to examine cases of misconduct. By changing 'connivance' to 'consent', there is an open invitation to misconduct and in a manner which reflects so terribly even on the office of the President. If the Government could envisage a returned Presidential candidate to be capable of connivance but to be clever enough to avoid being caught on the ground of consent, then I say, to hell with the ideas which this Government has got about a parliamentary system of administration, to hell with whatever ideas this Government has got about the office of President in at least a civilised, ancient country like ours. Our experience so far has been such that this kind of legislation which is self-defeating, which is something which is a slander on the character of the people of our country, should go, should not be proceeded with. No harm would be done, no prestige would be affected. I am not asking him to ride a high horse. I do not think he wishes to ride a high horse in this matter. He could very well come round and say: Look here, after some cogitation, we discovered that this Bill need be proceeded with; let the Presidential and Vice-Presidential election be conducted in the manner it has been so far; no harm would result.

Therefore, I would suggest very seriously that he withdraws this Bill. There is nothing in it which requires to be adopted by the House.

ON SITUATION IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party, the Communist Party of India, I welcome the Prime Minister's Statement and the new agreement on Kashmir.

I hope that this will be a blow to the conspiracies of imperialism and other hostile groups against our sub-continent. This opens up a new chapter of progress for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and also the rest of India.

It is a happy thing that the issue had been resolved after a fairly long endeavour on the basis of secular and democratic principles. And I am sure the House will not grudge to our Prime Minister and also Sheikh Abdullah genuine congratulations for their achievement.

Sir, the fundamental framework of the agreement is to my mind, the reaffirmation by Sheikh Abdullah of the finality of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to India, and the re-iteration by the Prime Minister (without any equivocation) that Jammu and Kashmir enjoys a special status by virtue of Art. 370 which will not be eroded. Undisputed leader of Jammu and Kashmir as Sheikh Abdullah is,—he has reaffirmed the fact of accession after long but mutually understanding dialogue with the government of India. For reasons—good, bad or indifferent—a somewhat rigid stand was taken for years by both sides and since the dark days of August, 1953, many things have happened which we would like to forget. Sheikh Abdullah at any rate has refused to be permanently soured by long years of detention and he has taken the genuinely statesmanlike view which was expected of him. And, the Prime Minister—I don't mind repeating—has shown imaginative understanding by reassuring Kashmir of its special status.

A Muslim-majority State, further even to the north of India than Tibet is,—which is in the mainstream of our national life and culture,—out of its own free-will, acceded to the Union and in fact and in law this matter is now without question. This is a tremendous thing and we are happy that this agreement has come about.

Sir, I cannot help recalling a debate in this House some 23 years ago.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 3 March 1975. [Participating in the discussion on Motion re: Statement of Prime Minister on Jammu and Kashmir, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 7 August 1952, 25 March 1953, 6 August 1962, 6 May 1964, 23 August 1965, 22 November and 6 December 1968].

I see to my right my good friend, Shri Shyamnandan Mishra who spoke on that occasion and my friend, Com. A.K. Gopalan also spoke. I had also an opportunity in participating in that debate. It was on some date in August 1952. Jawaharlal Nehru had placed the agreement before Parliament and we ratified it. I remember very distinctly how Shri Mishra had given a fine reply to the late Shri Syama Prasad Mookerjee who as you know, was a highly distinguished member, but on Kashmir and related issues, he took a certain communal and chauvinistic attitude. I hope, when Shri Mishra speaks today—I know that he would say many things—will apply the same attitude to the hon. member sitting on his right. I looked up the record to refresh my memory. On that occasion, Jawaharlal Nehru had said:

> "In law and in fact, accession of Kashmir is complete. We had agreed to some slightly greater measure of internal autonomy and in the full freedom of friendly discussion, we had arrived at certain agreements."

He had also said that Kashmir and the Sheikh Abdullah administration had done a good job of work. He said in the course of his speech:

> "I look with some envy on the speed and celerity of land reforms already implemented."

It was rather go-ahead compared to the India of 1952. He had referred to the matter of no land acquisition by outsiders, a genuine step in the interest of the people. He had said:

> "I hope, this great Republic of India is a free, voluntary, and affectionate union of the States of India."

Repeatedly, he reiterated that Jammu and Kashmir in most difficult circumstances had shown in action their friendship and their intimate links of comradeship with this country.

Sir, it is, therefore, rather melancholy to remember that the agreement which we ratified in August, 1952, had led to certain communal and chauvinistic element setting up disorderly activities in Jammu and Kashmir in late 1952 and early 1953. And I am afraid, Sir, that the agreement just concluded has already been followed by certain activities which are particularly pernicious and it is a disgrace—nothing to be short of it—that when Prime Minister, Bhutto of Pakistan, poking his nose into our garden declares a hartal against the agreement that we have entered into between ourselves, certain elements in this country, in Jammu and elsewhere—they can operate with certain degree of freedom—have joined hands in order to register their objectionable temper and in order to distort the atmosphere of friendship which this agreement is trying to create. Over the years, the progressive forces in this country, particularly my Party, have striven to bring closer the secular and democratic forces.

The friendly atmosphere was lacerated in the Kashmir valley when Sheikh Abdullah had to be unseated from power some 22 years ago.

It was an unhappy chapter which followed since then and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself wanted, in the last days of his life, to put a final stop to this Chapter and to re-construct the process of friendship which had been distorted and disclosed for a certain period. It is a good thing that after the confidence generated by the statesmanlike handling of the Bangladesh liberation crisis, New Delhi rightly turned its attention towards mending its fences in Kashmir and Jawaharlal Nehru's unfinished task was taken up with patriotism and with a sense of realism on either side and the settlement before us is the result.

I want to make a special mention of Sheikh Abdullah. I came to know of him since 1951 and I continued to count him as one of the more remarkable men of our times. It is a good thing that he has been restored as one of the senior leaders of the entire nation.

As far as Kashmir is concerned, whether he is called '*Wazir-e-Azam*' or whatever else, wherever he sits, he is the head of the table. If he comes here, he might sit anywhere but he is a head of the State. The irony of Sheikh Abdullah, having been in the fight for freedom and having dreamt the visions of India which was never going to be distorted and having dreamt such dreams and having seen such visions had the blow of partition which was something which was almost impossible to get over. Living in a Muslim majority area, leading the people of whom 85 per cent or more were Muslims and who were giving the most crucial and cruel dilemma had no choice between joining India and Pakistan made up his mind to be with India and not with Pakistan because secularism, democracy and socialism can be comparatively safe in India but never in Pakistan. This sort of decision has been pilloried in some quarters in Pakistan. Imagine the agony of partition felt by Sheikh Abdullah more than many others, more than many of the younger generations today can imagine. I saw some debate where I saw the quotation from the poet Meer Taqi Meer which got stuck in my memory. I quote:

दिल ढाक जों कावा बनाया तों कमा किया।

> Even if the House of God is built on the ruins of a heart, what good is it? In this country ever since that freedom came, so many of us died. So how do we react to what has happened? It was a problem for the sensitive people in Kashmir. Look at the dilemma with which Sheikh was confronted. But, Sheikh Abdullah, as Jawaharlal Nehru said, in the 1952 debate, is no God. He commits many errors: he will commit many more. But, he is a brave man and a great leader of his people. Bigness is bigness

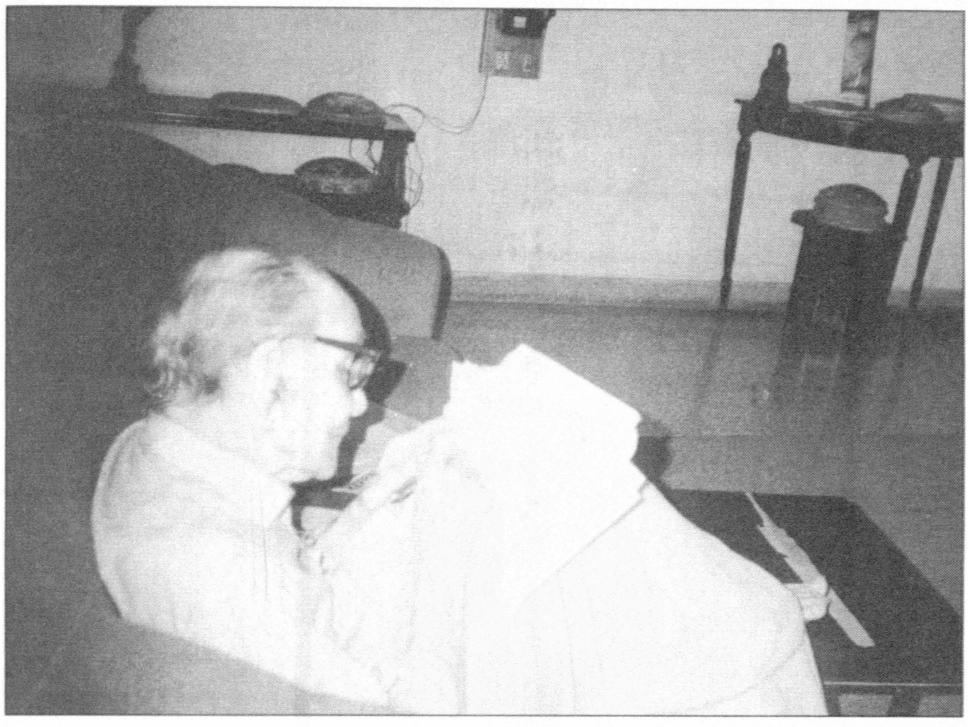
in spite of a hundred mistakes. Kashmir question was a big question which could be solved by a big man and a big leadership and big people of whom Kashmir is a part in spite of whatever differences we have where there is a multi-national configuration. There is no doubt about it. There is unity and diversity—not merely diversity and unity but between all of us.—I hope we shall make a very good job of it regarding Kashmir. We have yet to do something else. What I look forward to in Jammu and Kashmir is an advance of democratic life. How far that would happen I do not know. I share some of the misgivings in the mind of my hon. friend, Shri Samar Mukherjee in regard to certain things that may develop. But, still, I would like to be an optimist in this regard at least now that the settlement is before us the advance of the democratic life in Jammu and Kashmir will take place and this will have its repercussions not only on the so-called Azad Kashmir held by Pakistan but in Pakistan itself. Progressive forces in Kashmir have now the task of bringing about cohesion and advance. A new dynamism must appear in the stagnant society of the valley. A certain deprivation of democratic rights of which Sheikh Abdullah has been complaining for years will now go, I feel, and with popular support, the Centre will not find it a self-defeating and onerous job to bear the mantle and administrative burden it has done in regard to Kashmir upto today. A great deal of subsidisation had taken place but along with corruption, it has appeared as if water went out of the jug and nothing yet genuine happened as far as the people were concerned. But now that the people are likely to be happy, now that political tensions are removed, the Government would not have the urge of having to perform the self-defeating task of pumping money into Kashmir and not either get benefit to the people nor any kind of recognition of India's Constitution in Kashmiri life.

Sir, I do not share the fear that there would be similar autonomy demand from other parts of the country. The position of Jammu and Kashmir is again something very special, very unlike compared to what it is elsewhere. I am not afraid of principled discussion of Centre-State relationship. That should never be unwelcome. But as far as we are concerned, in a country like ours, we need a plan, and the importance of Central direction is also extremely important, is extremely valuable. I am not here to barter away the centralized direction of our planned economy, because, howsoever Government does its muddled job with the plan, we have to depend upon planning for the progress of our people. Since Sheikh Abdullah has given assurances regarding Jammu and Ladakh which are regions which have to be better looked after in the present context of things and since the main irritants in the way of administration of Jammu and Kashmir are being removed, I am looking forward to smoother sailing than in the past.

Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan is very unhappy and has poked his nose into our affairs. I shall be happy today if Shri Vajpayee says that he has nothing whatever to do with any kind of collaboration with this game. I say this because this is happening at a point of time when the United States is bolstering bellicose hardliners in Pakistan in order to destabilise condition in other parts of the world. The United States has always helped Pakistan with irredentist talents on Kashmir, on purely communal grounds. Behind the imbroglio of 1953-54 there was the United States—Pak Pact—the idea of Asians to fight Asians, Asian hordes to do the fighting for Americans who were too costly to transport to other parts of the world; and Pakistan after 1953-54 according to CENTO and SEATO, destroyed even the formalities of an old democratic Government. But the 20th Century bourgeoisie in Washington and Islamabad learn nothing and so they did nothing.

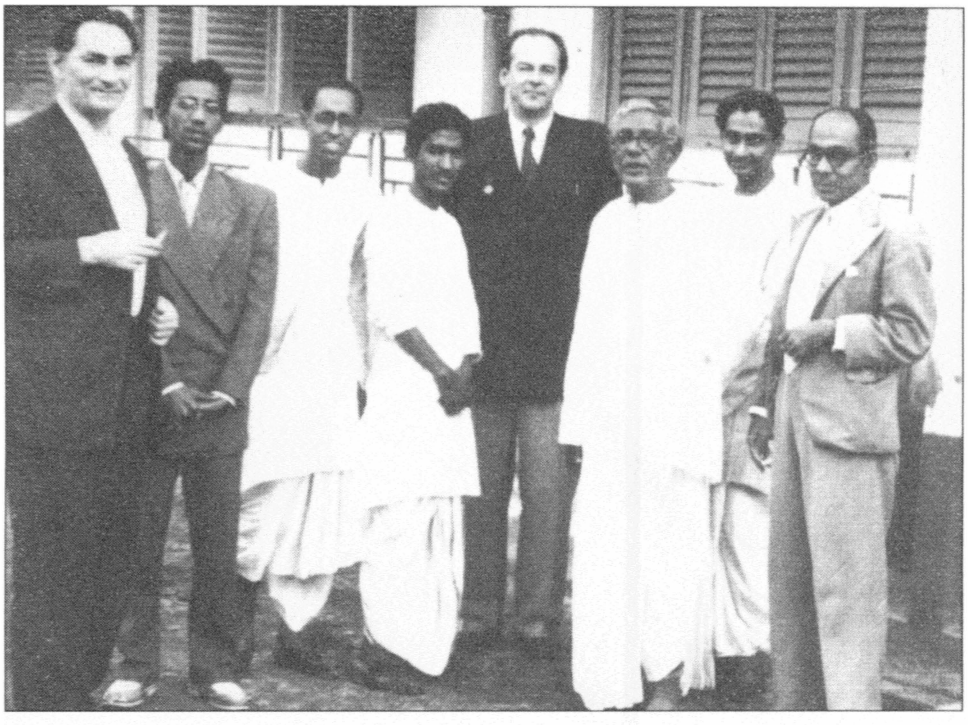
The State Government, the Pentagon and the C.I.A. cannot adjust themselves to new winds blowing, the winds of thought, the winds of dialogue for settlement, the winds of development, of people wishing to find fulfilment of their freedom. This is seen in the fact that the clients and beneficiaries of the United States, from Saigon to Tel Aviv *via* Islamabad and Tehran are now having pumped into their systems billions of dollars worth of arms. But these billions of dollars worth of arms cannot put back the wheels of history.

....The laws of artillery cannot defeat the laws of history in other parts of the world. Things are happening which not all the confabulations and conspiracies of the reactionaries at home and abroad can stop. This is right, the idea of a new Kashmir which is a pillar as I have said, a new Kashmir which will be a part of a new India, the idea that will enthuse these people, of an India that extends from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, a unity cemented by blood and friendship, unity cemented by understanding that comes of a dialogue. If on the basis of that new India we cannot build our future, to hell with all hopes. These gentlemen specialise in pessimism and that is why they peddle the ware supplied by the Pentagon and other agencies. My point is that we have to say good-bye to that kind of activity on the basis of things like the Kashmir agreement and rebuild our country nearer our heart's desire.



Prof. Hiren Mukerjee : A Prolific Writer in his Study

With Dr. Harivanshrai Bachchan, a renowned Hindi Poet and
Shri Umashankar Dikshit, former Union Minister in a meeting
of the panel of judges for 'Soviet Land Nehru Award'



With renowned Soviet Film-maker Pudovkin and actor Cherkasov, famous Indian Painter Jamini Ray and Poet Bishnu De in Kolkata in the 1950s

In Soviet Union in 1978. Also seen in the picture is noted Film actor, Shri A.K. Hangal

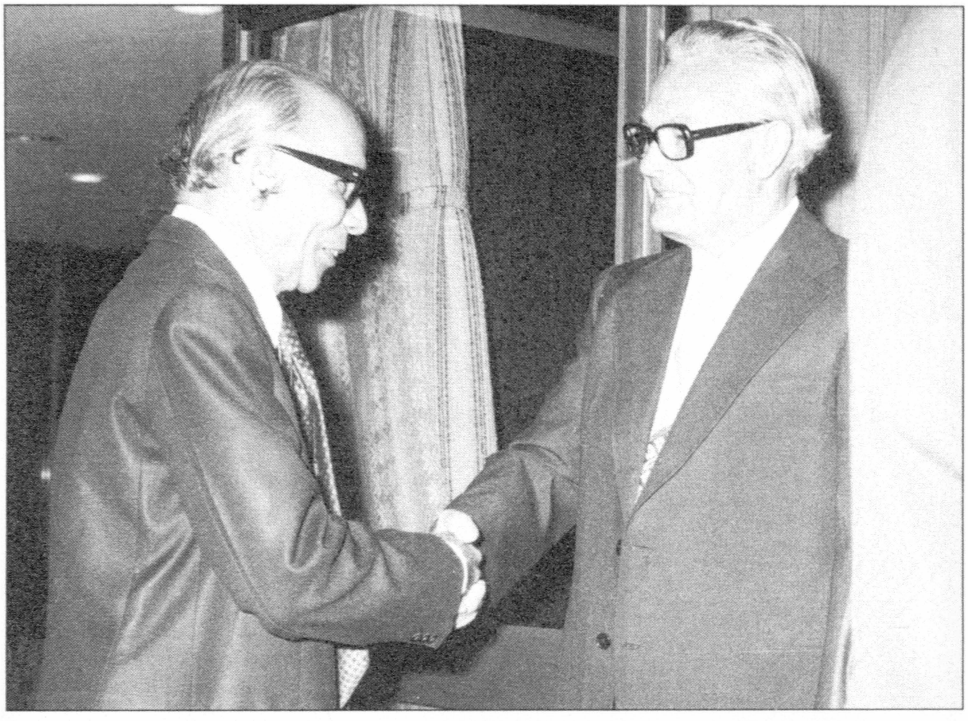
With Shri Jagjivan Ram, former Deputy Prime Minister of India

Addressing a meeting. Also seen in the picture is Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali,
a noted freedom fighter

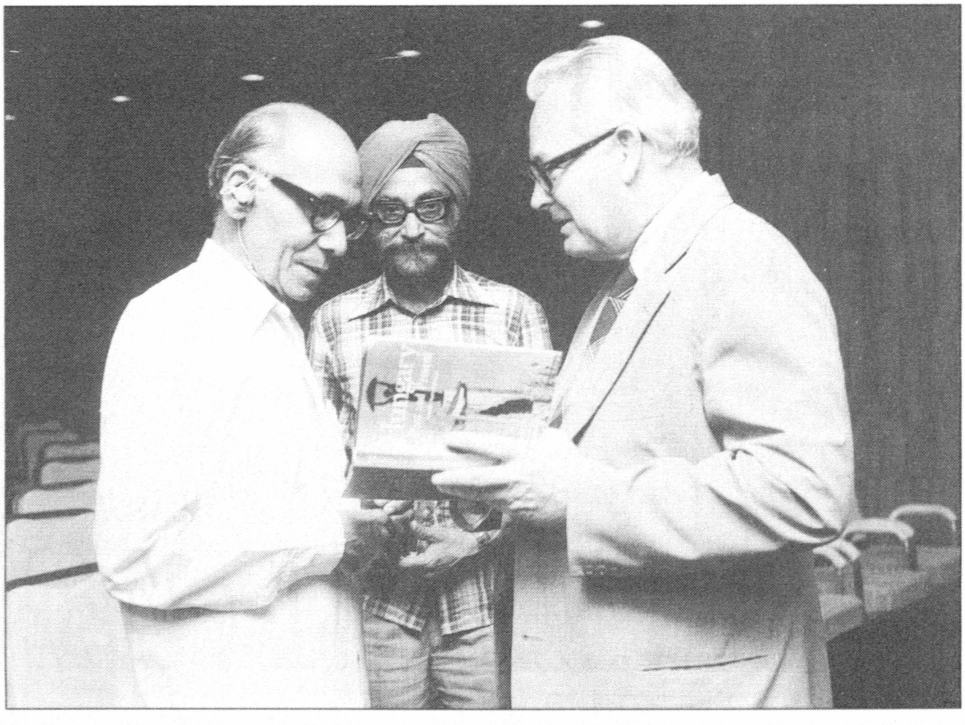
In Soviet Union, Shri A.K. Hangal, noted film actor is
also seen sitting on his right

With a Cultural Delegation from erstwhile USSR during his first term in Lok Sabha.
Also seen in the picture are Shri V.P. Nair, M.P. (first from right), Smt. V. P. Nair,
(first from left), Smt. Sushila Gopalan, (third from right)
and Smt. Shanta Basu (fourth from right)

With Soviet Prime Minister, Bulganin (Second from Right) in 1954.
Also seen in the picture are Shri A.K. Gopalan (first from left)
and Shri N.C. Chatterjee (second from left)



With Hungarian Ambassador in 1982



On the occasion of the release of his book "Hungary : Past and Present"
by the Hungarian Ambassador to India in New Delhi

Laying Foundation of '*Vidyabhavan*' in Kolkata on 27 April 1986

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ISSUES

As far as this Bill is concerned, I was reminded of an experience which many of us used to have when we were at Oxford. I had a tutor—quite a famous man whom I need not name—who would sit down typically puffing his pipe as we read out our tutorial essays and after I had finished he would say "It is very good—this essay—", and then he would add, "as far as it goes" I knew that that "as far as it goes" meant the final decision on the paper I had submitted. Neither I nor any of my friends who had this experience were happy about it by any means. Similarly, I should say that this Bill is a good thing. There is nothing wrong about it. It is a step in the right direction. It is more than overdue. But what we fear is this. It does not go far enough and the Government shows no inclination to bring forward those other pieces of legislation which are absolutely necessary if the declared objective of this Bill is truly going to be achieved. As a matter of fact, what we find is that behind the introduction of this measure there is a story—I would not call it sordid, because I have no knowledge of the facts—but there is certainly a story of shilly-shallying. It seems that the Constituent Assembly discussed this Bill in 1948 and even before that, in 1946, a Bill for levying estate duty had been introduced and the Provisional Parliament had referred it to a Select Committee. The Select Committee duly reported on it, but all that lapsed on the dissolution of that Parliament. Quite a long time, nearly six years, have passed since the first effort was made to introduce a legislation of this description, and so, I would say it is more than overdue. It is a good thing that the Government at last have come forward to propound the Estate Duty Bill. But bearing in mind the character of this Government and our expectations of its administration, we have very serious misgivings.

I remember the Finance Minister saying during the last session when the Budget was being discussed that granted capitalism, he could go that far and no further. He said once that he did not even understand the language that we talk, that our idiom, sociologically speaking, was something which he could not take in. Now it is a good thing after all that he has realised that even within the ambit of capitalism certain steps can be taken, and it is there that I must refer to the rather enthusiastic speeches which were made about

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 10 November 1952. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 12 August and 9 September 1953 and 6 May 1968 on a similar subject]

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for the levy and collection of estate duty, became 'The Estate Duty Act, 1953'.

this Bill, particularly by my hon. friend, Mr. Gadgil. Now, hearing Mr. Gadgil one would have thought from time to time that he was another addition to our ranks. But then again I found him pronouncing certain views which showed that we could not quite welcome him with open arms into our ranks, because he has not got the idea of the forces which are operating in society. He seems to have a notion that socialism is a matter of sympathy, that if only you had a sort of emotional exuberance and you wanted to do something good, you could call yourself a socialist.

Now actually socialism today is a power, not because certain people are sympathetic to the idea of an equalitarian society, but because large masses of people have become conscious on account of the change in the material environments of their lives. They have become conscious of their rights and they are coming forward not to accept the charity of the philanthropically-minded, not to accept the fruits of the sympathy which my very estimable friend, Mr. Gadgil has in regard to the poor people, but to take away the sceptre from the princes and the thunderbolt from heaven, because they are sure of their own strength. They have confidence in their own organisation and that is why today they are not merely the Cinderella in society. The working class is not the Cinderella; it is the pretender to power. It is asking for seizure of power, in the interests of the working people, of every community in the world.

So I find a good deal of misunderstanding in regard to the nature of socialism and I would say that this measure is as far away from socialism as you wish it to be. That is why I found it is rather delicious to listen to the somewhat tight-rope performances made by my hon. friend, Mr. Chatterjee,- who is not here at the moment,—whom I could not quite make sure about, because at one go he was saying that he was very much in favour of this Bill and at another moment he was suggesting that he was not in favour of this Bill. He was actually torn between two worlds; but ultimately he could make up his mind about it, because he knew that this was a capitalist measure— "granted capitalism", to quote the Finance Minister.

That being so, I would refer to certain points which were raised by my hon. friend, Babu Ramnarayan Singh whose views I always listen to with respect, because he was drawing the attention of the House to a very major point, namely the record of this Government and its inability to create in this country the kind of atmosphere which would be favourable to the efficient administration of a Bill of this description.

There are many lacunae in this Bill. I am not very confident that they would all be filled in. But even if they are filled in, the record of this Government is such that there is every reason to be apprehensive about the administration of this measure. What he said was that he wanted an

atmosphere to be created in this country whereby people would feel of their own volition like offering money to Government. He referred to the exceptional case of the Maharashtrian citizen who sends five rupees every year to the Finance Minister. But he wanted an atmosphere whereby the generality of the people come to realise that after all this Government was their own and, therefore, funds in the hands of Government were going to be administered properly. That is a very important point.

The record of this Government in regard to comparable legislation, the income-tax, for example, and the sales tax, as far as the States are concerned, is by no means creditable. Besides, what exactly does the Government intend to do in regard to the achievement of its objective which it says is to reduce the existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth? Now, I am not very sure about the contribution which the Estate Duty Bill is going to make towards the real reduction of the inequalities in the distribution of wealth which exists in this country. I say so, because as has already been pointed out and as every body knows, the number of people who pay income-tax in this country is infinitesimal. Now, even assuming—as it was assumed by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee the other day—that double that number are people who ought to pay income-tax, but do not, even then, the proportion would be very minute. Now, the Estate Duty Bill would, therefore, operate in the case of a very few people. Judging from the record of the administration of income-tax legislation, we fear that evasions would be conducted on a large scale by people who can afford legal assistance for the purpose of such evasion—legal assistance in a very euphemistic sense, I should say—and evasions and all that sort of thing would be the luxury of the prosperous, while those who are the least able to bear the weight of this kind of taxation would have to bear the brunt of it.

That being so, you are not going to get in amount, in the quantum of it, a very considerable amount of money. In that case, what should we do? Why do we not try to find out ways and means of doing away with latifundia big landed estates? Why do we not try to find out the hidden wealth in this country—hidden wealth which is stowed away from the eagle vision of my hon. friend, Mr. Tyagi? This hidden wealth is stowed away from the eyes of Government in such a fashion that I think Mr. Tyagi once wrote in a foreword to a book on income-tax and cognate matters that his idea of income-tax was that it was something in the nature of a charity, something which the individual comes forward as being willing to pay. Actually in conformity with his very euphonious name, he permitted large numbers of people to come forward after a lot of cajoling, after a lot of intimidation and pressure being put upon them, and say: "Oh, we have much more income than we are showing; anyway, we are going to pay this much; you be satisfied." And the Government

had to be satisfied with that. This sort of thing has happened. If that is so, what is our mechanism for finding out the hidden wealth of this country?

Now, speaking on this point the name which comes first of all to our mind is the name of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Now, Sir, he has the reputation of being perhaps the richest man in the world. Now the usual computation of his wealth is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 500 crore. It may be very much more—we have no means of finding out. Now, I do fear that in this Estate Duty Bill there are loop-holes which are going to enable persons like the Nizam of Hyderabad to run away with their money. There is a provision for the making of trusts, etc. for one's relatives. This provision regarding trusts is utilised even in a country like England, where there is supposed to be a certain standard of morality in regard to this kind of tax payment, for evasion on a very large scale.

About the Estate Duty, Col. Josiah Wedgewood, Labour Member of Parliament said in his book "The Economics of Inheritance":

> "It is highly probable that, on the average, persons with large estates, of say over £50,000, give away to heirs and others during their life-time not less than a quarter of their property. Many convincing solicitors will probably consider this a serious under-statement, since the evasion of the Death Duties seems now to be one of their principal functions."

The evasion of the Death Duties is one of the principal functions of the legal profession! This is going to be on a larger scale in this country. There is no doubt about it, because the practitioners are few and the magnates also are few in number and they can commandeer their services for concealing their incomes as they have been doing so long. How are we to proceed in this matter? Here I am reminded of certain very important points which were raised by my friend, Mr. More. We are not very sure, from a reading of the Bill as it is presented to us now, as to the exact position of the rulers to whom we have given privy purses to the extent of Rs. 58 million. It seems that in the merger agreement with people like the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Mysore there are certain very important provisions. There is one clause for example which says: "The Dominion Government guarantees the succession, according to law and customs, to the *gadi* of the State." The Dominion Government *guarantees* the succession of the State. Now, we are going perhaps to have a terrific amount of learned, legal disputation in regard to the interpretation of the expression "succession to the *gadi* of the State". And I fear that it is in order to grant some kind of protection to these interests that there is a very specific provision in clause 32 of this Bill entitled

'Exemptions, reductions and other modifications'. It says :

> "The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make any exemption, reduction in rate or other modification in respect of estate duty in favour of any class of property or the whole or any part of the property of any class of persons."

Now, we do have a very serious fear that this would be a loop-hole which would be utilised in the interests of the most undesirable people. We do feel that there would be efforts to exempt people like the Nizam of Hyderabad. If we are really serious about the proclaimed objective of this legislation, if we can catch the Nizam of Hyderabad it will be the biggest windfall for the treasury. If you can get taxation on, let us say, Rs. 500 crore or so naturally that is going to be a terrific amount of money which could be utilised for purposes of nation-building.

I have referred already to the Government's record regarding income-tax and sales Tax and similar impositions, and I have said that the Government's record is by no means good enough to inspire public confidence. Actually, I think the Income-tax Investigation Commission once had to remark that they have not got adequate powers to catch the thief. In regard to the administration of income-tax we find the evasions are practised on a very large scale by mainly two classes of persons : first, the foreign capital interests which are entrenched in this country, thanks very largely to the financial policy of our Government, and secondly, there is the class of magnates, some of them industrial magnates, and others—they are hang-overs, so to speak, from the feudal set-up in our country which has not yet been eliminated. Now, these two sections of people are specialists in the art of evading payment of Income-tax.

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In any case I think there should be discussion by the Select Committee when this Bill is under consideration, of ways and means of filling any of the lacunae. And when there are exemptions granted to the foreign capitalists we should remember that the foreign capitalist in India evades income-tax by referring to all kinds of payments—entertainment allowance, family allowance, marriage allowance, nursing home allowance and so on and so forth—and I can give the Finance Minister or the Minister for Commerce and Industry facts about these kinds of things, how the tea industry magnates, European magnates, by all sorts of subterfuge refer to all sorts of payments to their white employees all the time and get away from the obligation of paying the tax. If we look upon these foreign capital interests in our country more or less on a par with, let us say, foreign capital interests in other countries, we shall be making a tremendous mistake. My friend, the Maharaja of Bikaner was

complaining that the French Government has not permitted him to take possession of his father's residential property in France. Now, the French Government has a certain criterion regarding its notion of property interests established on the soil of France by foreigners. Now, internationally speaking, there is a certain criterion. But in our country we have to look upon these foreign capitalists in a very different way, because they have entrenched themselves and because today they require to be taught a lesson that they have exploited our country long enough and, therefore, they are not going to get from us any kind of preferential treatment on the specious plea that they should not be subjected to double taxation. They claim that they should have certain exemptions not only in regard to income-tax but also in regard to estate duty. I should say here is a point which has to be gone into very carefully and in regard to these foreign interests we ought to make a special provision.

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While I am happy that Government has come forward with this Bill, I am by no means enthusiastic over it because I find that there are a lot of lacunae which have to be filled in. Besides, I do not find, as far as this Bill is concerned, any serious intention on the part of Government to tax those sources of untaxed wealth which have got to be taken over if we are going to make any progress in this country. In that connection I referred to the wealth of the feudal hang-overs mentioning in particular the Nizam of Hyderabad and I referred also to the foreign capitalists who have been fattening on the resources of our country and who should not expect any further concessions that under the international law they should be immune from double taxation. The foreign capitalists in this country who are in a very special category have been behaving in such a fashion during the last 200 years or so that they should not expect any preferential treatment but I find that there are very serious loop-holes that the foreign capitalists could take advantage of.

Reference has also been made during this debate to the effect that this legislation is likely to have on the system of inheritance which is prevalent among sections of the Hindu community in particular. Now in regard to this I should say that there is in our Constitution certain specific directives which point out that it is important for us to have a uniform system, a uniform Code and a uniform Law of inheritance. I know that there is a great deal in our ancient traditions which has to be cherished. I yield to nobody in the homage I pay to the magnificent achievements of our ancestors. I know that in many respects we can continue to be extremely proud of our country's civilisation, but at the same time I feel that sometimes we overdo this admiration for the past. Sometimes I feel that we are carried away by this admiration for the past into a general frame of mind where we do not accept

certain modern sociological facts merely because they are modern. They impinge upon our living conditions and therefore have got to be accepted. Take for example the Joint Family. The institution of joint family has performed great service in the past—and may be for the present, perhaps also for the future it may have a contribution to make towards the progress of society, but there are certain ineluctable facts of social and economic life which are militating against the institution of joint family as we understood it. So, however much we might wish to resist it it will be necessary for us to come to terms with the facts of present day life and in connection with this I would like to refer to what I feel is a rather dangerous habit of mind on our part, namely to take some flattering function to ourselves, to take refuge in our past traditions and our past achievements and I fear that we do so because our ego wants some sort of outer covering against the cold blasts of misery and degradation. I am sorry to say that we are trying to take shelter behind a sort of idealisation of our past traditions. I do not say that I wish to do away with all our past traditions. I do not think of it in the least. On the contrary, I would say that it is only on the basis of the adjustment of the traditions of the past to the urgent needs of today that we can build a future which is worthwhile. So, I would say that in regard to institutions like the joint family, in regard to our laws of succession, etc. they must come to terms with the reality of the present day and it was because those who made the Constitution for this country realised this that they put article 44 under the heading of Directive Principles of State Policy which says that the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizen a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India. Our Constitution, of course, guarantees freedom of conscience and of religion but it is possible at the same time to divest religion from personal law and social relations and from laws governing inheritance, succession and marriage. This has been done already even in the Muslim countries like Turkey and Egypt and I do not see why we should not have a uniform law of inheritance which would simplify many of the absolutely unnecessary problems which are harassing the Finance Minister, for example, as far as the progress of the Estate Duty Bill is concerned.

Now I would like to refer to another point, namely that this kind of legislation has been attacked by some hon. members on the ground that it will militate against capital formation and therefore, in the present posture of our economic life, it is going to do damage. Actually, I should say that all reputable judgments based on experience of those countries where death duties have been necessitated point to the fact that capital formation is by no means jeopardised, is by no means prejudicially affected by this kind of legislation. But here I would like to utter a word of warning to the Finance Minister in particular because he will have the lion's share of the work of putting this law into operation. Now, unless we make sure that by putting this law into operation, we do not harass and harry the already harassed

middle classes, unless we make sure that we use our axe against those who deserve it, unless we make sure that all the loop-holes or advantages enjoyed by the prosperous section of the country are going to be absolutely removed, it is going to be disastrous. In regard to income-tax in particular, our experience is that big shots always get away and the poor people who have very limited incomes that are more or less easily ascertainable are being subject to all kinds of impositions. So when the Select Committee goes forward in its consideration of this measure and perhaps decides upon a certain minimum which would be the criterion for the application of the death duties Act, then I think this ought to be kept very carefully in mind. If that is kept carefully in mind then we shall see that honest people will not suffer. It is only those who engaged in speculative enterprises, it is only that particular unsavoury type which tries to evade taxation payment, which does all sorts of damage to the community, it is only that section of our prosperous classes which is responsible more than any other section for the present posture, the present unhappy posture of our economic life. So, I should say that if good care is taken that the poorer sections of the community do not suffer, if good care is taken that those who are best capable of bearing the brunt of this taxation are not permitted to escape, then and then alone we shall make sure that capital formation in the present posture of society will not be jeopardised.

Now another point has been made in the course of this discussion and it has also been referred to in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. That is, that the money which is expected out of the imposition of Estate duty would assist the States towards financing their development schemes. This is all very good so far as it goes. But, here again, I want to utter a very serious word of warning, and that is in relation to the foreign octopus which is trying to eat into the vitals of our country's economy. I say this because, on 6 September 1952, at the Press Conference held in Calcutta, which was reported in papers like the Statesman and Hindustan Standard, the United States Ambassador to this country is reported to have said that our Planning Commission had drawn a detailed plan and America knew where and how their aid would be spent. Further in the same Press Conference, the Ambassador of the United States said that the US Government were taking steps against any misuse of its financial and other assistance to foreign countries. This kind of statement suggests very clearly how these foreign interests are trying to keep their stranglehold on our economy. They know where and how their aid would be spent. And their aid is one of the basic factors in the development schemes which we are going to take. Unless we revise our whole idea in regard to these development schemes, unless we stand four-square to all the winds that blow and say, we are a free country and we are not going to subordinate our freedom and self-respect to the dominant claims of a very strong power like the United States of America, surely, our development schemes will come to naught. Estate duty or no

Estate duty, nothing will come out of it. I would say, it is very necessary for us to take a wider view of the situation which prevails in our country today when we take a matter like the Estate Duty Bill. It makes us realise more acutely than ever the needs of our country. If we are going to satisfy the needs of our country, we have to move in a very different manner, in a very different spirit than what we have displayed so far.

I shall conclude. Before I do so, I would only refer to one last point. After all, capitalism pure and undefiled, has no room for such kinds of things like the Estate Duty Bill. A man under a pure capitalistic order has every right to do whatever he likes with his own property. There are certain "natural rights" which were inevitable concomitants of a capitalist system. Just as hypocrisy is the last homage which vice pays to virtue, social service legislation is the homage which decadent capitalism is bound to pay to the ideological and technical superiority of socialism. I am sure everybody will have to admit that; support has come to this measure from every section of the House because it approximates to socialism. My hon. friend, Mr. Gadgil so eloquently talked about this measure, because he thought—and I highly respect his thought—that we are making an approximation to socialism. Every time any capitalistic economy makes this kind of concession, we ought to remind ourselves of the basic canker of the capitalistic system which can never deliver the goods as far as the interests of the common people are concerned. In spite of Death duties and all sorts of impositions, advanced capitalist countries have not been able to provide for the common working people of their respective countries, the amenities of civilization, and there is in this fact the admission of inferiority. From every section of this House has come a repetition of this idea that after all, a socialist ideal is something worth striving for. If we accept that proposition, surely, I hope that my hon. friend, the Finance Minister will revise his ideas. He has been saying, "granted capitalism", he can do only this; he must say, capitalism or no capitalism, this is what my country needs, this is what my people are prepared to fight for; I am going to mobilise their resources and their enthusiasm, and all together we are going to go ahead. That need not be a copy book variety of socialism elsewhere. Socialism through experience is something to be achieved in this country. We do not carry revolutions in a suit case; we do not have to import socialism or communism or any other commodity into this country. It has to grow out of the experience of our country. The experience of our country shows that our people require a different standard of life altogether. When I say this, I speak on behalf of those disinherited people, the overwhelming majority of the population, who are not interested in the Estate Duty Bill. Most of our people have nothing to do with the Estate Duty Bill.

Death is respecter of persons. In spite of the poets saying that death does not respect anybody, death does respect persons. This is warranted by certain

facts and figures that I have got. In Manchester, for example, in the richer districts of the town 10.5 persons per thousand die; in the poorer districts, the death rate per thousand is 16. Coming nearer home, in Bombay, the infant mortality rate in 1926,—these figures have not changed appreciably since—as far as residents of one room tenements are concerned, was 577 per thousand, and in the case of residents of two room tenements, it was 254 per thousand. In hospitals, the infant mortality was 107 per thousand. Death is a respecter of persons. Death respects prosperity. You have greater chances to live if you have a certain amount of the amenities of civilization. This death duty, after all, is going to affect people who are leaving their legacies to very adult sons, who naturally do not require to be molly-coddled and fed with all sorts of special appurtenances in order that they may be able to keep up their standards of life and luxury. As far as the disinherited people of this country are concerned, their demand is that they want a new life. There is no reason why their demand should any longer be resisted. If that is so, surely we ought to revise our whole conception and we ought to find out that the sort of mixed economy which we are striving for does not work. I am sure my hon. friend, the Finance Minister himself will admit that he has to take some very drastic steps. I am sure he has a list of people whom he would like to see no longer functioning in their present position because he knows that they stand in the way of the economic development of our country, which he also, in his own way, has at heart. But, he does not know that if we are going to bring about a basic change in our situation, we have got to mobilize the resources and enthusiasm of our people. Even for a very matter of fact Bill like the Estate Duty Bill, we ought to recall these matters of principle, which you also, Sir, referred to earlier. If we do that, then, surely, we shall try to bring about a really fundamental change in our situation and not merely tinker with a few high-sounding pieces of legislation which, I am afraid, are going to be worked in a manner which will be detrimental to the basic interests of the common people of this country.

NEED FOR PLANNED DEVELOPMENT*

We are discussing the Five Year Plan under the shadow of a calamity—the death of a leader of the people in Andhra *desa* (presently known as Andhra Pradesh). I refer to this incident, because I know that if the future of our country is to be secured in the interests of the common people, then the economic unity of our country will have to be broad based upon the voluntary accession to that unity by the different linguistic regions of our land. I see this view seconded in the Tata-Birla Plan for this country which was put up in 1944. It made two political assumptions as an indispensable preliminary to the success of any Plan, and they were that there should be a National Government with full freedom in economic matters and that there should be regional groupings—but not such as to disturb the economic unity of the country. Therefore, when we remember the event that has happened—the melancholy event that has happened—I hope that we would rise to a graver sense of our responsibility in regard to the linking up of our country by that silken cord of friendship and cordiality which alone can bring about the success of our Plan.

It is good that we have got from Government an admission that we have to plan or we perish, and that planning is the only thing which will help us to get out of the morass in which we are living today. But it is not enough only to say that we must plan our civilisation or perish. Today, the condition of things is such that we cannot escape the responsibility of trying to make the dream of freedom which our people had dreamt so long come true. But as a matter of fact the promises that the Government makes through this Plan, the prospects which are offered through this Plan, are—I should say—a shameful deception of the millions who have felt in the dark hour of agony that by going through their struggle for freedom their endurance might give promise of a better dawn. They have not got that promise today, and the Plan itself is strewn with the wreckage of the hopes that were raised in the hearts of our people, and the ideas they had formed in regard to the concretisation of their independence have been thrown to the winds. I think that we must realise that we need very much more than mere goodwill and a mere understanding of the difficulties of the situation. We need a philosophy which

* *L.S. Deb.*, 15 and 16 December 1952. [Participating in the Discussion on Resolution re: First Five Year Plan, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 17-19 December 1952, 8 September 1956 and on 23 August 1960 on a similar subject].

is proportionate to the problems of today. We need faith that will make that philosophy the urgent dynamic of our lives. But we have not got that yet. And I say that on account of what is happening today, our country will perhaps be subjected to years of distress and damnation because the economic prejudices which my hon. friend, the Finance Minister imbibed at Cambridge are supposed to be part of the law of nature. Those economic prejudices have to be thrown overboard altogether, because today he is pledged to planning and if planning is to be a success it has got to be conducted on certain lines which I do not see at all in the very massive documents which have been given to us.

I heard with much interest, the speech made by the hon. Leader of the House when he presented his Resolution. He even offered a characterisation of himself when he said that a revolutionary of yesterday is a conservative of today. Over and over again he was indulging in such contradictions that I could not make either head or tail out of what he was saying. He said, for example, that it is the justification to democracy—that a democratic set-up should promote what we desire. But he went on to say that there are self-imposed limitations as far as the plan is concerned. If our democracy is going to justify itself, it is necessary to go ahead. Planning is not a prank: planning is a high adventure. Planning is to be founded on a philosophy which alone can transmute the conditions of life of our people.

Then the Prime Minister said that political democracy without economic democracy was no good. And then he went on talking about friendly cooperative way of removing hindrances. I suppose friendly co-operative way of removing hindrances, when you come down to brass tacks, mean that you fleece the common people that you impose upon the peasant and the worker and that you allow the sharks, the tax thieves, the industrial barons who are now wallowing in a kind of prosperity which they think is going to last for ever,——you allow them all the rope in the world and in the meanwhile you do not look at all at the interests of the common people. He talked about the need for control of the private sector. We know how this plan is based upon a very emphatic idea that the private sector is the most important and that we can at best influence it, but can not determine what the private sector is going to do. In Chapter XXIV in paragraphs 26 and 27 it is said that Government can influence, but cannot determine the actual course of investment. Now, if you have this kind of attitude, if you allow those people who alone should be requisitioned for the purposes of financing our national plan to go scot free, if you allow yourselves to be tied hand and foot to the interests of foreign capitalism, which you vainly seek to deny from house-tops, then this Plan is by no means going to be a success.

Now in regard to the tax thieves, I find that in the Tata Birla Plan there was an estimate that the volume of hoarded wealth in this country was about

one thousand crores of rupees. If there was a national Government trusted by the people, we could get about three hundred crore from this source. That was what was estimated by the industrialists in 1944.

Then in regard to the tax thieves again, we find that the Income Tax Investigation Commission have reported very openly that influential persons hold large numbers of shares in many companies, in fictitious names and they have deposits and loans in the names of fictitious persons. Now we are referring not to black-market profits, but to a big chunk of legal profits over which taxation is evaded and should be imposed. My hon. friend, Mr. Tyagi, whom I miss in his seat at the present moment, admitted in Parliament that there were arrears of income-tax amounting to Rs. 127.2 crore at the beginning of 1950-51 and it rose to Rs. 137.2 at the end of that year. Again there was a question asked in this House some time ago about the amount of money disclosed State-wise as a result of voluntary disclosures drive. Till 31 August 1952, Mr. Tyagi revealed, the amount disclosed was Rs. 72 crore plus Rs. 2 crore from the Bombay city making a total of Rs. 74 crore. Now, this is a kind of thing which goes on. This is the way in which those who are best able to bear the brunt of our country's economy, try to shield their own interest. As far as our Government is concerned it is not coming forward with any plan in order to get these top-dogs to help us in assisting the reconstruction of the economy of our country.

Now as far as this Plan is concerned, it says hardly any industrialization worth mentioning is going to be done. As far as production of food is concerned we hope to be self-sufficient. It says—though it does not put it down in so many words—that our dependence on foreign capital would continue. As far as the interests of the common people are concerned—the interests of the peasantry, the interests of the working classes—those interests are not going to be looked after at all. Now that is the sum total, really speaking, of what the Plan amounts to. We are going to have double our national income in twenty-seven years. Now, if you compare it with other plans—the Tata Birla Plan, the National Planning Committee's Plan, even the Plan adumbrated by my hon. friend on the other side, who is not here at the moment, Shri Agarwal, the Gandhian Plan, even there we find very much better prospects being put forward before our country. Now doubling of the national income in twenty-seven years will not arouse wild enthusiasm. We find that in view of the increase in the population which would be about one and a quarter per cent, the prospect of eleven per cent increase in the national income would be eaten away. There might be a very slight net improvement in real income. But if the Finance Minister indulges in some little arithmetic he will see that the change would be more of words than of substance. Now that is the only thing which you are putting forward before the people—in twenty-seven years' time you would be more or less where you are and in

certain respects go back to 1938-39! I did not know till our great planners came into the picture that we lived in *Ram Rajya* round about 1938-39. That is the discovery we have made, thanks to the ideas of those who are ruling the roost as far as our country is concerned.

Now, some people have said that this is planning without tears. Now, I would say that it is planning without tears only as far as the upper layer of society is concerned. As far as the common people are concerned they are going to suffer tremendously. Now, as far as the upper layer is concerned, I would like to point out that it is important that we tap all the resources that are available. If we make up our mind that we are going to have industrial development, without which we cannot go forward in this world of today, then surely we have got to tap those resources. But we are not proceeding with it.

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But I would say that we have got a plan of non-industrialisation. In this case I say that we can link it up with the recurring American theme, since Dr. Grady made his speech at the ECAFE Conference at Ootacamund in 1948, where he said to all intense and purposes that it was foolish to think of developing heavy industries in India, that India should concentrate on agriculture, mining and communications and it is only on those conditions that America would help in these projects. Now this has also been the fundamental approach of Point Four to India and that is why if we compare the present plan with the Bombay Plan, or the Visveswarayya Plan or even the Gandhian Plan, we find how very little money is allocated for the development of the industries of this country.

Now, as far as the money available in the country is concerned, I have referred already to what is being done by the tax thieves, and then I would try to point out how the industrialists have lately claimed that they have actually invested during the five year period 1946 to 1951 some Rs. 450 crore to build up new manufacturing units. If you deduct from this figure certain items which ought to be deducted, then the figure comes really down to Rs. 263 crore and not Rs. 450 crore. If we take as a rough average the calculation which was made by the National Income Committee for the year 1948-49, then we find that after meeting all costs, even paying dividends, the amount which was available for ploughing back was Rs. 137 crore. And if we take that as an average for a five year period, for five years Rs. 685 crore could have been available as far as the country's interests were concerned. Now if we go deeper into this report of the National Income Committee, and if we examine also the figures given in a publication of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, called "The Role of Private Enterprise in India—

Retrospects and Prospects", then we find that in every year, on an average, if we take 1948-49, we might have Rs. 137 crore as our investment possibility. In the last five years, instead of Rs. 685 crore or so, the business community in India has reinvested about Rs. 263 crore. The rest has gone elsewhere. And it has gone where? Well, as far as that is concerned, the Planning Commission gives its own idea. It says that particularly at the time, that is 1950-51, on account of the Korean War, capital became very shy. They boycotted even the plan of borrowings as far as the Government was concerned, and hoardings of commodities became a feature of the economic life of this country.

Now, this sort of thing has gone on. The Tata-Birla Plan, as I have already said, points out that Rs. 300 crore can be had from the hoarded wealth of the country. That is in terms of the value of the rupee much earlier than today. Now we can have a lot more if we set about it properly. As far as the industry as at present constituted is concerned, we can certainly get a very great deal more than the figure mentioned, about Rs. 137 crore every year.

Now, this calculation has been made without reference to mining, trading, building, banking, insurance, operating of transport and plantations. Only 63 groups of industries have been covered in this calculation. Now if we take all that into account and if there is a possibility of mobilising the patriotic zeal of our industrialists, then truly we can get a great deal more money than comes out into the open. We do not get it because speculative pursuits are very much more to the interests of these industrial magnates of our country, and our Government is not in a position, is not desirous of touching them because our Government depends for its own existence on the support particularly from those sections of society.

I shall refer also in this connection to what was said, for example, in a journal which represents mainly British commercial and industrial interests, the "Capital" of Calcutta which said, in 1951 of course, in regard to the jute industry that in one full year the jute industry can make a profit of Rs. 50 crore, which will work out to more than 150 per cent on the paid up capital of roughly Rs. 30 crore. Here is one example of mainly foreign capital in this country which has got back what it invested many, many times over. But we do not dare touch foreign capital in jute, tea, mining, plantations and all sorts of other enterprises like banking and international trade; we just do not dare touch them. That would require guts; that would require constitutional adventure. That is why we do not go forward. We try to amend the Constitution. The Congress Party whips up all its members to get 350 to attend because you want to take away the franchise from a certain section of our population. But you do not amend the Constitution in order that we can get rid of these foreign capitalists who have ruled the roost in this country

so long to the detriment of our country and who even today are having a most wonderful time.

In regard to that, if we are at all serious about the possibility that we have of confiscating foreign capital. ...*(Interruption)*... on the point of foreign capital in this country I would say that in the annual report of the Ministry of Finance for 1951-52 which was circulated to us there is a statement which says that investment of foreign capital in India to the extent of Rs. 15.08 crore was approved by the Controller of Capital Issues of the Central Government during 1951. 81 applications covering Rs. 15.08 crore were sanctioned. Now between August 1947, the great day of our Independence, and 1950, about Rs. seven crore of foreign money have been invested in this country. From 1951-52 it was double what it was in the last three years. If we take the earlier averages—I am quoting from the Midland Bank returns—we find that during 1925 to 1927 the amount of British capital exports to India and Ceylon was Rs. 2.84 crore (at Rs. 13.8 to the pound); during 1932 to 1934 British Capital exports to India and Ceylon amounted to Rs. 5.67 crore; and during 1934 to 1936 it amounted to Rs. 1.35 crore. Now India today is a halcyon land, a paradise as far as the investment of these foreign capitalists is concerned. And compared to 1925-27, 1932-34 and 1934-36 we are getting now ten or eleven times as much foreign capital as we had in those days.

Only the other day when I was mooching about in the Parliament Library, I found a statement in the London "*Economist*" of 29 November 1952. It says in pages 628-631 under an article "Foreign Investment in India":

> "The atmosphere for foreign investments is unusually favourable in India. It is not a colony like Malaya or most of Africa. So there are none of the risks of independence to come." (Mark the words, Sir) "It does not suffer from xenophobia, like so much of the Middle East". (I do not know what flag is flying over our head!) Its government is stable and democratic, unlike much of Latin America. Its policy about repatriation of capital and remittance of profits is liberal. Taxation is not, in general, discriminatory, and only recently the Finance Minister has removed from his Income-tax Amendment Bill those provisions which foreign capital found particularly deterrent; fiscal concessions for new enterprises are considerable. Nationalisation is not an immediate threat, and the Constitution provides for compensation for anything which may eventually be taken over. There are no compulsory percentages of Indian capital or managers laid down. Strikes are rare and judges in labour arbitration cases more reasonable than they were a few years ago. For foreign capital there is in India not only a warm welcome, but even more important, ample opportunities for making a profit."

This is what the London "*Economist*" says in its issue dated 29 November 1952 at pages 628-631. This is the way in which we are opening the flood-gates of our country for foreign infiltration.

My hon. friend, the Finance Minister went the other day to a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers and others. There the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Richard Butler, said :

> "There are three cardinal propositions for the economic recovery of the Commonwealth.
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> Number one : Individual Commonwealth countries must put their internal economies in order;
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> Number two : There should be consultations with European countries because of their trading links with the Commonwealth;
>
> Number three : No long-term plan for expanding world trade can be effective unless the economic and financial policies of the Commonwealth and Europe had the co-operation of the United States of America."

These are the three cardinal principles on which you were trying to put our House in order and that is why today we are slaves to the Mutual Security Programme. That is why our Plan contemplates industrialisation only to the extent that it is permitted by the big-wigs of American capital which are now leading international reactionarism. That is why the Mutual Security Programme literature comprises such publications as the United States Government's Note which pointed out that these countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America "constitute, in terms of population and land area, the largest part of the 'free' world. [where profit still has a free run]. They contain a large proportion of the world's industrial resources. In these are found all the world's natural rubber, all of its jute, two-thirds of its soil reserves, most of its tin, manganese and other strategic materials. Technical and economic co-operation is offered to help necessary advances in the basic fields of agriculture, education, health and transport." So, Sir, for agriculture, education, health and transport, they were going to do something. What really is going to happen? Pandit Nehru talked about the set-up now. When we talk about the set-up, let us ask: what is the condition of the people, how are you going to help the people? What about the production of food? What was the target? I find in the Tata Plan the target was that we must have for our population a balanced diet which would amount to about 2800 calories per day. Now I find from an estimate made by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, 1950-51, that Indian and Pakistan pre-war food energy content was 1970 calories, in 1949-50, it was 1700 calories, in 1950-51, it was 1598 calories and now the Planning Commission are going to

give us 13.5 ozs of cereals after 1956-57 and we shall live perhaps—perhaps some of us will live—to see what kind of cereals we may have when my friend, Shri Deshmukh has his way. That is a dangerous situation as far as food is concerned. The Government are fighting shy of land redistribution. What has happened to the abolition of Zamindari? I ask the Finance Minister and his colleagues to go to the U.P. and find out what is happening as far as the condition of the peasantry is concerned. Let them find out all about *Sir* and *Khudkasht* lands.

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Government is the guarantor there of feudal exaction. You go and find out how evictions have taken place and compensation is being paid in enormous quantities to those people who do not deserve it, who do not need it. You see the condition of the agricultural worker.

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I will refer now to cloth. After all food and clothing are the two most essential things of life and what do we find? We find as far as cloth production in our country is concerned, according to the Fact Finding Committee's Report, handloom cloth production in 1938-39 was 1703 million yds. The Report said that this figure did not include Sind, NWFP, Gwalior, Travancore and some other areas and if those were included, the total production would come to 1,800 million yds. The Committee emphasised that the total number of people dependent on handloom industry was about one crore. Now the total cloth produced in 1938-39 was 5,700 million yards 3,900 million yard. being produced by the mills and 1,800 million yds. by the handlooms. Of this quantity only 137 million yards were exported. This was the position in 1938-39. Now if you take the population figures of those days and compare them with the population figures of India proper today in 1950-51, we shall find that there is not very much of a difference. So, the needs of the people as far as cloth is concerned, are surely not very different. Now, in 1950-51 the mill production was 3,718 million yards and the handloom production was 810 million yards and according to the Planning Commission, even this latter figure was a gross exaggeration. So, the total production for the entire population is only 4,528 million yards of which 1,283 million yards, one third of the production, were exported, leaving a total of 2,245 million yards for the people as against 5,523 million yards in 1938-39. Sir, this is very, very bad as far as the interests of the people are concerned. Now, instead of 5,523 million yards, we have about 2,245 million yards. Why do you allow this export? You allow this export because this money goes to the capitalists. The money which goes to the capitalists as a result of the export is terribly

important. Textiles worth in India 15 annas per yard was sold at Rs. 1-12-0 abroad and that is why you permitted the export of cloth in order to allow these capitalists to make more money.

As far as the condition of the peasantry is concerned, there is an attempt to beat down the idea of agricultural indebtedness. You know very well that the Reserve Bank of India itself had calculated that 1,800 crore of rupees was in 1938-39 the volume of agricultural indebtedness. Since then, of course, Government seems to imagine that the volume has come down. But, the Kumarappa Committee appointed by the Congress, the Agrarian Enquiry Committee—reported unequivocally, the continuation of agricultural indebtedness and my friend, Shri Agarwal's book on the Gandhian Plan also says that indebtedness continues. They want to beat down the whole idea of indebtedness and they say this is what is happening. The people are no longer in debt and we are abolishing zamindaries and therefore everybody is happy, everything is lovely in the garden and, therefore, the Plan can go ahead. This is a false and disastrous picture. This is an approach which is absolutely callous and insensible, this is unashamed indifference towards the interests of the people. There is no doubt about it.

In regard to the foreign aid also, we have got about 165 crore of rupees in the Plan and more—we do not know how much more—will come. In regard to this point I will quote what Shri K.G. Mashruwalla, who was a great disciple of Gandhiji, said in regard to the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement :

> "The Indo-U.S. Agreement is virtually a Charter to the U.S. to establish herself in India, first as a trading concern and then as India's political boss. The Government of India has agreed to place at the disposal of U.S. all its administrative machinery and to become her advertising agency. ..... It is clear that motives of U.S. in aiding Europe and Asia are not so altruistic. They are frankly made for organising an anti-communist front...."

In regard to the great river valley projects about which so much is made, I will quote—because I have no time to elaborate my ideas—what the Modern Review of November 1952, a very respectable paper which often attacks us and is friendly to Government said:

> "Hundreds of millions of the hard earned money of our nationals were poured into the schemes and by the same token—quite a few score millions were wasted, embezzled or spent to fill the insatiable maws of the dependents, flatterers and political henchmen of the mighty".

This is the perspective which you are putting before the people: fleece the common people, keep the agricultural labourer in degradation, and keep the working classes under manacles. You have said in the Industrial Relations chapter that you will only recognise the Trade Union which has the largest membership, meaning therefore that you will send the INTUC to do what it can and flourish in that area. You have said that. You have said all sorts of things in order to beat down the whole idea of strikes altogether. As far as the working classes are concerned, you fleece the agricultural labourer, you keep down the working classes and you do not take any notice of the interests of the common people and the Middle class employees and people in the lower rungs of the ladder of our society. But, as far as those who are at the top are concerned, those who have already entered into a charter of slavery with foreign capitalists, you have the amplest consideration for them; with them you have "a friendly and cooperative" spirit. For heaven's sake, why don't you, for once, change your views? Why don't you try to mobilise the enthusiasm of the people? What is the point in Pandit Nehru coming forward and saying that we want to mobilise the enthusiasm of the people, but the people are inert? Is it the fault of the people? Would a great popular leader in any country of the world ever say that the people are inert, that people are like lead, that they do not move? If a popular leader is a real popular leader, he will go to the people and tell them, here is my Plan, come and take it over. He will say as the Chinese leaders said, take it over and work the Plan according as you like; out of your own productivity, new capital formations would come and then we can run the Plan in the only way in which it ought to be worked. There is bankruptcy of leadership, *(Interruptions)* betrayal of the patriotic hopes and aspirations of the people. That is why we get in the shape of a plan a document which may look very massive, but which is really very little more than scraps of paper joined together .... holding out illusory hopes to the common people....

THE INDUSTRIES (DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION) AMENDMENT BILL, 1953*£

The Bill before the House goes to a Select Committee and so it is better to confine ourselves to certain more or less general observations. I must confess that when I read the Bill I was prepared to offer a few bouquets to the hon. Minister. But having heard the speech which he has just made. I am constrained somewhat to change my opinion.

I found him, quite unnecessarily to be very apologetic about character of the measure which has placed before the House. He has said that Government would not interfere very much with the state of things as it is, that he does not like to disturb what he chose to call the 'equilibrium of our economy' in this country. I should think that in this State which professes—quite hypocritically—to be a Welfare State, equilibrium is something which at any rate we do not find in existence at the present moment. Ofcourse, the hon. Minister went out of his way, I feel, to placate those interests, vested interests—that was the expression which he used—which behaved in such a manner that two years ago the principal Act was absolutely necessary I fear that the hon. Minister in expounding his proposition when he put forward his motion has made certain observations which strengthen the suspicion which, I shall say openly, we have about the intentions of Government in regard to this kind of legislation. We do not say that straightaway in this country we can get large scale nationalisation but I do not see why the hon. Minister should assure vested interests. He said: "If vested interests want an assurance, they will have it now, that this is no step even in some future towards the nationalisation of the industry". This is a kind of thing which suggests which way the wind is blowing. This shows how we are even sheering away from the problems placed before the country in that by no means revolutionary document, the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948.

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.. I feel that ever since the promulgation of the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948, Governmental action has gone in such a fashion that suspicion has grown in the minds of people that there is no real intention to reshape our

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* *L.S. Deb.* 22 April 1953. [Shri Mukerjee spoke on 5 May 1953 and 4 December 1973 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at amending The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, became The Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Act, 1953.

economy. It is only on the basis of Governmental determination to reshape our economy that we are prepared to welcome the Bill which is before the House.

We know that this Bill is very important because the Planning Commission has pointed out very clearly that one of the principal instruments which it shall use in order to ensure that the private sector of industry carries out the programme of development laid down before it is the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act and therefore it is very necessary that this Industries (Development and Regulation) Act is tightened. Insofar as the tightening of the Act is done by means of this amending measure, insofar as it goes, we are prepared to welcome the measure but I fear, as I said before, that whatever Government does is vitiated by its general approach, its dependence on the private sector so that even when it does a good thing it becomes something like the proverbial curate's egg which is good only in parts and therefore not particularly palatable. We find again that while on the one hand this Bill is certainly a renewed recognition that *laissez faire* economics is really and truly played out, we do not find any intention on the part of the Government towards going a little faster, a little more effectively towards implementing the desire of our people for economic betterment. For example, I would say that we have not a limitation on the profits of industries which was in a way proposed by the Congress Government in the Industries Bill of 1948. If that Bill was properly worked—a big 'if' under the present dispensation—perhaps some Rs. 200 crore could be realised for our plan every year but in any case we get in this measure some attempt to tighten the Bill of 1951 and to that extent, I am prepared to welcome it.

I would like to point out to Government, however that it is very necessary that efforts are made to expand the sector of State-trading, of direct participation of the States in industrial pursuits. In regard to this I would quote certain figures from China where all observers, hostile or friendly, point out that a sea change has happened and the condition of the people has been transformed beyond recognition in China. We find from their figures regarding the annual financial revenue and expenditure since 1950 that if we take 100 to be the basic figure for 1950 in regard to the revenue from State enterprises, it grew to 351.20 in 1951, to 535.71 in 1952 and to 804.92 in 1953. Now these figures are very eloquent. They show how the sector of State trading, State participation in industrial pursuits is a very important sector and that we should no longer go on depending upon the private sector. The Plan, however, has made it very clear that we largely depend on the ability of the private sector to implement programmes scheduled, and throughout the Plan as well as in the general policy of Government, we find this softness for the private sector. I do not see why we should be so particularly favourably inclined towards the private sector when actually the behaviour of the private

sector is by no means commendable. For example, take the story of the development of the iron and steel industry. It is a private sector. It has impinged on the position in such a way that the development of basic industries in our country has not progressed. In 1949, the Ministry of Industry had issued a statement which said:

> "Government intend to set up new works by increasing the indigenous steel production by one million tons. Two alternative schemes are under consideration, the establishment of a unit with a capacity of one million tons and the setting up of two plants with a capacity of half a million tons each. Three engineering firms of international reputation have been obtained to make a rapid survey and give a technical report to Government, with respect to the types of works to be installed and they are actually working. The consultants have completed the survey. Government expect to take a decision in three months."

This was said in 1949. The plan was completed for two factories in Madhya Pradesh and in Orissa. The sites were chosen but nothing was done for three years because the private sector came into the picture and from the private sector it was represented that Government should do nothing of this sort and the profits which were being reaped by the private sector should not be disturbed. This kind of thing shows that the private sector has behaved in such a fashion that we could not go on depending upon them in that hopeless manner which was confessed in the speech of the hon. Minister.

Now, in regard to the Development Councils, we know they have a very big job. I hope the hon. Minister conducts them in such a fashion that they perform the job efficiently.

The two main purposes of the Development Councils would be to develop productivity. In this regard, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to a report which his own Department issued last year regarding the production and installed capacity of Indian industries in 1951 and 1952. In this report we find that in as many as 27 of the industries listed, installed capacity had been augmented during 1952 while production had declined. This is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. We find again in this report that there were unsatisfactory conditions in the manufacture of agricultural implements indicated by the statistics and this deserves very serious attention. In view of the emphasis justly laid upon improvement and increasing the production of agricultural implements, that is a matter of very great moment to our country but this disparity between the production and installed capacity of Indian industries in 1951-52 gives us very serious food for thought and I hope the hon. Minister will take note of it and see that the Development councils really try to develop productivity.

Another purpose of the Development Councils is to settle the location of sites as far as industries are concerned. Here again we depend on industrialists to such an extent that some very fantastic things happen from time to time. I think a case was referred to by an hon. Member of this House, Dr. Meghnad Saha, regarding the peculiar policy followed by our private sector industrialists in regard to the location of industries. The instance was given of there being two aluminium factories, one in Travancore and the other near Asansol. These two factories, the Travancore Aluminium Co. Ltd., and the Aluminium Corporation Ltd. were functioning in a very peculiar fashion, functioning under the direct control of the Canadian Aluminium Co. Ltd. They were functioning in a peculiar fashion which is shown particularly by the location. The chief item in the manufacture of aluminium is electric power which costs 1/8th of an *anna* per unit in the Travancore factory. The Asansol factory charge four times that of Travancore though the factory was located in a coal area and there were no distribution problems and its electricity cost should not be more than 0.2 *annas* per unit. Now, a loan of Rs. 50 lakhs was given by the Industrial Finance Corporation to this company. What was happening in connection with the work of this company was, that the Travancore factory was drawing raw materials from a place in Bihar and preliminary processing was done in Bihar. Then it was sent to Travancore where pig aluminium was produced. To convert that into utensils, the whole thing was again sent to a factory at Belur near Calcutta. From Bihar to Travancore and from Travancore to Calcutta, railway freight alone costs more than Rs. 600 per ton. All the time Government was paying a subsidy of something like Rs. 400 per ton so far as the production of the so-called Indian aluminium was concerned, because it could not compete with aluminium coming from Canada. This shows how, if we leave it to the private sector, they behave in a fashion which is mainly intended to ensure maximisation of their profits. If we go on depending on the industrialists, if we do not function our Development Councils independently, with a view to the real economic development of our country, surely, the Development Councils would come to naught.

The industrialists are today very jubilant at our Plan. Our Government's policy, as it is also illustrated in the Bill before the House, is such that the people are more or less petering out of the picture. I was reading in the *Eastern Economist*, the other day, where it was said editorially that it is no use Government spokesmen beating the air with appeals to the people because it is the private sector which has taken charge of the Plan. It said that it was no good asking the people to feel enthusiastic about the Plan because it was really the private sector which was going to work it.

The same note is found in a speech which was recently made by the head of the house of Birla at the annual meeting of the United Commercial Bank.

There, Shri G.D. Birla made certain observations which make it clear that he envisaged that in the near future the entire control and direction of the country's economy would be determined by those who are leaders of the private sector. He said, the Plan is here, let us all work it; it is the private sector alone which could undertake such a task. I am quoting:

> "It is a challenge to the private sector ..... to plan for themselves and show and prove by actual achievement their importance and usefulness."

He said that in the private sector, the work of studying, surveying and planning should be undertaken by the leaders of large-scale industry. He said again:

> "They should sit down, examine the import list and determine what categories of goods imported by India could be produced within the country. They should then estimate the quantities needed in the next five years and then prepare plans for producing them in the country."

Shri Birla has taken over the Plan so to speak and it is not for the people to work it. You have yourselves said that it is not necessary to appeal to the people and that you are leaving it to the private sector. This is a question which has to be taken into consideration very seriously. The record of the private sector being what it is, we cannot leave the right of determining the economic policy of the country and the methods of working that economy to the private sector. If, therefore, we have to make our Development Councils real, we must have a wide association of the people and the representatives of the people in the different industries in the working of these Development Councils. There is, of course, some provision in the Bill for representatives of the employees and also of the consumers. But, knowing the working of the Government as we do, we feel that this is by no means enough. I hope the Select Committee will try to find out ways and means of associating larger chunks of people with every layer of the work of the Development Councils. I wish that some mechanism is devised by means of which these Development Councils could be very many in number and distributed all over the place.

There is, of course, the objection of the powers that be, the objection of the vested interests that the Development Council require a high standard of efficiency and therefore, Government perhaps would not be able to run these Development Councils and therefore, ultimately everything would be left to the private sector. I do not believe in that sort of objection at all. I feel there is enough talent in our county, if we tap our resources properly. If we send out a call to our people that we wish to see these Development Councils working on a large scale everywhere. If we ask for their participation, we shall find a very substantial contribution towards a constructive re-fashioning of our economy.

In regard to this, I am quoting what Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who, as long as they were alive, were perhaps the greatest sociological investigators in the English-speaking world, wrote about the conditions that they found in the Soviet Union in 1935. They wrote in their book *Soviet Communism* that :

> "Apart from salaried staff as exists, as many as 50,000 citizens are at any moment participating in the administration of Moscow and nearly as many in that of Leningrad:
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> That 70,000 village councils are enjoying 'an unprecedented freedom without such safeguards as prior enquiry and sanction, a statutory maximum for local expenditure and limit to local taxation.'
>
> That besides the salaried staff, 3 million trade union members are at any time engaged in the 186,640 factory committees and shop committees and their sub-committees, so that, apart from the officers paid and unpaid, at least 15 per cent, of the trade union members are actively engaged in committee work."

I know that this cannot be duplicated here because the conditions are very different. But at any rate, we can mobilise the resources of our people for a large number of these Development Councils at different layers and then co-ordinate them at the Central level. Then and then alone can we enthuse the people and also get that kind of suggestion for industrial development as would redound to the basic interests of our country.

I have certain charges regarding the very soft attitude which the Government have shown, particularly towards the managing agencies. Even in the Plan while note is taken of the very cogent criticisms made in regard to the work of these managing agencies in our country, there is at the same time a confession that the managing agencies have to be entrusted with the real job. These managing agencies have generally behaved in a fashion which does not entitle them to this kind of very special consideration. I shall refer in particular to the British managing agencies who rule the roost in Calcutta, who have lately, as the hon. Minister may be well aware, entered into so many amalgamation enterprises that their power today is a colossus: the amalgamation of Bird with Heilgers. Jardine Skinner with George Henderson, McLeod with Begg Dunlop, McNeil and Barry and Kilburn Begg Sutherland and B.I. Corporation—these show how giants have become super giants. I will give one example of how it functions. There is Andrew Yule Co. in Calcutta with a paid up capital of Rs. 18 lakh. It manages 57 companies, jute, coal, tea, engineering, sugar paper, transport, rubber etc. which have more than Rs. 11 crores as paid up capital. One of Andrew Yule's Coal companies, the Bengal Coal Co. has a paid up capital of Rs. 110 lakh and it has permanent rights over 90,000 acres of the very best coal land in West Bengal. In the

period 1945-49, they made a net profit of Rs. 310 lakh. We find again Burmah Shell and Standard Vacuum coming together in order to set up refineries near Bombay and Calcutta. We find such organisations as the B.I. Corporation whose profits as managing agents went up from Rs. 39,28,193 in 1945 to Rs. 105,76,358 in 1950. We have again Bird and Heilgers. They are managing agents for 57 companies. They have got the largest lime manufacturing factory in India and they are the biggest suppliers of coking coal to steel industries. The Indian steel industry has really to wait upon the good pleasure of Bird and Heilgers. This is the sort of thing that is going on all the time. If we are really interested in the development of our country, surely, we must take very good care about these managing agencies, specially these foreign managing agencies, who have for so long ruled the roost in our country.

In this connection, I also want to say that a few days ago, a question was answered in this House, the exact details of which I cannot recollect; but it left the impression in my mind which, if it is wrong, I would like to have corrected, which I am trying to indicate. It referred to Caltex and its setting up of a refinery at Visakhapatnam. We understood from the tenor of the answers given in this House that Caltex was assured by Government against nationalization for a period of 25 years or so, that there was an agreement entered into with that company—which, of course was not laid on the Table of the House *in extenso;* only a summary was given—and the idea that we got was that this company was exempted, practically speaking, from the operation of sections 15 to 18 of the industries (Development and Regulation) Act of 1951 which is now going to be amended. I do not want to say anything positively about it, but if there is any such concession in the mind of Government, then Government should come out and make its position clear. There should be no loophole left so that this kind of foreign concessionaires can come into this country and exercise powers which are by no means warranted.

I should, therefore, say that this is a measure which we are prepared to welcome from our side because it tries to tighten up somewhat the Act of 1951, but we would say at the same time that this is a measure which leaves most things to the private sector of industry, and that is a policy which will be disastrous as far as the interests of the country are concerned.

I would also refer to one other matter, and that is the absence from the Schedule of any mention of such industries as tea, for example'... I know that the Tea Bill has been reported upon by the Select Committee, but actually there was a feeling—I do not think I am revealing any confidences—that in regard to the misbehaviour of those who are in charge of the management of the tea gardens, Government has not got ample provision which is comparable to the provisions which are now incorporated in this amending Bill. In order

to make things clear. I should think that tea might perhaps be included in the Schedule. If it is not proposed to do that, I would like to have from Government some kind of explanation regarding how such industries as tea are going to come within the purview of the kind of legislation which we have before us.

I would say in conclusion that we wish Government to go ahead with courage, we wish Government to shed its pusillanimity, we wish Government really to try to transform the economy of our country for the welfare of our people. We are prepared to help Government, in so far as it is possible for us, in so far as the achievement of these objectives is concerned. But we want to be sure that Government is really on the right track. We feel that Government with its record, and Government with its present formulations of policy are sort of accentuating the mistrust which we have in regard to the real intentions of the administration. If our mistrust can be removed, we surely would come forward and we shall try to help Government as much as is possible for us to do.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY THROUGH PUBLIC SECTOR*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan, and I wish to say at the very outset that the country has a stake in the Plan which is much greater than the Government's, and if the Minister would believe me I would also say that as far as we are concerned we care for the Plan, a lot more than our detractors can ever imagine. Except at our peril there can be no scaling down of the rate of development which has been modestly envisaged in the Plan. I am sure that if we really pull together on the basis of rationally evolved policies and if we have the spirit of what Shri Asoka Mehta called, "determination and dedication" then, surely, we can increase the size of this Plan which has been sought to be whittled down by some of my hon. friends in this House.

Sir, actually, when it is remembered that there has been a 20 per cent rise in prices, the size of the Third Plan compared to the Second Plan is not very much to write home about. As a matter of fact, in the First and the Second Plans there has happened altogether an increase in the national income at constant prices of about 42 per cent, the per capita income has increased by about 20 per cent and consumption per capita has increased by about 16 per cent. This annual increase of 2 per cent per capita income and about 1.6 per cent per capita actual consumption is really no great achievement so that we can be too happy with the laurels that we have won already. And, actually we have to remember that these average figures of increase which has taken place in the last two Plans are only average and the beneficiaries of the period which has just passed have been mainly, according to an economist like Dr. B.R. Shenoy, "traders, businessmen and industrialists, the middle and upper sections of society, their benefits being at the expense of the fixed-income groups—the worker and the poor sections of the community."

Therefore, the progress which has happened so far is not really something on which we can plume ourselves and that is why it is extremely important that we take special note of "the anti-socialistic shift of income"—this is a phrase used by Dr. Shenoy who is by no means a particularly go-ahead economist. But this anti-socialistic shift of income is likely to continue.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 23 August 1960. [Participating in Discussion on the Motion re: Draft Outline of Third Five Year Plan, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 15-19 December 1952 and 8 September 1956 on a similar subject].

Yesterday, we were glad to notice that the Prime Minister promised a probe into this matter but I do hope that something comes out of that probe and the promise does not remain in mid-air as so many governmental assurances have done so far.

I am sorry, I do not see the stalwarts of the Swatantra Party in this House at this present moment. Sometimes I have a feeling that Shri Masani's friends are still so powerful and so influential in the economy of our country and the socialism of the Plan is so diluted that I sometimes wonder that the performance put up by the Swatantra people, who are tilting at the windmills of Congress socialism, is a put-up show. That is a suspicion that I sometimes get when I find that the Government is not at all serious about its socialistic pretensions. I was quite interested to notice how in *Yojana*, a Government publication, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao has written very pointedly about the absence even for one single instance of the word "socialism" from the draft outline of the Plan. Dr. Rao seems to have made a special note of this very significant omission of the word "socialism", he says. Of course, the objectives of the Plan are good enough but, may be, there has happened a sort of an ideologcial shift that we are "going into battle without a battle-cry."

And he concluded his article, where he rather regretfully pointed out the absence of the word "socialism" from the draft outline of the Plan, by saying:

> "We must add to the per capita income figure, the figure of a national minimum wage." Unless that also happens at the same time it would be very difficult to make the people understand that this is a Plan which they can really and truly take to their hearts."

In any case, I am prepared to concede that if the substance of socialism is sought to be achieved by the Plan it is surely something to be happy about and in so far as, specially, in the direction of industrial development, the development of basic industry, the draft outline gives some indication of progress we are happy to welcome it. But I aver that acceptance of the socialist implications and pre-suppositions of the Plan have to be very much more unequivocal on the part of Government and when that is done we shall be able to mobilise to the maximum degree the enthusiasm of the people whose lack has been noticed by my hon. friend, Shrimati Renuka Ray who spoke a little while ago. And, in that case we shall discover that the Swatantra Party which repudiates the Plan and all its basic assumptions will have no room in the caravan which will go ahead inspite of the barking that can take place from the quarters inhabited by the vested interests in this country.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister in his speech referred to the fact that sometimes the pitch of the Plan is sought to be queered by some people

drawing the attention of the country to local problems, local troubles and local quarrels. We all regret that so many times in the country the objective situation happens to be such that these local troubles and local tensions get into the forefront, and they surely do a certain amount of damage to the potential of our country and the actual development of our country. But the fact is that there is tension and tension has got to be met. The fact is, for example, that it needed a Central Government Employees' Strike, rally and truly to high-light the question of a price policy for the Government of India. It is most unfortunate, but it is a fact that in spite of all the talk—the Prime Minister also said something about price policy yesterday—it does not appear as if Government has anything like a policy in regard to this matter. The draft outline almost dismisses this matter of rise in prices and tries to teach us some economic lessons by saying that perhaps it is a good thing and in a developing economy there has to be a rise in prices. We all read about that in text-books when we were students, but it is better that the draft outline says something more to make people understand how the calamitous sky-rocketing rise in prices have got to be checked and what the Government is going to do about it. On the contrary, what we find is a very delectable spectacle of the National Development Council piously arguing for State Trading and the Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri Patil, actively working against it which shows that as far as the price policy is concerned, Government has no mind at all; it has not applied its mind to the question at all. It is merely taking shelter behind a lot of mumbo-jumbo, a lot of sentimental effusion, from time to time, calling upon the people to mobilise for the sake of the Plan, but in actual fact, in regard to the price policy, no thought has been given, and that is why my hon. friend Smt. Renuka Ray pointed out that something very tangible has got to be done before this draft outline is sent to the country in the shape of no longer a draft but of a finished article.

I say that if people are hungry and unemployed, and if they find no link between themselves and their Government, then naturally from time to time situations arise when they cannot embark actively on the great adventure that a National Plan should be. But the tension is there; and the tension has got to be taken note of and fought and the Government can surely try to do it. I do not see the *bonafides* of the Government in this regard. Let Government come forward really and truely to mobilize the enthusiasm of the country and they can do so only on the basis of certain things which are tangible which can be understood, by the people. If we just try to recall the slight improvement in the standard of our national income and that sort of thing, if we compliment ourselves and flatter ourselves on the achievements, then we shall be making a very bad mistake.

It has already been pointed out how the Plan might founder. We all wish the Plan to succeed in spite of its limitations, but the Plan might founder on

the rocks of agricultural production which is one of our weakest aspects of work, and the resources for the implementation of the Plan. These two are the problems. In regard to agricultural production, yesterday a great deal has been said particularly by my hon. friend, Shri A.K. Gopalan, but it has to be remembered that this matter of agricultural production has been neglected much too long and all kinds of confusing statements have been made which at least I cannot straighten out. I cannot for the life of me understand, for example, why there does not happen to be any concrete liaison between the working of the Food and Agriculture Ministry and the Ministry of Community Development. We read in the papers about nearly half the country having already been covered by the Community Development Projects and the national extension blocks. But neither in regard to the increase in the production of food nor in regard to the increase in the number of schools and the provision for the education of our children have the assets of the Ministry of Community Development properly been brought into the picture.

We are all happy about whatever is some times paraded to have been done. We are all happy about the *Panchayati Raj* concept which has come into the picture and the self-respect of our people which has been roused. There is no doubt about it. But we want some tangible realisation of the fact of the self-respect being tacked on, so to speak, to the ideals of the Plan. That is not being done.

We notice also a kind of continuing and happy dependence upon foreign imports for the sake of satisfying the hunger of our people. Only the other day, we read that the United Nations reported that out of 40 countries which had supplied statistics, India was the worst fed of all and her condition was even worse than it was in 1937-38. That was what the United Nations reported. We know this: our hunger is such that it cannot be satisfied unless we bring food from outside, but there must be an end to this kind of thing. I cannot understand the gloating which takes place over the food which is coming from America. I am glad it is coming, because for the time being we are in trouble. But I cannot understand the gloating over it and I do want to say that this question of PL 480 has got to be tackled very seriously. Let us not think that merely because it is PL 480 transaction, everything is lovely in the garden. It is not: it is not so in the least. As a result of this PL 480 transaction, tens of crores of rupees accrue every year to the United States Government as their portion of the PL 480 counterpart funds which is reserved for use by the United States for its own purposes in this country. It is dangerous: the infiltration by a country which has unashamedly declared its intention of dominating the whole world in a variety of ways. The infiltration by that country not only physically but also into our economy, into our universities, into our administration, which is taking place because of the PL 480 mechanism is something against which we have to be very careful.

I wish, in view of the lack of time, to turn to the question of resources. I am particularly disconcerted by the fact that a gap in our resources, to be met by external assistance, in the Plan is to the extent of something like Rs. 3,200 crore. This kind of dependence upon foreign assistance for the sake of our Plan is something which we should avoid if we possibly can, and there, I say that not much thought has properly been given to this matter; except for the aid which we get from socialist countries, the interest in regard to this foreign assistance is very high and the return on equity investment on foreign capital which is now being welcomed by and all and sundry in the Government is higher still. The other day, when there was a very innocuous resolution asking for the proper implementation of the Industrial Policy of 1956, Shri Manubhai Shah went out of his way, to my way of thinking, when he said that he was welcoming private capitalists in this country and abroad to come and do whatever they can do for the economy of this country. This sort of welcome, open, loud-voiced welcome is given to foreign capital. But we never know that the return on equity investment is higher than the interest 4 to 7 per cent, which is charged by the capitalist agencies in the international sphere which are supposedly assisting us in regard to this Plan. There are differences as far as Socialist aid is concerned and it is good to remember that it is largely on the basis of aid, friendly fraternal aid, from the Socialist countries that we are now being able to tackle the question of machine-building industry, and that kind of heavy industry which alone is the foundation of a sound, independent whose importance has been stressed by the Prime Minister every time he opens his mouth in regard to this subject. That kind of heavy industry has been really assisted by the aid which we have got from the Socialist countries, while the assistance which we get from other sources, except for minute instances here and there, does not really touch the basic aspect of the matter.

I do not have much time to refer to it but I was very glad to notice that a member of the Planning Commission, a former member of this House, Shri T.N. Singh, has written in the *Yojana*, to which I made a reference a little while ago, asking for a new *Swadeshism* in this country. I am sure what he meant was that the dependence, the loudly advertised and happy dependence on foreign assistance to the extent of nearly Rs. 3,200 crore in the course of the Plan, this happy dependence, must be put an end to, and there must be a new *Swadeshism*, and that we should try as much as possible to get out of all the possible clutches of those people whose background we know very well.

The menace of 'India Limited' at one time used to be placarded all over the press, our patriotic press, but now we are inviting and welcoming foreign equity capital even for purposes of private investment and we are allowing the private sector of this country to get hold of foreign exchange by hook and

by crook, to impinge, so to speak, on the total availability of our foreign exchange and to turn off production for purposes which bring profit to them in a maximum fashion and divert the stream of productivity which is the objective of the Plan. We are assessing the private sector in alliance with the foreign capitalists to get loans, to secure foreign exchange, and by all kinds of devious means to find out better avenues for improvement of their interests. *Swadeshism* is very necessary and we should try to stand on our feet as much as is possible. In trying to stand on our feet, naturally the question would be asked, "Where do you get our resources?" I know it is a difficult question. I know that nobody here can answer it off-hand.

I know it is very necessary to have a long discussion on the basis of documented information. There are certain things which come to our mind very spontaneously almost, I should say. I do not know why Government should not go ahead after having nationalised life insurance. I do not see why there is any reason, any the slightest reason, for not nationalising general insurance. Only the other day, two companies, Ruby and some other company, were shown, in answer to a question in this House, to have behaved in a most shabby fashion, most disgraceful fashion. General insurance can be nationalised here and now. But the question of the Palai Central Bank and the Lakshmi Bank and so many other things come up from time to time, and we know very well that banks, especially those banks which have something to do with our foreign trade, can easily—all of them—be taken over by the Government as soon as ever that is possible. We have got our mines. Perhaps steps can be taken here and now to take over these mines as soon as that is possible.

I know that the private sector has always been saying that the Public Sector has not been showing up very well and it is behaving rather inefficiently. I know that we occasionally have criticised the working of the Public Sector. But after all, the Public Sector has the redeeming virtue of being always open to the criticism of the country, criticism by Parliament, investigations by committees of Parliament and that sort of mechanism, while the private sector has a merrily independent existence altogether. Whatever we say, Chittaranjan, about which in regard to its Trade Union Policy I once had a good deal of conflict so to speak with Shri Lal Bahaduur Shastri when he was Railway Minister, has behaved a hundred times better than TELCO.

There is no comparison between the private sector industry and the Public Sector industry, specially when you keep in mind the interests of the country at large. Therefore, we can expand the Public Sector a great deal and we can get a lot of money also for the sake of implementing the Plan.

We find there is this question of income-tax arrears—quite apart from the evasion which takes place, which may be about Rs. 100 crore or more—

which is terrible. I do not understand why when we are discussing the Plan and the resources for it, we do not get answers from the Government in regard to such questions as this. Income-tax arrears were declared to have been Rs. 287.32 crore and then a few months later, a new expression 'effective arrears' was introduced by the Finance Minister and the figure came down to Rs. 174.73 crore. Ineffective arrears take up more than Rs. 100 crores.

If we go into all these matters, surely, without laying further burdens on our people, which has been hinted at by the draft outline, we can do a great deal.

I shall mention only one other matter and that is, the Prime Minister naturally and rightly emphasized the question of education. But I was told in the education panel of the Planning Commission—Dr. Khosla told us there—that the target of compulsory and universal free education for the age-group 6 to 11, which was to have been completed by 1966, will not be reached. This matter was also mentioned by Smt. Renuka Ray. Therefore, I feel if education is neglected in this manner, surely we are not proceeding in regard to planning in the proper fashion.

In conclusion, I would like to say, in 1956, when the Second Plan was being discussed, we had a great deal of opportunity for members of Parliament to find out facts and to give their ideas. I remember having asked the Prime Minister many times in this House as to whether comparable opportunities would be given to members of Parliament before the third Five Year Plan is prepared. Before the draft outline of the third Plan has been prepared, an all-party committee of Parliament has functioned in some kind of a mysterious way. But as far as I know, it was a fake. As far as all-party participation is concerned, it has been a complete zero.

I wish to appeal to the Speaker of this House at least, if the Prime Minister will not listen to us, that he might ask for all the documents in regard to the draft outline to be placed before members of Parliament. He might ask that as in 1956, committees of the whole House might sit from day to day with officers and the Ministers and they can talk informally, but very effectively participating in the work of fashioning the Plan. I do hope that this suggestion which I am making in all seriousness and not in a spirit of captiousness will be considered. I want that there should be co-operation from all sides in order that the Plan may be strengthened, in order that its negative features might as far as possible be eliminated. I want that co-operation to take place, but in the meantime, I am very sorry that the socialistic character of the Plan, which was expected by the country, has been diluted and watered down. I am very sorry that the private sector, in spite of certain hard words which the

Prime Minister uses about Shri Masani and his friends, in spite of all that, is getting all the concrete advantage which it can possibly hope for, in the context of a country which is trying to rebuild its future in a way which is very different from that which is in the ken of the Swatantra Party.

DISPARITY IN DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am very happy that Dr. Lohia has given notice of this subject for discussion in this House, because the problem of poverty is of such massive dimensions that unless the Government really and truly resolves to remove it there is no future for our country. I have no time to go into a lot of statistics. Besides, I remember the saying that there are three kinds of lies: lies, damn lies and statistics. And probably statistics can be cooked up, as they obviously are, in certain Government departments. So, we cannot very much rely upon them.

Sir, it is a sorry state of things that we do not yet have a complete set of national accounts of the sort which was recommended by the United Nations, and the Bombay cost of living index dispute has shown how much of our data are unreliable. In any case, the other day, the Prime Minister referred to an economic expert who had given him a note, which he read out, in which it was said that Dr. Lohia had confused the per capita income of Rs. 25 per month with the family income and based all his deductions on the simple fallacy, drawing naturally absurd conclusions. I do not know who this economic expert is, I do not care, but the figure as given by the Planning Minister later on is very much nearer to the figure given by Dr. Lohia than the Prime Minister's, and it is a pity that the Prime Minister himself was led away so pathetically by the advice of his economic experts. The least we see or hear of them, the better for this country, and the kind of economic expert whom he quoted should not be seen anywhere near in the precincts of the Yojana Bhavan or in any of the other government departments.

There are certain indisputable facts, however, namely, that 60 per cent of our people earn much less than the overall average per capita income of Rs. 25 per month, less even than the minimum standard of Rs. 20 per month per person and two-thirds of our people are below starvation level. Only recently there was a national sample survey effort and they found that 60 million of our people live on as low as five annas or less a day, 40 million live on four annas or less a day and 20 million live on two annas or less a day and these conclusions were substantiated by the Working Group set up by the seminar on some aspects of planning which was held in New Delhi in 1961. I give some of these figures, because it is rather important that we

*L.S. *Deb.*, 6 September 1963. [Participating in the Short Duration Discussion Under Rule 193 re: Distribution of National Income raised by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia].

remind ourselves that very important Congress representatives have stressed this point. Our good friend, Shri Dhebar, whom we miss in this House very much, wrote an article in the *Khadi Gramodyog* of April 1963, exactly what I have just quoted:

> "Over 60 per cent of the heads of the families cannot fulfil these necessities."

They cannot get for their children food, shelter, education, medicine and other reliefs. Then, he added:

> "According to a recent survey, it is estimated that a man needs a minimum income of Rs. 35 per month to be able to consume nutritive food. On the other hand, in India the monthly per capita income of the six per cent of families in the lowest income bracket is Rs. 6.60, whereas that of the next ten per cent of population is Rs. 9.60, those in the third decile Rs. 11.70, the fourth decile Rs. 13.26....."

I would go on quoting, Sir, but I am pressed for time and I cannot do so.

Now, it remains a fact, therefore, that the condition of our people is nothing to brag about, nothing even to try to cover up with some kind of excuse which the Government tries to do from time to time. Only a few years ago, the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations put it in their report that India had the lowest calorie intake and that it has the poorest diet of all countries listed in their year book. This kind of thing goes on all the time. And when our economists try to go into more details about it, to get the kind of break up which is necessary to understand the condition of the lowest rung of the social ladder, then we find such findings as I notice in the *Economic Weekly* of 15 June 1963, an article on the origin and distribution of rural income in India 1956-57 where all the latest techniques of statistical computations are employed, and there it is found that agricultural employment brings to landless labourers and people with very little land in their possession an average income per earner of Rs. 113.27. It is income per earner, which has to be divided into several units because several mouths have to be fed in every family. I have so many other things to quote. Prof. Gadgil himself has remarked in his note to the second volume of the Report of the Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community how, particularly because of the manipulations of statistics, this fact has not become very clear from time to time that the condition of our people in the villages is not only stagnant but also, in many cases, even deteriorating in the present day conditions. We also notice how the Government's own efforts through such organisations as the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry Committee have brought about the finding that the landless agricultural labour households in 1956-57 accounted for 57 per cent of all agricultural labour households as against 50 per cent in 1950-51. Then, a Study Group appointed

by the Government of India has estimated that about 45–50 per cent of the rural households have an income of less than Rs. 500 per annum, about 80 per cent less than Rs. 1,000 per annum, and this is far lower than the miserable low average *per capita*, which stood at Rs. 232 for 1960-61. I would go on adding to these statistics, but I suppose it will not be necessary.

I would like to draw the attention of this House and of the Government to certain matters which are perhaps sometimes overlooked. I know the conditions in the countryside are worst of all that we should have such a sense of shame about it that we cannot go about the world with our heads in the air. We have to have a sense of humility which must be translated into positive terms of action. But even in those areas of our country which are supposed to be comparatively well off—take, for instance, West Bengal—recently there was a report made by the National Council of Applied Economic Research that in West Bengal, the *per capita* income was the highest in the whole of the country, but the very same organisation has remarked in its report that the higher State income and also average *per capita* income are "a handsome though illusive facade behind which lurks extreme misery" because of such tremendous disparities which hardly bear talking about. And that is why from West Bengal, supposed to be the State which has the highest *per capita* income in the country there comes news reported in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of the 28 August 1963 that a family of four had a suicide pact, three of them died but the fourth man, the head of the family, lost his nerve at the last moment and he has been arrested on a charge of attempted suicide, a suicide pact because they did not have anything to live on.

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Dr. Lohia referred to what he has seen in certain parts of the country. I can say this and I put it down on record in a copy of the journal, *Kurukshetra*, of the month of July 1963—in the same journal, the hon. Prime Minister also has written an article. I had an experience in Calcutta in late May or June. I went to a place where I was invited to have dinner—there was some kind of a ceremonial—and when I was coming out of the place I saw with my own eyes the leavings of rich food served inside being dumped on the streets and a number of destitues fighting with dogs in order to get some part of the food. I had seen this kind of thing before but in my wishful ignorance I thought that perhaps that kind of thing did not happen in this country now. But they do happen still. I do not know how the hon. Prime Minister or any of his colleagues can have a clear conscience about it. How can they come and say that more or less conditions are improving? They have to have a very vivid and persistent and permanent sense of humility about what has not been achieved in this country as far as the condition of living of our country is concerned.

I say so because Dr. Lohia has quoted Gandhiji. If one single piece of a literary or emotional pronouncement had an impact on me, which pushed me into the arid regions of politics where I do not belong, it was the statement made by Gandhiji before the court which tried him on the 18 March 1922. Shri Tyagi perhaps will remember it. I read about it and it thrilled my whole frame and has stuck in my memory. He said on that occasion in his statement before that court in Ahmedabad where he was tried by Mr. Bloomfield, the English Judge :—

> "No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in our Indian villages present to the naked eye."

He said further :

> "I have no doubt whatsoever that the government established by law in British India is carried on for the exploitation of the masses and the miserable little comforts of the town-dwellers represent the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter and the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers in India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unparalleled in history."

This was the statement which, at least, in my humble case has changed the tenor of my life. I am sorry to have to say that. But it did. This is the kind of thing or emotion with which our people came forward. When Gandhiji talked about *Harijans* as people of God or *Daridranarayan*, as God coming in the garb of the poor did he mean that the people who are under-privileged are to be kept in a special enclosure so that the comfortable votaries of God can look upon them and exercise their philanthropy and earn some virtue? He did not mean that. He said, on the contrary, that God comes to the poor in the garb of food. That is why the kind of ugly, barbaric disparity which continues in our country today cannot be tolerated. I do not know what the hon. Planning Minister has in view—he is the Home Minister also today—and I do wish he tried to do something about it.

The day before yesterday in the Rajya Sabha in answer to a question, the hon. Finance Minister said that there are eight individuals in this country from whom income-tax arrears to the extent of Rs. 1 crore and more are still to be collected. There are here eight individuals so rich that they can keep a crore of rupees or more as arrears of income-tax. We have read in the papers how CD cars, Pontiac or some other luxury cars, are sold for Rs. 80,000. To whom? To what kind of people? Who are they? We know what kind of people they are.

We read in the papers about a film star in Bombay who had her house burgled. How much did the thief take? Rs. 2,20,000 burgled out of a house! Obviously, it was black money, kept there. But monies of that dimensions seem to be kept at certain places by certain people. On the other side of the picture we find people trying to get food by picking crumbs out of whatever is dumped on the streets.

I remember, in the old days, having read about the *Sabarmati Ashram* where every morning the people who lived there would go round. What did they say. They changed the *shloka* from *Markandeya Purana* which said:

> *न त्वहं कानयं राज्यं न स्वर्गं नः पुनभवं*
> *कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनं*
>
> "I do not want a kingdom or to go to heaven; I do not want to be born again. What I want is that there should be elimination of the misery and the pain of our people."

That was the ideal on which is based everything that we are fighting for. When we are asking for socialism, do we do so only because we want to live a life of luxury and ostentation? Do we want socialism because we want affluence? Oh! no; we do not want a merely affluent society. We want a non-acquisitive society. We want a society where mere possession is looked down upon, where the good things of life are properly and truly respected. That is why I feel that too often we come here and go back and make speeches—footling little things, jobs which need not be done, occupy all of our time. I do not know.

I am reminded of the Biblical story about the King coming out and asking the watchman of the tower, "Watchman, what of the night?" and he replies, "The night is very dark." When will the people of India be able to tell themselves that the dawn is breaking? When will the dawn break? When will the Government awake to its responsibilities? It is not doing so. That is why there are footling little efforts, pettifogging efforts to deny the fact of the situation which is that our people have no food, that the people live in the depths of degradation which misery has brought. If this misery is not eliminated, there is a very thin line between hunger and anger. If in the countries, like India, this misery is not stopped, if the world continues half-privileged and half-starved then there would be upsurges not only in other countries of Afro-Asia but in India also beside which the Russian Revolution might look like a mere tea-party. That is the perspective in which planning has to be done in this country. If you really and truly want to change qualitatively the character of the life of our people do behave more sensibly—it is my appeal to the Government—do not fly in the face of fact which show that our people are in their utterest sloughs of despond and degradation and do adopt some measures in order to change the present position.

We have received an inventory of the so-called acts of violence comitted by our people. The fact of the matter is that the kind of frustrated life and desperate situation in which the people of West Bengal live, a state with 50 lakhs of refugees—most of them unrehabilitated—the kind of frustration in which they live has been aggravated by an acute shortage of food articles and of such essential things as kerosene in a way in which the people are no longer in a position to tolerate them. It is something like what the *Mahabharata* said:

"Mahurtam Jvalitham shreyah na cha dhumayitham chiram"

"It is better to burn up in one single moment than to be smouldering all the time". This kind of feeling is there all over West Bengal. I was there. I spoke to the Prime Minister; she had the goodness to receive me. I had a telephonic conversation with the Chief Minister and the only thing that I could get out of the West Bengal Government was that they were unwilling to meet any of those leaders in the legislature and outside, who have been clapped into jail by the Government under the D.I.R. which, we are told in this House, will be used only for ...

When I suggested that there should be a meeting between the Chief Minister and other people. ...

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In a State of the Indian Union where day-to-day life has become a nightmare, the terrible bungle in regard to food administration, the disappearance of food, particularly from what are known as the modified ration areas, and the disappearance also of kerosene created a situation which already has exacted a toll of human life, and recently in the district of Nadia, the Army has had to be called in. It is not a question of our being in favour of whatever is happening there, but it is a question of the people's anger having been roused on account of the terrible incapacity of the Government to do anything to solve their problems. I know I went to Calcutta and I

* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 March 1966. [Participating in the discussion on the Statement on 'Food Shortage in West Bengal', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 11 and 13 September 1954, 30 March 1966 and 30 May 1967 on a similar subject].

remember how my hon. friend Shri C. Subramaniam had one day told me that he was himself going to Calcutta on the 11th and that he would like us all to try and help in the matter of restoration of order. Our object still continues to be the restoration of order in spite of the inefficiency of the Government, and for that purpose, the first step which could possibly be taken is that the Government of West Bengal sits down together with the Leaders of the Opposition in the Assembly and outside and discusses this matter. What has happened is that the Chief Minister of West Bengal offered to meet them, and then later because certain incidents took place, he said 'I would not meet them at all', and now he makes it a condition precedent that unless the *hartal* on the 10 March is called off and all violent activities are abjured, he would not sit with anybody and discuss the matter at all. My point is that this was the kind of language which we used to hear in the worst days of British imperialism when we were told to abjure violence and all the rest of it.

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I am merely suggesting that on account of the ineptitude and the arrogant attitude of the Government of West Bengal which is now in such straits that it has to ask for military assistance even from the Government of India the food situation is being aggravated, and the law and order situation also is being aggravated because there the impossibility of the conditions of life and the desperation in which people live from day to day have found expression in ways which we can regret but they have to be understood; it is no good giving an inventory of what the people have done, but that is what the Home Minister has tried to do.

I am, therefore, suggesting that we should have an opportunity for discussion of the inefficiency of the Government and the failure of the administration, Central as well as State. In West Bengal, the legislature does not practically function because of the suspensions of Members etc. which have been taking place all along. We want to discuss that.....

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Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a sickening and sordid story which over and over again we have to refer to in this House, the continuing and callous inefficiency of this Government which has forfeited all right to the respect of the people. The inability of the Central Government to make food available to different States has become such an egregious feature. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture has become today nothing else but the Ministry of Food imports, the Minister being good for nothing else than the task of manipulating food imports. That is a picture too dismal for words. In West Bengal, following

Kerala, there has arisen a situation which could and should have been avoided which only the callousness of the Government, which only the attitude of the "public-be-damned" feeling, which the Chief Minister of West Bengal repeatedly displays can account for.

Sir, in West Bengal—we gave notice of it in this House during last session and even before, since September—in the modified rationing areas, the situation had already begun to deteriorate most seriously and the result is that today in those areas you cannot get rice at less than Rs. 2.50 per kg. And sometimes it is even more than that. For weeks on end, the situation was so bad particularly in the area known as Basirhat, in the 24-Parganas District, that the people, of all sorts, Congressmen included, combined to start what they considered the legitimate type of food agitation. And the result was that demonstrators, including some school children, were shot at. Nurul Islam, a 15 year old child, the best students in his school, about whose capacity his Headmaster, himself a Congressman, has testified, was shot through the heart. Similar incidents took place in other areas of the 24-Parganas District, like Sarupnagar and Baduria, where also the people were killed.

It was at that point of time that there was a demand, particularly in Calcutta, voiced by the students and also by all political parties in the Legislature, including some Congress Members, who wanted that there should be a judicial inquiry so far as the shootings were concerned and who wanted also that the Chief Minister of West Bengal should condescend to meet other representative people and discuss the matter and find a way out if that was possible. At that point of time, a bus was burnt—God knows by who—in Barasat and that was put forward as an excuse by the Chief Minister of West Bengal and he said, "I am not going to sit with anybody and discuss this matter because this kind of thing is taking place." I am sick of this. Shri Nanda comes today and in a tone of voice which was nothing short of hectoring tells us that all these things were taking place because the people were running amuck. If the people are running amuck, you have to understand why such things are happening. Why do you always take your reports from the footling officials who are there trying to defend themselves when the people are in agony and when all kinds of people, including Congress representatives, are coming forward to express their indignation with what is happening in West Bengal; "Our place is with the people; we stand by them; we want some explanation from the Government."?

It would be news to you that even a very large number of Panchayats dominated by Congress in this area, in 24-Parganas, as well as in Nadia District, have opposed the Government food policy and criticized the Government food policy and have wanted a settlement of that matter. The 24-Parganas District Congress Committee had a meeting with

Shri Hansadhwaj Dhara in the mair and there they passed a resolution criticizing the Congress food policy, the failures of food policy and wanting a settlement. It was at that point of time, when the Opposition leaders in the Legislature and outside were only trying to sit with the Chief Minister and find a way out of the difficulty, that the Chief Minister took up that high-horse attitude and opening stated that he was not going to talk to anybody unless they behaved, unless they appeared before him in sack-cloth and ashes and unless they said, "Peccavi—I have sinned". But we are not going to behave in that fashion. No self-respecting people are going to behave in that fashion merely because a particular Chief Minister arrogates to himself a position which exists somewhere in his imagination. That refusal of the Chief Minister to sit with the representatives of the people and to discuss the matter continues even today. When I met the Prime Minister, I discovered that she was helpless in the matter because the Chief Minister had taken a most adamant attitude and even though the situation was going from bad to worse—and that would be the responsibility of the Government and of nobody else—even though the situation was menacing the Chief Minister was not ready to meet others and to discuss this matter. In the meantime arrests were taking place under the D.I.R. This is a matter on which we have to have satisfaction! Shri Nanda has come forward in this House and elsewhere to say that D.I.R. would not be employed and it would be employed, if at all, in cases where security of the country is in question. But in this kind of thing, D.I.R. is being used even in regard to the egregious instance of the Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party of West Bengal who had an appointment with the Prime Minister; before he could keep the appointment, the Police came and whisked him away before he could go and see Smt. Indira Gandhi. This is the kind of thing which has taken place. All parties, including a large section of the Congress Party in West Bengal do want a settlement, but because of the arrogant and insolvent attitude of the administration, particularly of the Chief Minister, we find the situation continuing.

I have referred to 24-Parganas district. In Nadia, about which some instances were given by Shri Nanda, what happened was this. We have to remember, for one thing in the beginning, that Nadia is one of the most distressed districts in the whole country; Nadia has the largest concentration of refugees who have not been rehabilitated; in Nadia district the army is already there and there when the food was unavailable, when the people have to cry and go from door to door in search of food, then surely tempers cannot always be kept in control. But even so, what happened? There again a ten-year old school child, Anand Hait, as in Basirhat, was shot through the heart; he was killed and the body was taken to the morgue for examination. When the people of the locality wanted that the body be handed over after whatever analysis and examination were necessary, then they were refused and on refusal, naturally they felt very bad about it and they stormed the

morgue and they got possession of the boy and they took out a procession. At that point of time some people may have done a few things, about which Shri Nanda makes a song and dance, but as a matter of fact, the whole thing has to be put in its proper perspective. I say this because whatever flare up took place in Krishnagar and other areas of Nadia district was due to the callous conduct of the Government; whatever the people did was in self defence against the kind of thing which Government was so shamelessly perpetrating. I say this not merely because I am here with a particular political ideology.

In the headquarters of Nadia district, in the town of Krishnagar, the Krishnagar Bar library, which represents all the lawyers of the district, passed a resolution condemning the police action on the student community. I am quoting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a Calcutta paper, which is a right wing paper, even more so conservatively attached to the Congress. It reports also that different political parties in Krishnagar, including the Congress "different political parties called upon the people to observe *hartal* today (that was Saturday) in protest against the alleged police atrocities". This is the kind of thing which happened in Nadia and we are told that in Nadia people ran amuck. Of course, the people ran amuck. Why did they run amuck? They ran amuck because life was desperate and difficult and impossible and this is the condition of things which has been continuing from month's end to month's end. How long are people going to suffer? That is why I said earlier, *"Muhurtam Jvalitham shreyah na cha dhoomaiyitham chiram"*. What is the good of smouldering all the time? Sometimes a man's emotions burst and that is why this kind of thing is taking place.

Our colleagues, Smt. Renu Chakravartty, was in Calcutta and she tried to go to Krishnagar. Our friend, the Finance Minister, travelled with me to Calcutta in the same plane; I had the pleasure of his company. He went to Krishnagar and he had offered to take me. Of course, he went in his own way; he had a jaunt in the official fashion. He could go but my friend, Smt. Renu Chakravartty, who had gone all the way from Calcutta to Krishnagar in a car was stopped at the district border and she was told that she had to go back; she wanted to get the permission of the District Magistrate according to whatever formalities were required of her and even so, she was refused permission. This is the kind of thing which is taking place.

Shri H.P. Chatterjee, who represents that area in Parliament, wishes to fly to Krishnagar now, but he would find his road blocked because these people imagine that they are lords of creation and they can do whatever they like.

My point, therefore, is that provocation has come consistently from the district authorities, from the local authorities and from the State Government and particularly from the Chief Minister. The adamancy of the Chief Minister

is a phenomenon of which I hope the Prime Minister has taken note; I do not know, I had an impression, it may be that I am wrong, but I had the impression that possibly she would have liked to have been of some assistance in the matter but she noticed that her Chief Minister, her strap in West Bengal thought so much of himself and his authority that he was refusing to sit with anybody; in the meantime he is putting everybody in jail. This kind of thing cannot possibly continue.

In West Bengal, the legislature is not functioning for a variety of reasons, one main reason being that large numbers of the oppcsition are being suspended from day to day and the proceedings are conducted in a peculiar fashion, the budget Demands being pushed through in a most extraordinary manner, and they are being put in jail, everybody including Congressmen, is being put in jail; the headmaster of the school where Nurul Islam was the best student in his class, is also doing a term in jail. That is the kind of thing which is taking place in West Bengal.

The Government of India has a responsibility for making food available to the people. We hear so many time about food being available and all the rest of it; it must be made available, and we have a right to require of Government that in regard to the distribution of the food, in regard to the implementation of all the assurances that are made from the Central headquarters in regard to the distribution of the food, some genuine steps are taken in order that the people get their share of food.

In the old days whenever a food difficulty arose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would so often come and say 'Let us sit down together and discuss the matter and at every level, let there be a food committee'. I know that much of it was a fake; the food committees hardly ever functioned, but at least it was a human gesture, at least it was an offer to people to come and sit round the table and then form an organization at every level. But now in West Bengal there is no food committee at any conceivable level, because the Government imagines that it is on top of the world; Government imagines that this is a movement whose aim is to defeat; Congress at the next elections and, therefore, they have run amuck; it is not the people but the Government of West Bengal that has run amuck, that is the primary fact of the situation, and that is the fact which the country cannot tolerate.

That is why I say that the Central Government is responsible; the Congress leadership is responsible. If the Congress satraps in West Bengal are permitted to act with impunity in this manner, then good-bye to all hopes of national integration. It is not only in the Mizo area, it is not only in the Punjab area when Government plays with fire in regard to the Punjabi Suba question, it is not only in those areas but it would be in areas like West Bengal and Kerala

and elsewhere, wherever people suffer, in Rajasthan and elsewhere where you might imagine that reaction is in the saddle and it will continue for ever and ever; when the anger of the people is roused then you do not know where it will lead to. The line between hunger and anger is very thin and the Minister of Food imports if he is going to retain not only his position but the position of his party in the set-up of the country, has to remember it, has to bear it in mind, and he has to fashion his policies accordingly, and, therefore, we require an adaptation of Government policy in that direction, in West Bengal proper, a judicial inquiry into the firings which have taken place and meetings of all parties and groups in order to settle the matter, immediate demands without which the country cannot go ahead.

In the meantime, if the Chief Minister demands that the call for the *hartal* is withdrawn, then he is asking for the moon; that kind of talk will satisfy nobody; that kind of talk we used to hear in the British days, but we are not going to stomach it today. The *hartal* will take place, and the people of West Bengal will register their anger and indignation at the utterly inept and criminally callous policy of Government, and here in Parliament we are trying to reflect that desire of the people to see that something really and truly effective is done in regard to this kind of food bungling that is going on with impunity.

NON-FULFILMENT OF PROMISES*

The Finance Minister Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri as we know, is noted in this House for his politeness, the kind of pleasant individual that he is, and to me he has been a friend of long standing. But in public life, he has been, I am sorry to have to say, pitchforked in peculier circumstances into his present position. And because he has been known for a long time by the company which he kept, the company of tycoons, Indian as well as foreign, it has not been unexpected that in the budget which he presented the other day, he has sung in dull and dismal tones dirgo to planning and to all that Government has proclaimed so far howsoever hypocritically, about its objective of socialism.

I do not know how our good friend, the Minister of Planning, who can look after himself as far as parrying the trusts of his old time friend, Shri Masani, is concerned, feels, as he takes his seat in the wings, when the Finance Minister occupies the center of the stage. The Minister of Planning said at Sagar—where we spoke of nationalization of banking and on that account has been whipped by his bosses very soundly and today by Shri Masani also into the bargain—something which was very unexpectionable. I am quoting his words :

> "Our economic and social foundations are straining at the leash, to be metamorphosed into something which they are not at present namely, institutions of a socialist order."

It is a basic statement, and Government, if not entirely hypocritical, which I am afraid it is, about its professions of socialism, should do something about making sure that institutions which at least partain to a certain extent to the socialist order, would be there, so that some progress, real sizable progress, could be made. But disregarding all that kind of basic assumption, which is the only redeeming feature of Congress philosophy, disregarding all that, the Finance Minister has presented the budget, a budget welcome only by the people whom his predecessor had described in a picturesque phrase, as man-eaters who stalk our economy, a budget which is thoroughly reactionary, which does nothing more than merely perform a very temporary holding

* *L.S. Deb.*, 10 March 1966. [Participating in the General Discussion on General Budget, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 3 and 4 June 1952, 4 March 1953, 16 and 23 March 1954, 19 March 1955, 13 March 1956, 15 March 1961, 9 and 10 March 1964 during Discussion on General Budget].

operation, a budget which is entirely out of keeping with the spirit which has to be injected into the mind of the people, for otherwise we cannot survive in this world of conflict and difficulties.

This is a budget which is not only conservative and drab, but it is a defeatist budget which brags of production-orientation, but forgets the people who are our greatest capital, and it makes concession after concession to the top dogs in our economy.

In this budget, I find not the slightest suggestion of succour to an agonized and angry people, not even the most meagre of hopes for holding the price-line; even Shri Masani has to talk about it, because our people are in such a mood that whatever politics is professed, *Swatantra* or *Paratantra*, you have got to do your duty by the people. In the budget, whatever indications are available show that there is virtual abandonment of development, a decision in the convenient disguise of pragmatism, which may mean all things to all men and nothing in essence, to give up serious efforts to build the growth potential of our economy. Moreover, there is in the budget not the remotest hint of any democratic social change about which the heart of Shri Asoka Mehta really aches but he can do nothing about it, being in the company which he has chosen to keep. There is no remotest hint of any democratic social change, but clear indications of persistence in the ugly process of assisting the advance of Indian capitalism which is top-heavy in structure, which has behaved in the most immoral fashion which is always ready to sacrifice India's interests for the sake of its own profit.

More than 10 years ago, Prof. D.R. Gadgil, in his note to the Panel of Economists, said about the fundamental inconsistency of our industrial policy which had been that it had sought on the one hand to lean on modern private enterprise for capital formation and, on the other, to set its goal of preventing concentration of wealth and economic power. This is something which cannot be done. You cannot ride two boats at the same time, when they might veer away in different directions. I know the ruling party has a massive majority in this House. But the country will course this budget. If this budget indicates the shape of things to come; than good-bye to all that the country has been hoping for.

As I said a little while ago about pragmatism, it is the fashion these days in Congress circles to be pragmatists. The silly fad of ideology, in which Shri Asoka Mehta rejoices according to his very good friends, must go; a break with socialism must take place. Indications have been given by the Finance Minister in that direction which is why, in his own sophisticated way Shri Masani has patted him on the back. To symbolies this, he has taken a serious step. The expenditure tax has been abolished, and gift tax is further attenuated. True, given the blackguardly character of class forces in operation,

the yield from expenditure tax has declined in recent years, but the Finance Minister has thought fit to kill it outright. Business tycoons at home and the World Bank abroad—questions that the Finance Minister answered during Question Hour this morning—made it quite clear that the world in this country as far as its financial authorities are concerned, is the World Bank! And the World Bank has to be satisfied that we are reforming ourselves, that we have to got rid of the ghost of Nicholas Kaldor; that we go in, not even for what the former United States Ambassador, Prof. Galbraith, has described as India's most negligible post-office socialism. We are forgetting even that and we are resiling even from that and naturally the hearts of the like of Shri Masani are very happy.

It is egregious that the tax on bonus shares has been killed along with the capital gains tax on bonus shares.

I am afraid we speak very different languages. I learnt the language perhaps in the wrongest way. I am very sorry. It is egregious that the tax on bonus shares has been killed along with the capital gains tax on bonus shares. Already, the *Economic Times* of 4 March speaks of the spurt in bonus issues and there are a large number of companies with free reserves and surpluses disproportionately high in relation to the paid-up capital. They are going to have a very merry time, because of the advantages which the Finance Minister has chosen to offer them. To gladden the heart of the money-bags, the tax on equity dividends has been modified, on account of the susceptibilities of those who hate being bothered by what they call these miserable psychological irritations." Our tycoons are irritated! The people might be angry; they might take recourse to all kinds activity and they would be suppressed and condemned in the House by Government. But when the tycoons are irritated, the "psychological irritations" must go, because the future of our economy is to be moulded and fashioned by these people who have betrayed the deepest interest of the country and who, over the last 15 years, when the Plans have been in operation, have behaved in a manner which has disabled any kind of progress and their whip-hand on Government has brought about this very sorry state of affairs.

An amount equal to 10 per cent of the paid-up capital has been exempted from the tax and what would remain would be chicken-feed as far as they are concerned. The rate of surtax on company profits has been brought down from 40 to 35 per cent, a most unusually generous treatment. A development rebate scheme is proposed for tea, newsprint and printing machinery. Private shipbuilding also finds its share of the Finance Minister's bounty.

Only in order to modify slightly the shameless glare of such a surrender to private business, marginal upward adjustments are mentioned in the rates off tax on corporate incomes. But this could hardly be avoided, given the

parallel increase in tax rates on individual incomes. Even this mild little blow has been softened. For example, the definition of closely held companies has been tinkered with in order to provide relief to some more injured tycoons, whose "psychological irritations" create so much worry in the minds of the Finance Minister and his friends.

Except for a slight concession to a section of the lower middle-class, namely, the raising by Rs. 500 of the existing limit of personal incomes not chargeable to tax, there is nothing whatever in the budget for which a good word can be said. This gesture has cost the finance Minister an infinitesimally small amount and let not my friends on the other side, the Congress Members, make a song and dance abut this particular concession! This trivial little benefit will be more than wiped out by the rise in prices of sugar, tobacco, cloth and other essential commodities and a flat surcharge of 10 per cent, a device which will hit the budget of lower-income groups much more sharply while for the higher brackets, they are a flea-bite, and they are specialists in evasion. Shri Masani was asking about money being found by collecting the arrears of income-tax and other taxes. We know very well who are the people who evade taxes, who do not pay even when the ascertainment of the tax due from them is made. They know the ins and outs of the matter, and on top of it they are getting all these concessions.

Of the total sum of a little more than Rs. 101 crore which the Finance Minister has proposed as additional taxation, more than half will be from indirect taxes which hurt the people. These aggregate proposals have a repressive character, which must be roundly condemned. By such impost which I can only call cruel as the duty even on khandsari, the Finance Minister has made excise duties the biggest source of additional revenue. It is ridiculous for him to claim piously that inflation was a major threat to the economy. Government is not sure it it can for long avoid decontrolling sugar, and changes in excise rates threaten escalation of prices, which a sorely aggrieved people can hardly suffer.

The Finance Minister has said in his speech that he wishes to make the excises as economic regulator on consumption on the model of purchase tax in the UK. Apart from an increase in inter-State sales-tax—perhaps because the Centre is doing the taxing for the State Congress bosses in a pre-election year—he has empowered himself to impose a regulatory duty upto 15 per cent by Gazette notification. The inevitable result of all these will be a general rise in commodity prices and not merely of those subjected to increased duties. A case in point is the enhanced tax on finer fabrics, as a result of which not only finer fabrics, but all kinds of fabrics are going to have their price rise. Another instance is light diesel oil, to which reference was made of Shri Masani also.

While the suffering of the people is ignored, the Finance Minister boldly makes concessions to his friends and patrons. In the financial year 1965-66, big business was able to bring down the tax revenue expected from them to Rs. 330 crore against the estimated Rs. 372 crore. This was a sort of "tax strike" by big money interests and this "tax strike" has been largely effective. The Finance Minister expects now in his latest budget the natural increase in tax revenue from them to be only Rs. 10 crores! From those who have brought down the collection by a sort of tax strike by more than Rs. 40 crore, he expects an increase of only Rs. 10 crore and by accustomed tactics they will nullify much of the expected accrual from additional taxation.

The Finance Minister's heart bleeds for what he calls the "malaise in the capital market", but not once in his budget speech he makes a reference to the Mahalanobis Committee's report nor even to the report of the Monopolies Commission. They have no relevance, as if the economic situation in a budget speech like this could be described without reference to the findings of these committees! He does not mention the fact that two big houses control 44 per cent of the total shares in the corporate sector and three top producers control more than 75 per cent of the total production in certain sectors. All this kind of thing has no relevance for him! He favours, of course, as he is naturally expected to do, new concessions to foreign monopolists. The British-dominated tea industry, for example, will be given a larger developmental allowance. In deference to the wishes of US big business, the World Bank, the IMF and such other contraptions he launches what he calls a "more liberal import policy". So, import restraints will be reduced, when our foreign debts are already in the neighbourhood of Rs. 3,000 crore and interest charges on them account for Rs. 1,500 crore in the next five years! This is the kind of melancholy picture with emerges out of the Finance Minister's statement.

The Finance Minister is almost apologetic that he could not further chop plan expenditure, for which Shri Asoka Mehta possibly had pleaded, but ultimately he had to be satisfied with certain things; but it was quite clear from the way the Finance Minister talked that he wanted to chop plan expenditure a great deal more than he has done. He says in sorrow:

> "Expenditure on continuing schemes have to be provided for in the interest of speedy implementation."

They have to be provided for; there is no way-out and I am very unwillingly allotting something as far as plan expenditure is concerned—that is what he says. As it is, he has taken enough care to ensure that not much remains of planning and the plan. I would like to hear the Minister of Planning later in the course of the debate, because whenever my friend Shri Bhagat has given some answers about planning, I feel the whole picture of the plan is going to be not only distorted but destroyed altogether. It is very necessary that the

Country is reassured on this point. But if the Finance Minister's budget, which is the basic thing, the most important statement made on behalf of the government in this regard, is any indicator, the position is very dismal indeed. As I said, he has taken enough care to ensure that not much remains of planning and the plan.

In contrast to increase in defence expenditure, the total capital outlay in 1966-67 will be only Rs. 1,952 crore, less by Rs. 296 crore as compared with the current year. Insofar as the plan outlay goes, the proposed figure is Rs. 2,081 crore, Rs. 144 crore less than the curent year's budgeted plan outlay of Rs. 2,225 crore. The Finance Minister should rejoice that after 16 years of planning, this will be the first year when the plan outlay in a subsequent year has been deliberately pushed below the actual outlays of previous years! Even this truncated figure seems somewhat doubtful. The magnitude of expenditure on the plan during 1966-67 will be contingent on the availability of external aid of the order of Rs. 490 crore. This is apart from PL 480 accretions which have flown into the budget structure. This is something which has never happened before. This should be specifically investigated by a parliamentary committee or some body like that, because an enquiry into the impact of PL 480 transactions has been called for a long time now. And, now the PL 480 accretions are being made part of the budgetary structure of our country. It is a very dangerous symptom and we ought to have satisfaction in this regard.

Apart from this Rs. 490 crores foreign aid, a sum for which the Finance Minister takes credit, if in spite of our docility, in spite of our Prime Minister going to Washington, in whatever mood they want her to go there like, if in spite of our Minister of food imports, Shri Subramaniam, running with his begging bowl from one place to another, if inspite of old America hands like Shri S.K. Patil, this aid, suppose it does not come through or it does not come through in the stipulated quantity, there would be corresponding curtailment in the plan operations. Can it be, therefore, that in the name of "difficulty"—the situation is difficult and if there is difficulty it has to be faced and overcome—the battle for the annihilation of all our efforts for economic and social progress has finally been joined? Is it that in the name of holding the economic structure somehow, because otherwise it might collapse, we should say, oh! We are in such a bad way, we do not have food, our industries are collapsing and all that sort of things, we are entirely dependent on foreign support, by exaggerating this picture of dependence which is not true, which most of our economists consider to the an utter exaggeration and a most purposeful exaggeration? But I fear in this kind of way an effort is being made to wipe off whatever even in a very humble way, was sought to be done in the last few years.

At a time when the idea of self-reliance was very much before the country, the idea of a new Swadeshi movement was before the country, the idea that the patriotic feelings of the people could be mobilized, when you could tell the people that we were going to have a self-reliant economy and for that purpose, since sacrifice will be equal, we shall be even ready for self-denial, at a time when we could go to our people and tell them, show them, how foreign aid implied all kinds of most objectionable concomitants, at that point of time, specially after the experience which we had in the last year when the Indo-Pakistan confrontation took place, when our difficulties became so terribly acute, it was at that point of time that we could start a new Swadeshi movement.

But, instead of that, what do we find? Shri Masani talked about American aid, how they would examine everything and all that. Even this morning the Finance Minister said that the World Bank if it is to give us a loan, after all they are creditors and they would examine what are the projects we are asking the loan for. When I ask a loan from somebody, if that somebody insists that he should examine whether I spend it in drinks or anything, I would not have that loan from him, I would go to somebody else. It is not that our hands are not clean. Our hands are clean. You may feel that we can show everything to the world. But we are a sovereign country. We know how the United States operates. We know how the Central Intelligence Agency and other instruments operate from the United States. We know how they say that they make and unmake governments. We know how they are suspected to be behind what is happening in Indonesia, in Ghana and God knows in what other country. We know how these people can operate. And, if apart from the grip which they have in the normal course of things, they have an additional grip over our own country, they have the power of supervision over the projects which they are so magnanimously assisting in their own way, then good-bye to all hopes not only of a self-reliant economy but good-bye even to honour.

I know I shall be attacked as a person who is exaggerating things, but this is the kind of behaviour on the part of the Government typified by the latest budget which says that the government of this country is almost shutting up shop as far as our independent economic development is concerned and it is behaving in a manner which no self-respecting people can tolerate.

I am sorry, my hon. friend, Shri Manubhai Shah is not here. He said a little earlier, defending imports and exports, that last year only Rs. 200 worth of cosmetics came to this country. But look at the way things have gone on. I am quoting from the bulletin of the Controller of Trade (Imports and Exports). In 1963-64 after the emergency, after the Chinese incident, chemicalised soaps and medicinised cosmetics of the value of Rs. 8.8 crore were imported into

this country. Luxurious cars of the value of Rs. 2.8 crore were brought into this country. Food commodities of the value of Rs. 66.96 crore were imported into this country. Radiograms and cameras of the value of Rs. 12.06 crore were brought into this country. Now we are going to have television and God knows on what other contraptions we are going to spend money. We are going to spend money on these and things are to be brought from abroad affecting the entire economic structure of this country. Is this Gandhi's country? Is this the country where we can appeal to the patriotism of our people and ask them to put out whatever they can for the sake of the country? At a time when the new exigency came into the picture though at one point of time some of our Congress friends said that we should go ahead with the *swadeshi* movement, nothing was done.

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We have heard repeated promises about foodgrain self-sufficiency and all that kind of thing. Of course, I need not go into that; there will be hardly any time. In regard to foreign investments, Shri Masani was saying how foreign investors are very shy of coming into this country because this country has very rigid restrictions and regulations. But it is seen that apart from the foreign investments which is in this country, which is coming, apart from the fact that Sir Norman Kipping, the British representative to whom he referred has said in a report today that Indian conditions are very good for foreign investments to come in, the fact is that against the average investment of about Rs. 30 crore from abroad per year in the Third Plan, remittances abroad in the shape of profits, dividends, royalties and technical fees in the period 1959-1965 came to Rs. 281.3 crore. The break-up of figures is also there, but I cannot quote them. They have the run of the land. They get all the honey out of it and in spite of it they talk about restrictive regulations. You can go ahead, restrictive regulations notwithstanding. If we really and truly stand on our feet and face the world, they would come because they have to come. It is in their own interest to come and help us. They help us not for the good of our souls but for the benefit of their own pockets. And, this is the kind of thing to which this country's government does not seem to give much attention.

This morning there was a question about foreign exchange transactions of a most dubious order by private tycoons who were going abroad. Nearly Rs. 1.83 crore in foreign exchange were given. Do we calculate the amount of benefit which we get as a result of the peregrinations of these globe-trotting tycoons of our country? Foreign exchange leaks to the order of Rs. 93 crore have taken place. But we do nothing about it. What have we done to secure from Indian nationals abroad remittances of foreign currency? We can do it. Even from Hongkong we have got a very sizeable amount—

a petty little spot on the map. But we have Indians all over the world who can, if their patriotic feelings were appealed to, send us money in order to help us. How can an honest appeal be made? There is a fig-leaf of morality on the activities of the Government. But corruption is rampant everywhere. In regard to such things as prohibition for instance, it is a fig-leaf of morality sought to be thrown upon Government and its policies. There is no dearth of people who thrive on what they call "a spot of Tek Chand" for what the Tek Chand report itself calls rather endearingly, "Battle of Waterloo". All this goes on merrily. We cannot collect money for the country and in the meantime corruption and inefficiency is the order of the day. This inefficiency and insensitivity to decorum is seen in such things as the gubernatorial lapses as when Shri A.P. Jain continued his membership of the AICC and functioned as the voting instrument in Congress elections, while remaining Governor of a State. There is the case of the Governor of Rajasthan who in the presence of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly asked members of the House to be pushed out by the Marshal! This kind of incident takes place only because of the prevailing atmosphere of indecorum. Do not please blame only the people for some time running amuck. The Government has run amuck. The ruling party has run amuck and the ruling party depends on such things as the DIR and the operation of the emergency. The result is corruption, which is an inevitable consequence of degeneration of power in the hands of Government, as is happening in our country.

I will finish in a couple of minutes. Today the conditions are such, particularly after Tashkent the conditions are such that there might very conceivably be settlement with our bordering countries. We could on that basis proceed even in regard to the settlement of the question of Kashmir, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we could try, as the President himself suggested some possible methods—it is not for me to say what those methods are to be—for a settlement with China. On the basis of the hopes engendred by the Tashkent agreement, we could go ahead and secure for ourselves a certain respite and during that period we could proceed with economic development much more efficiently. We could also make a better assessment of the possibilities of trade with the Socialist countries.

I need not mention it in detail, but I consider it a scandal that a country like the German Democratic Republic, which has stood by us in every crisis, is still treated by us almost in a manner which from the point of view of international courtesy should be very sternly condemned. We do not even have a Consul in the GDR and the GDR Missions have made at least some kind of opening so that the kind of economic co-operation which she wishes to have with us is made possible.

From the point of view of rightful economic policy, land reforms are not pursued and the appeasement of big money interests, foreign and native, continues merrily. But I must stop.

Therefore, I say in conclusion that this is a pernicious budget with the stigma of despair writ large on it, a budget which makes a fairly unashamed surrender to money bags and vested interests, which utterly repudiates the publicly proclaimed Congress policies. But, on the other hand, the people are on the move, in West Bengal, in Maharashtra, in Kerala and elsewhere out of a sense of defeat and desperation. These are the things that disfigure the budget. I am very sorry that the Finance Minister, for whom personally I have great regard as a long-standing friend, has thought fit to bring before this country a budget of such a dismal and sordid character.

NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRIAL HOUSES*

I beg to move:

> "This House is of opinion that immediate steps should be taken for the nationalisation of the seventy-five leading industrial houses specified in the report of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission."

We have been treated lately to the slogan of *Garibi Hatao*, but that would remain a picturesque make-believe if the real road-blocks in the way of our prosperity are not removed.

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If we do not remove these road-blocks, *Garibi* would never go. Our economy requires rapid growth and at the same time social justice and this integration must happen, or else all talk about socialism would be hypocritical humbug. That is why in the context of the kind of thing which is being said very widely in these days, I wish to remind this House that the first and last point which is stressed not merely by full-fledged socialists but also by genuine democrats like the late Prof. Gadgil who was shooed out of the Planning Commission is that unless monopoly capitalism was abolished, we would have no real and rapid progress for the people.

As early as 1956, Prof. Gadgil, and I think that at that time Dr. V.K.R. Varadaraja Rao also joined with him, criticized the half-hearted and piece-meal measures which were being taken and asked for a clean sweep of monopoly capital, and he said words which I am quoting before the House. He said :

> "The only real solution to the problem in the long run is that the whole of the division at present occupied by monopoly capitalists should be transferred to the public sector."

These words are even more valid today because the years of vacillation are at last to be left behind. Little can be done about poverty and unemployment,

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 5 and 19 May 1972. [Participating in the discussion on the Resolution re: 'Nationalisation of Industrial Houses', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 16 and 30 March 1973 on a similar subject].

this country is desperately poor, little can be done about poverty and unemployment unless revolutionary changes in property and power relationships are achieved.

But we get something of a farce these days. We get meetings where capitalists pass resolutions in favour of socialism, perhaps laughing in their sleeves all the time. I say this because very recently there was a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister, and there were many pleasant exchanges. The economic papers run by the big bourgeoisie referred to a more cheerful note of co-operation between Government and business.

The Prime Minister went on giving assurances that there was no threat intended to big business, that big business had a very useful role even in the "core" sector of our economy. These are rather surprising formulations. I can understand her desire to have some concrete results in fairly quick time, at least before the next election. I can understand that her advisers—my hon. friend the Minister is there and he must be telling her—telling her now it is better to seek shelter in pragmatism. I find her fortifying herself with economic ideas even from very dubious anti-socialist sources. But in any case, Big Money responds and the stock-market cheers up and the price of shares rises. That is what has been happening lately, and I am perturbed, and I am sure the House also would be perturbed.

I feel that just as after independence foreign capital quickly became keener on collaboration with Indian capital as the safest form of investment in the new context of things, Indian capital today is beginning to see the virtues of the so-called joint sector which till lately was being cursed as backdoor nationalisation. There is a vile conspiracy at work and if it is not scotched, the country is in for much trouble and sorrow.

We are also witnesses to such simplistic phenomena as the West Bengal Chief Minister, Shri Siddhartha Shanker Ray, appearing in an attitude of supplication to monopoly houses asking them to surrender 51 per cent of their shares to Government. Here is a Kutty cartoon showing Siddhartha Shanker Ray asking the bloated capitalist: Please be good enough to give the State 51 per cent of the share so that everything could be lovely in the garden. It is something nearly enough to make a cat laugh. If that is the expectation of Government, I do not know what to say about it.

Since the Third Plan ran into difficulties, virtually we have had no planning in India. Must we not draw the necessary lessons? Should we go on doddering? Should we not try to set our sights straight? So much water has

flown down our rivers and we have had recent constitutional amendments enabling us, if we wish it, to seek and achieve radical economic change. Or is it that those amendments, 24th and 25th are also an elaborate make-believe? I prefer to try to be an optimist even in circumstances which are not particularly optimistic and that is why I have brought up this Resolution.

I say that these monopoly houses are the source of all evil and corruption in our socio-economic life. They have made this country vitiated by the dominance of black money and because of the poor performance of the public sector, they have been furnished with a heaven-sent opportunity an excuse, for parading their own excellence, which is a complete myth. If the essence of the Industrial Policy Resolution is not to be given the go-by, all big enterprises owned or controlled by the monopoly houses should be nationalized straight away; individual monopoly houses may be allowed to hold companies, the assets of which do not exceed a certain specified limit, and ancillary measures, which need not be specified at the moment, will have to be adopted.

It is only thus that the "commanding heights" of the economy can be held by the community and not as they are today, by the money-grabbing section of our people who are indifferent to the people's welfare, are cynical and cruel in the bargain.

What is the record of these paragons of economic virtue who are running these monopoly houses? Volumes would be needed to speak of them. But I may give a very summary statement of facts about it. The assets of the companies belonging to the 75 houses were in 1963-64 Rs. 2,609.9 crore. It rose in 1967-68 to 4,032.4 crore, a 54 per cent increase.

Birlas recorded an increase of 96.6; Shriram 96.4 per cent; Mafatlal, 95.9 per cent; Parry, directed by a former Governor of the Reserve Bank, recorded an increase of 360.5 per cent. The share of 75 industrial houses in terms of the assets owned by them work out at 53.5 per cent of the total indicated for the entire private corporate sector. It shows how the power of monopoly capital is growing.

Out of 101 top companies, the total equity dividend in 98 companies was Rs. 137.7 crore in 1969-70 against Rs. 99.5 crore the previous year. It meant rise of 38.4 per cent. A foreign giant, Burmahshell, got the highest return of the total capital employed—36.9 per cent, followed by another foreign concern Pfizer, with 34.4 per cent. Almost all the Indian big business houses are linked with foreign counterparts: Tata, with Diamler-Benz in automobiles; Harmisschfeger in engineering, ICI in chemicals, etc.; Birla with studebaker, and Nuffield in automobiles, Babcock and Wilcox in boilers; Howa Machinery of Japan in textile machinery, and Mitsubishi in electricals.

A Bombay industries association reported sometimes ago that between 1957 and 1964, almost two-thirds of the capital raised in any year went into foreign collaboration ventures. On 31 March, 1967, there were 579 companies operating in India, and as many as 180 to 200 firms in India with foreign investment. This is seven per cent of the total number of companies. These are much more significant because they are subsidiaries of giant foreign monopolies.

In 1955, the Tariff Commission found Fire stone and Goodyear with a paid-up capital of Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 15,000 respectively and having an annual turnover of Rs. 7 crore and Rs. 4 crore respectively. The United Kingdom Board of Trades calculation has been that India offers British capital the highest profit after Malaya and South Africa. There is a total lack of policy in regard to Government's sanctioning of collaboration agreements. Foreign collaborators have been permitted, and Indian and western monopolists together have got now a very terrible foothold in our economy. Local capitalism has got stronger and gets itself linked with a new form of international capitalism which exploits the Indian market, and there is a new form of exploitation which we have got to contest. This is what we discover is happening today.

The Minister has given an answer to Unstarred Question No. 4933A on 3 May 1972 and he said that "the total number of foreign collaboration proposals approved in various fields during 1971 was 245 as compared to 183 during 1970". We are going downhill all the time.

The Minister of Industrial Development, in answer to Starred Question No. 663A on 3 May 1972 admitted how production of torches by Union Carbide had been permitted beyond the licensed capacity even to the detriment of Indian manufacturers in that line. These are typical concerns which thoroughly and systematically cheat the country. With few exceptions, they indulge in over-invoicing and under-invoicing practices, denude us of earned foreign exchange, and rob the country of its legitimate revenue. Nationalisation of foreign trade is the only way out of this terrible mess.

All these foreign concerns are hand in glove with Indian monopoly interests who are trying now to control our economy in a more serious manner than they have done so far. These monopoly houses have begun a new gimmick which Government seems to applaud, namely, export of Indian capital. In relation to this, I find that 33 joint ventures have been approved by the Government of India during 1970-71 joint ventures abroad. These ventures have not brought us very much; since the beginning of this process they have brought us in foreign exchange Rs. 49.27 lakh, not more than that.

As a matter of fact we discovered how in this department of Indian ventures abroad, the Birlas are in the first category and as usual they are behaving so badly, I have here, sent by a friend of mine, a copy of the *"Ethiopian Herald"* dated 2 April 1972 which I would pass on to the Minister for whatever action he chooses to take: The Addis Ababa High Court ended a 2 year and six months wrangle over the Palodia-Gupta case—Palodia and Gupta, both being Birla's stalwarts, performing whatever functions they do in Ethiopia in textile and other operations—each received two years of rigorous imprisonment plus 2,000 dollar fine. Two others accused were acquitted and the prosecutor had appealed for an increase. This case has caused such a scandal in Ethiopia that not only has the Indian image, bad as it is in Ethiopia, been tarnished but we are also getting these Indian capitalists aping the ways of foreign monopoly capitalists in our country going broad and behaving in such dastardly fashion that they have to be sent to jail and the prosecutor has to ask for increase in their sentences.

This export of capital is dangerous for India as well as dangerous for the receiving countries in Asia and Africa. I do not know what schemes my friend Shri Kumaramangalam has up his sleeves. I read only the other day, on 3 May 1972 in a Calcutta newspaper a report about the giant holding company for iron and steel which he is proposing. This kind of a giant holding company for iron and steel can comprise all the operators in this very strategic and important area of our economy. I do not see why the Minister of Industrial Development, assisted by the other Ministries, given some advice by the Ministry of Company Affairs, can not do something about a giant holding company in regard to many of these monopoly operators who are behaving so badly.

I say this because these monopoly houses have been treated with so much kindness and yet they go on behaving in the shabby fashion that they have been used to. The Dutta Committee has reported that no further concentration of economic power should be allowed and large industrial houses should not be allowed to expand their empires any further, and the new licensing policy should be used as an instrument for curbing the growth of monopoly.

But as a matter of fact the Minister, who, I am told is very friendly with the Birlas and other industrialists I do not know why this sort of thing should be alleged about a Minister and these allegations are made openly in this House and elsewhere—and the Government, we find, continue to give licences to the large industrial houses. Since 1 January 1969 a total of 286 licences have been issued to industrial concerns belonging to or controlled by the 75 big houses listed in the Monopoly Enquiry Committee Report. I cannot give more details about it for lack of time. It is really very peculiar that in 1970

out of 47 licences issued, 20 have gone to 20 large industrial houses in the group of 75 mentioned in the Monopoly Enquiry Committee Report. In 1971 out of 159 licences, as much as 114 have gone to those large houses and Birlas and Tatas have got the largest number of licences in this period—29 and 26 respectively. My reference for this information is the unstarred question No. 1466A dated 14 April 1972 and 22 March 1972 in Lok Sabha. We find also that many of these monopoly houses are permitted to carry on their nefarious practices by escaping the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practice Act.

Big business houses are making an attempt to start collaboration hotels. Tatas, of course, are already there—the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay and elsewhere. Kirloskars are starting hotels. Alok Udyog and Delhi Cloth Mills have applied for permission for starting hotels and they are going to get that permission; there is no doubt about it. The result is, everything is getting confused.

They are getting money from Government sources and financial institutions paid for by the country and that money is being diverted to all kinds of uses which are absolutely illegal. The estimated figures of outstanding advances by scheduled commercial banks to industries including the wholesale trade at the end of March 1968 were 2,608 crore and at the end of March 1971, these figures rose to Rs. 3,422 crore. Assistance from the State financial institutions to the private sector is growing. In regard to the advances made by nationalised banks to 75 big business houses and 20 larger houses among them, the figures are available from July 1969 to 26 March 1971. The amount outstanding from 75 business houses on 18 July 1969 was Rs. 440.28 crore. On 26 March 1971, the figure was Rs. 491.73 crore. The share of the 20 larger houses is also mentioned here, but I am not referring to it because it is the same story. The Industrial Bank of India, the Industrial Finance Corporation and other institutions are giving money to these people. In 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70, they have given Rs. 97.59 crore. Of this, Rs. 16.80 crore went to the 20 larger industrial houses mentioned in the report.

There are so many other figures to which I can make a reference, but must mention at least the investment by the LIC. The total investment of LIC in the first ten business houses in the form of debentures, shares, loans to companies, etc., as on 31 March 1969 was Rs. 8313.31 lakh, *i.e.* 37.12 per cent of LIC's total investment in the private sector. In the remaining group of 75 houses, LIC invested Rs. 6085.63 lakh upto 31 March 1969. If we take the total investment in the 75 houses, it comes to Rs. 14,398.94 lakhs. The total investment of LIC in private sector is a little over Rs. 22,000 lakh. This means, 64.29 per cent of LIC's investment in the private sector has gone to the 75 houses mentioned in the Monopolies Enquiry Commission's report.

The holdings of public sector financial institutions including LIC, Unit Trust of India, General Insurance Companies, etc. in TISCO, TELCO and Indian Iron and Steel Company....

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LIC is the biggest subscriber to Tatas. Next comes UTI. So far as TISCO is concerned, the total subscribed capital is Rs. 3858.02 lakh, while the capital subscribed by financial institutions is Rs. 1230.25 lakh. Government as a prominent shareholder in the private sector could do a very great deal in so far as disciplining these concerns is concerned, but we have it from one of the former Chairmen of LIC that Government could not find people who can man these organizations, and therefore, Government hardly does anything about it. Besides, the Government is suffering from the handicap that in the top bureaucracy, there are people who hobnob with leaders of business and who are hand in glove with these giant monopoly houses.

We notice also how in regard to a house like Bajoria-Jalan, about which a book entitled *The Mystery of Bajoria-Jalan* House has just been published, similar to *The Mysteries of Birla House*, which come out some twenty years back but which was suppressed by the conspiracy let loose by Birlas. Details are given here of moneys given to concerns run by this monopoly house for some specific purpose, may be for renovating and replacement of machineries, for the efficient running of concerns, but the money is used for other purposes. The Finance Minister has said in this House that inter-locking or diversion of capital by companies will be considered as criminal offence. But, in many cases, companies under the control of Bajoria-Jalan clan and of their like have diverted, according to allegations made in this book, which was referred to in this House the other day, they have diverted Rs. 2237.57 lakh in order to obtain control of various companies, issuing fictitious loans, creating fictitious debtors, transferring money to liquidated concerns run by sons-in-law, sisters, sisters-in-law and that sort of thing. This kind of thing goes on all the time and that is because of a liaison with the top bureaucracy of income-tax and Central Board of Revenue bigwigs, with even ex-Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, with political leaders in government. This is the kind of trouble in which we are living in this country today. Here is monopoly interest hand in glove with foreign monopoly, trying to exploit this country, trying to pooh-pooh whatever performance the public sector wishes to make, trying all the time to secure control over our economy and to prevent any thing like even a welfare state, let alone a socialistic kind of society. And these are the people who are coming forward now, producing victory volumes in honour of Indira Gandhi—Mohan Breweries people publishing their pictures along with Indira Gandhi and Indira Gandhi's children's picture's dedication to L.N. Mishra and all that sort of thing—and advertisements form many big industrial

houses for this kind of putrid publication. And the Prime Minister has time to go through this sort of thing when she should have the decency to throw it into the waste paper basket. This is the set up in this country today, the Indian monopoly houses hand in glove with foreign monopoly, trying to do exactly what in British capitalists and other foreign capitalists did at the time of independence and throwing on collaboration. Now they are trying to get into the Government concerns also. There is some talk of a joint sector and that sort of thing. They want to control everything. I ask Government : Do something; start thinking seriously. Have you no idea about your own confidence? If you do not have sufficient self-assurance that you can run the public sector properly, than give up the game, renounce the job of governing this country, for you are not up to it.

The other day I read in a Calcutta paper a statement by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri Siddhartha Shanker Ray that he had got letters from several thousand young people, officers in the private sector organizations, drawing salaries between Rs. 2,000 to 8,000 offering to work at lesser pay in the public interest. Have you not got people in this country who can work in the public interest? Are there not people in the private sector who are ready to work for the public sector also? If you have got that confidence, why can you not take courage in both hands, why can't you do the same thing which Professor Gadgil, by no means a form-at the-month revolutionary, had recommended in 1956? Here is a region where monopoly is in control, and that region has got to be freed of monopoly. Can't you do that? That is the sort of job which has to be done, and that is why I say that this must stop. This book presented to Indira Gandhi, edited by a man called Durlab Singh, a notorious person convicted for pornography and that sort of thing, these are the people getting together, Mohan, Durlab Singh and God knows who else, trying to flatter people in the political field and with their favour that is the sort of thing which is taking place. That is why I say that real democracy is needed in the running of our economy, and that would require nationalisation of the import and export trade, nationalisation of the monopoly houses, nationalisation of foreign concerns. Whether we like it or not, we have today to face this question-transform pre-capitalistic formations through capitalism, even a "regulated" capitalism, or through the fullest development of the various forms of State co-operative sector, like in G.D.R. where it seems a private employer can function only when employees number no more than 100 or so. You have absorbed Shri R.K. Hazari in the administration; you have Shri Chandrashekhar sulking in the Rajya Sabha, and you think you can carry on in the way you are in the Ministry of Industrial Development, in particular, is answerable for the kind of degeneration that is taking place, the kind of sliding away from anything like a near-socialist programme in the country. We hear all types of allegations. I am not interested in personal

things. At the moment, we are interested in the performance that he puts up before the country; we are interested in what concrete steps he is going to take in the direction of socialism. He should tell us in regard to these monopoly houses how he is going to be stern and strict and how he is going to take concrete steps to see that our country really gets going on the road to socialism.

Mr. Chairman, you will permit me if I begin by saying that during the last two days in this House certain goings on have put me in a mood of the utterest gloom. I was trying to find some cheer from the fact that virtually every member who participated in the Resolution had supported my Resolution. But I am sent back again into the vortex of gloom by the speech made after obviously very careful preparation by my friend, the Minister of Industrial Development. It is time we heard less about Government taking credit for having nationalized whenever they have wanted to do so, as in the case of banks and general insurance, because you, Sir, would remember how for many long years so many of us in this House and outside had to carry on an agitation in order to make the Government change its attitude, which was one of the utterest hypocrisy, an attitude that social control was adequate. Even the present Prime Minister was very much in favour of social control rather than of nationalization. And, it was on account of the pressure put upon the Government by the organized movement that there is in the country and by whatever opinion we would muster inside Parliament that bank nationalisation could come about and even that is not giving satisfaction, because the real democratic process of implementation of a policy of nationalisation has not been started and it is not going to be started, because this Government does appear to be committed to a *status quo* policy of keeping things as they are, a policy of safety first. If that is moving towards socialism, God help us! If this snail's pace advance is moving towards socialism, I am not sure whether they have any sense of direction at all. If we are going to perpetuate the power of the money-bags who by various ways, subtle and unsubtle, try to control everything in this country, if we do not break the power of money bags, all this talk about *garibi hatao* and moving towards socialism is so much abracadabra, sheer moonshine and nonsense unless we make up our mind here and now to take some drastic steps, even if that might mean some difficulty. Are we going to achieve socialism without going through a difficult, process, without austerity, without real national discipline, without calling upon our people to face all kinds of difficulties? Of course, not. The movement towards socialism is not a walk along a bed of roses. A movement towards socialism is not going to be conducted in a manner which has been given any indication of by my friend, the Minister. He referred to the Pilodia-Gupta case in Ethiopia. I have already given to the Minister of Foreign Trade a copy of this extract from the *Ethiopian Herald* dated 2 April 1972. I do not know why the Ministry of Foreign Trade has not told him more

about it. But since I have no more use for it, I am going to pass on to him this extract from *Ethiopian Herald* with regard to Pilodia-Gutpa case, after this debate is over.

My main point has been; these monopoly houses, 75 or 73 or more, let us not fight over that sort of thing, they are the grievances of all grievances as far as economic disparity and economic decline of this country is concerned. On the face of it, they may point to certain things which they are telling in regard to industrial growth. There are foreign collaborators who are assisting them to do so. But deep down, they are eating into the vitals of our system, making it impossible for any advance towards socialism. They are trying all sorts of ruses like that poster business. I am not going to refer to it to get control of this kind, and Rs. 7,000 crore, according to the Wanchoo Committee estimates, is the black money, and it is flourishing. It is more or less openly in the picture.

Only day before yesterday my friend, the senior colleague, the Finance Minister, talked about black money in language which, I hope this Government would have the sense of shame to acknowledge, should never have been pronounced in this House. He said this black money is not hoarded money, it is active money, it is productive money, it is dynamic black money. Sir, you have been in this House long enough to remember Jawaharlal Nehru used to be very fond of this expression "dynamic". Dynamic is an adjective which has come to be used by the Finance Minister of India in regard to black money, if you look at the records, he said: how can I get hold of it; because it is not functioning in a secret way, it is open. If it is open, why can't you get hold of it, why can't you catch it? Because, Government is hand in glove with the leaders of industry. That is why JRD Tata can talk about twentieth century socialism, and he says he is even willing to participate in the twentieth century socialism. I do not understand this kind of thing going on. It is a little beyond me.

My friend, the Minister, was angry with a colleague Shri Jharkhande Rai because he had suggested that before the second world war the 200 families of France had brought about the decline of that country and its defeat by fascism. Here are the 75 odd families who cannot function in the old way because fascism has been exterminated and the world is a very different place from what it had been in 1939. But, in a subtle way, they are going to maintain the control over the economy. They are making it impossible for a country like India really and truly to get into the socialist camp. That is why I want something definite to be done, something vital to be done, something which would appeal to the peoples' imagination.

I am sorry to hear the Minister and his like referring to these election results and saying that "the people have supported us; therefore, all of you

keep quiet". Why did the people support you? Because the people believed you. Do not go on saying "you do not have the trust of the people, because they support us". No, it is not true at all. The people supported you, not because they liked to look at you; the people supported you because they liked the policies which you announced; the people supported you because they found you had brought about some changes in the constitution which shall enable you to take over this kind of concerns without any kind of an overwhelming burden on the national exchequer. The position was, before the recent constitutional amendment, nationalisation has become an almost impossible proposition because compensation would be of such a quantum of money that this country would never be able to afford it. But now we have got constitutional changes with which we can take over concerns and the question of the compensation did not bother us very much. The people heard you. We had to go alongside of you in the last elections to point out how in this Parliament Congressmen and other people joined together in order to bring about the right kind of change in the Constitution. We told our people because of these changes in the Constitution today really basic economic measures can be implemented by India. That is why the people gave you their vote, because the people believed Indira Gandhi and all the others going about saying that they have really genuine intention of *garibi hatao.*

If that is so, why don't you do something about it? Why are you attached to the *status quo* business? Why do you want the private sector still to command the heights of our economy, large parts of our economy except for a non-profit-making part of our economy, the private sector still controls the heights and non-heights of our economy; and all over the place they are in control. And even our public sector is run in such a bureaucratic fashion that nothing properly and truly can be done, and indirectly an argument is given, supplied by the public sector itself, against the public sector.

That is the kind of thing which goes on, and that is why I say you have to do something drastic, if you want the removal of disparities, if you want the genuine implementation of the near socialistic policies—we have not got anywhere near socialism—take hold of these monopoly people, take the moneyed people who are controlling everything, because of whom the other genuine, honest, patriotic-minded people who are in industry are not able to offer examples. Why don't you take a lesson form countries like Chile, or the German Democratic Republic? Why can't you have a law that no individual industrial owner can have a concern in which more than 100 people or so are employed? Why don't you start with something of that sort that the State and the Co-operative Sector must be extended. There must be a ceiling on income, a ceiling on property, a ceiling on salaries and if that is so, why can't you move ahead? Your own people, like Shri Siddharatha Shanker Ray—I said on the last occasion—has declared in Calcutta that several thousand

people who are drawing four-figure salary have offered to work for the public sector at lesser salaries. That is the spirit of our people. Give them an opportunity and do not go on saying that private sector has the know-how. A friend there, Prof. Mahajan or somebody was saying that private sector has the know-how. But it is the people, who work by hand or by brain, people like you and me, who have the know-how. It is not the Tatas, Birlas, Mafatlals, or the Dalmias, or whoever might be at the top, who have the know-how. It is the people who help them. They are the people like you and me who do not need any fantastic salary every month. That is why you can take this step.

It is not an enterprise which is too venturesome, too risky. It is a step which is absolutely implicit in the country's pledge that it has advanced towards socialism and we have to do something drastic. Unless you do something striking, you do not strike the imagination of the people. That is why, even though, there may be difficulties, you should take-over the monopoly houses and do something in regard to that. I do not say nationalisation by itself is the final and ultimate remedy, but you have to work for nationalisation in a democratic manner by getting the participation of large number of workers, involving them in tasks of production and giving them a sense of comradeship and a sense of participation in the best sense of the term. Then and then alone can you tackle all the problems, tackle the problem of black money, tackle the problem of disparity, tackle the problem of industrial growth, tackle the problem of inequality and tackle the moral problem, which is so important today and which comes to our mind every time when we find these tycoons wanting to worm their way into the favours of the Government by the kind of activity to which reference has been made in this House so repeatedly during the last two days. I say, therefore, that I am very unhappy with the reply of the Minister. I had a very remote expectation that possibly the Minister would make some kind of a gesture, but this gesture made at the very end has been completely vitiated by the statements which have preceded in a very carefully prepared speech.

I cannot accede to his request that I withdraw my resolution. As for myself, I can accept the amendments moved by Shri S.M. Banerjee. That is the utmost I can go. He asked me to add at the end "within the Fourth Plan period". That is the only amendment which I can accept. Otherwise, I would not say that I withdraw my resolution. I press it.

NATIONALISATION OF FOREIGN OIL COMPANIES*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

"This House is of the opinion that Foreign Oil Companies and other vital industries under the control of the 75 monopoly houses be nationalised."

I have no illusions about the fate of this Resolution because I have a long experience of Government's allergy to the subject and its pusillanimity in respect of big money, both native and foreign. I see my friend Shri Dharia, the Minister of State. I do not see the Minister of Planning who must be busy with more fashionable jobs. I see the Deputy Minister for Industrial Development. I was only hoping to see again the face of his senior Minister that in 1966 had launched a thousand American ships to bring food to our famishing country. Of course, he is not here, perhaps, too pre-occupied with 'Small Car' and other gimmicks.

Happily, my long-time friend, the present Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals, has made it a point to be present. I came to know him during the days of the first Parliament and, though I have no hopes in this regard, I shall have an expectation that he would like to do something to change the line which a team of previous Ministers, no doubt, under the guidance of the Prime Minister, the relay team from Shri Asoka Mehta to Shri Gokhale, had taken egregiously in regard to this country's oil policy.

In one part of my Resolution, I am repeating a demand rejected a few months ago by Government in this House though it had secured the support—almost universal—from every part of this assembly—and that is, in regard to the nationalisation of the 75 monopoly houses. I shall not spend much time over that aspect of the Resolution.

We all know that the Mahalanobis Committee reported in 1962; the second part of the report never saw the light of the day. Then the Monopolies Inquiry Commission was set up in 1964. Dr. Hazare's celebrated reports exposed the phenomenal growth of monopoly. The Dutt Committee reported in 1969 on the operation of the infamous licensing system. Then the Sarkar Commission was set up to report within six months, but unassisted by Government, it goes on desultorily for more than three years now.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 2 March 1973. [Participating in the discussion on the Resolution re: 'The Nationalisation of Foreign Oil Companies'. Shri Mukerjee also spole on 16 and 30 March 1973 on a similar subject].

This process of endless inquiry inhibiting action is a deliberate matter. It shows the present power elites, disbelief in the very process of planning, let alone socialism. Thus, a Tata goes on heading Air India, and one of his employees selling soaps and shampoos tops the giant Government-owned steel holding company. The Chairman of IFC, IDBI, ICICI, LIC, UTC, State Bank, and so on and so forth hold strong pro-private sector, anti-licensing and anti-nationalisation views and even air them in public. Far too long has this game continued. Let there be some finality and let the issues be faced squarely.

How long shall we go on seeing, as we did in the Exhibition, Asia 1972, Indian economy being represented by Philips, Indian Oxygen, Gust Keen Williams, Remington Rand Automatic Tyre Industry of Dunlop and Firestone and so on and so forth, then by Tatas, Mahindras, Kirloskars and others, proudly advertising their collaboration with foreign giants? Can people be left unaware of Tatas and Birlas growing stupendously not only before, but also after, the present Ministry took charge—the Tata increase in assets being from Rs. 505.36 crore in 1967 to Rs. 638.50 crore in 1969, while Birlas grew from Rs. 457.84 crore in 1967 to Rs. 629.60 crore in 1969? The FICCI and Tata memoranda make clear their offer to come to terms with Government provided it gets a free hand to dominate the economy in a different way. No wonder, our most eminent living journalist, Chalapathi Rao, wrote lately with irony and pathos that 25 years ago he was writing articles for the nationalisation of the then decrepit sugar industry and today also, 25 years afterwards, he is continuing to write articles for nationalisation of the even more decrepit sugar industry. The only way is to take the plunge, take over the monopoly houses and the key areas of the economy. But with its fatal fascination for soft options, Government blunders on and hoodwinks the people with hypocritical humbug.

Foreign oil companies not only in India but anywhere else, are meddlesome and rapacious instruments of international financial capital, its octopus grip strangulating the freedom and sovereignty of less fortunate countries—a grip which has begun to loosen with the advance of national liberation and socialism and will soon be shed. Mossadeq in Iran had to pay heavily for the first attempt at nationalisation in 1951. Since then, a dozen or more countries—Ceylon in 1961, Egypt in 1966, Burma, Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, of course, Cuba and Chile, and then, Algeria, Iraq and Syria—have then nationalised foreign oil companies outright or taken positive steps in that direction. It goes without saying—and cruel experience underlines it—that if a country is to mobilise resources for economic development, if the strategic importance of oil in the development of other industries is kept in view, if national defence and security is to be safeguarded, the Government

of that country must have complete control over management and ownership of petroleum resources potential and actual, under-ground or over-ground, off-shore or on-shore. And the only thing to do in regard to foreign oil companies is to take them over. That alone is consistent with the interests of our people and the honour of our India.

There is a celebrated report of our Estimates Committee which in 1967 pinpointed the evil role of ESSO, Burmah-Shell and Caltex. Our free country got into an agreement with them between 1928 and 1953, assuring that for 25 years, they should not be acquired or their operations taken over by Government and if after 25 years we acquire them, we must pay them all 'reasonable compensation'. If there can be an agreed infraction of a country's sovereignty, here it is indeed, and we must wipe out this shame and ignominy.

Fantastic preferential terms were given to these foreign tycoons and I quote the Estimate Committee's words:

> "An assurance was given that in the matter of taxation, the Indian Company will not be treated less favourably than if it would have been operating in India as a subsidiary of the parent foreign company."
>
> Further:
>
> "Among the various assurances and concessions the following two are very important:
>
> (i) Rights of the oil companies regarding import of crude oil; and
>
> (ii) Pricing of the Petroleum products on the basis of import parity."

Another stipulation was that they would be allowed to bring in crude oil from sources of supply of their own selection, charging therefore for inflated transport and other additional costs. India would compulsorily release foreign exchange acquired for such imports. It must always be remembered that these three are subsidiaries of the eight big international oil companies, in whose interests, in fact, is neo-imperialist foreign and military policy largely moulded, as witness the frantic effort to use Israel against the emerging freedom of Arab peoples who own the world's most valuable strategic area in terms of oil and other things, as witness also the desperate drive to dominate Africa and South-East Asia and the illimitable riches of Latin America.

We must not any longer truckle down to these powerful vampires, and we can stand up to them, particularly since the Soviet are our friends and the new wave of friendship for India is blowing over the oil rich Gulf States and especially states like Iraq, a situation of which we should take advantage. But I fear our Foreign Office is nearly illiterate in so far as the links between economic and foreign policy are concerned.

According to figures given in Parliament last year, the foreign oil companies remitted abroad in 1969, a total of Rs. 81.91 crore, Rs. 72.64 crore in 1970 and Rs. 94.49 crore in 1971. This comprises payment for import on crudes, products, coastal freights etc., for dividends, profits and loan payments, and also for royalties and office expenses abroad. In three years, they have taken away nearly Rs. 250 crore in foreign exchange from us.

The *Economic Times* of 4 April 1972 reported that in the last fourteen years, these companies have remitted Rs. 1040 crore from India, more than 70 per cent of which was on marketing and the rest on refining. Dividends declared by them on paid-up capital have been of the order of 40 per cent per annum. It is known that they are using even their accumulated reserves to pay out such large dividends. Every year, they remit 2.5 times their invested capital on marketing account and a sum equal to their invested capital on refinery account. Their assets in India have not increased. In fact, they declined by 5.8 per cent to Rs. 64.6 crore in 1969-70 and further by 2.7 per cent to Rs. 62.8 crore in 1970-71, and this is in spite of the expansion of their refineries without the necessary approval of Government, as the Estimates Committee noted in 1967. Government have been allowing this enormous loot in the name of the 1951 agreements.

On 13 November 1972, Shri Gokhale told the other House, 'These are refinery agreements which are international agreements.' So, he concedes that the companies are like sovereign States, and he added—

> "I am not saying that we do not have sovereignty to overrule these agreements, but delicate issues are involved and have to be taken into consideration."

Somewhat more important than nursing the delicate plant of Indian sovereignty into strength and splendour is to Government the task of delicate negotiations with the world's oil sharks. But Ceylon and Egypt and Cuba and Chile and Algeria and Iraq have done this, which this old country cannot do because this Government is timid and halting.

The sordid story of these foreign companies black-mailing us on prices must be remembered. Till Soviet help came in the sixties, we hardly knew how much we were paying for British and American oil. We know how in 1969 they refused price reduction, when Government wanted them to do so. After a long tussle, they agreed to five cents per barrel reduction on crude, but this did not last long. Between 1970 and 1972, they have asked five times for price increase. Often they blamed the fact of increased taxes payable to the oil-producing countries being the reason for the increase, but this is very often phoney. We should of course, do away as soon as possible with this

middlemanship and the oil sharks from abroad and have direct contact which we can if we will, with the oil-producing countries, the OPEC and all that sort of thing.

Pending that, the exorbitant claims of the foreign companies have to be disciplined. Unfortunately, Government always succumbs to their blackmailing. Their latest claims have not been conceded by the Government. Government have had to release foreign exchange to the new companies at the new rates demanded. They behaved shabbily, no doubt about that and their blackmailing has meant our foreign exchange bill on crude oil leaping from Rs. 102 crore in 1970 to Rs. 138 crore in 1971 and an estimated Rs. 144 crore in 1972. These international exploiters may further increase prices as a result of the recent American devaluation.

It is notorious that people in high places in the Ministry, in the Planning Commission, in the higher ranks of the civil services, and of course, in the big money circles are linked with these dastardly foreign interests.

When Shri K.D. Malaviya tried with Jawaharlal Nehru's blessings to go ahead, he met with hurdles which are still very much there. In spite of so much talk about socialism, do we not hear of the recurring Bechtel scandals? Do we not know how the Fakru Commission is being disabled from proper discharge of its task by the deliberate bargering by high-ups in the Ministries, in fact, in more than one Ministry?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, you will permit me to say that never in my experience of this House for the last 23 years have I seen a Budget Session like the present one. There is unrelieved tension in the country and there are unpredictable bust-ups in Gujarat and Bihar and else-where. And this I find reflection in the working of our Parliamentary System; we are letting go of the Budget so to speak without anything like adequate scrutiny. I think, Sir, there is very urgent need for an effective Committee System to supervise the Ministries, or this kind of a make-believe of a Parliamentary democracy will collapse.

I do hope that the Speaker and other persons in authority concerned will apply their minds to this aspect of the crisis of the Parliamentary System so far as its working is concerned.

The Finance Bill is a symptom of the declining economy which we see all around us today. There is what need not be repeated but is an acute fact of life, the mounting suffering of our people. More than two years of the *Garibi Hatao* campaign has seen an absolute growth in terms of the numbers of the population below the poverty line. The Finance Minister's own State of Maharashtra has 60 per cent of her people living below the poverty line. A question was answered in this regard the other day, Unstarred Question No. 4871. In West Bengal more than 70 per cent of the people live below the poverty line.

At the same time, vulgar ostentation and conspicuous consumption goes on. The Finance Minister tells us without turning a hair that there is a parallel economy, black-money economy and he cannot do much about it.

Toy money bags are in league with Government leaders and powerful bureaucrats. Government is unable or unwilling to demonetise, to seal vaults to curb vulgar and conspicuous consumption, to increase production of articles of mass consumption by the masses of our people and produce articles of luxury only for exports. Government are unable even to collect arrears of taxes, let alone stopping downright cheating of the revenues by the very rich. I saw recently some very revealing figures how very little is being recovered

* *L.S. Deb.*, 2 May 1974. [Participating in the discussion on 'The Finance Bill', Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 10 April 1954, 18 and 22 April 1955, 28 August 1957 and 5 May 1965 on the Finance Bills of respective years].

from the 25 top assessees including Dharam Teja and Mundhra and others from whom a total of Rs. 31.25 crore are still due and there is a case, a very delectable case—Sita Ram Durga Prasad Limited, who owes Government about Rs. 320.23 lakh out of which they have only paid Rs. 3 lakhs. They are paying their arrears at the rate of Rs. 5,000 per month at which rate it would take 500 years to pay up. This is the fashion in which the Government is trying to mop up the arrears due to our country. In Shri Chavan's own city of Bombay, I saw the other day and I was disgusted not only with the discovery, that almost everyone there, in various strata, are fed up with the administration, also the sight of the skyscrappers was really disgusting. They are the symbols of the power of black money, the hoarders and blackmarketeers who lord it over our country while the people suffer and economy seems in collapse. Such things happen as the one to which Shri Bibhuti Mishra drew attention to a little while ago, namely, that the Central Government Officers' organisation buried a capsule recording, the Government's broken promises and wasted words.' I expect that on the Government's rhinoceros skin, criticism, universal ridicule and slander slips off. This is the Rhinoceros' skin of Government which the Finance Minister seems to wear.

In April 1973, the Task Force of the Planning Commission warned no progress in land reforms was possible in the absence of what they call in their own words 'the requisite political will'. Our country is a "soft" and flabby State. The most egregious example of this condition is the Government's failure to take over wheat trade, inspite of the progressive but puerile prattle, which some of them indulge in. This has been found to be so because no Congress Ministry was considered safe as long as wheat wholesalers remained disgruntled and were ready to invest in Congress disunity and go on subverting the Congress, its own organisation. This Government has its scandalous dependence on callous, conscienceless profiteers in human misery and it is through the operations of these people, the Finance Minister tries to serve. That is why in the taxation proposals in spite of the present day conditions of distress, the Finance Minister declares a war on the people. In North Korea, practising *Juche* (self-reliance)—they have achieved a taxless economy, while our burdens are impossibly increased. And the Finance Minister came forward with some generous amendments. But they do not mean that the post card will not cost more. In spite of the rise in prices he has given some more concessions that what the proposals originally had offered. It has been already pointed out how the index numbers of prices have risen from 100 in 1948 to 316 in 1973. National income actually fell in 1972-73. Unemployment over the last 12 years has increased by almost 400 per cent and social justice is a forgotten concept as far as Government thinking concerned today. On the other hand we find the authoritarian manner

and the method of Air Marshal P.C. Lal of IAC, again in the Railway strike which is going to be discussed a little while later. But political ambushing of one of the principal leaders of the Railway workers is a form of banditry which even the Madhya Pradesh operators would have perhaps felt ashamed of to practise but Government did not hesitate to do so. The Railway Board, if I may use the term is the most discredited single body of powerful bureaucrats in India today. What right does this Government have to call for labour discipline?

Despite the austerity resolution of the All India Congress Committee in December 1969 not even one carpet has rolled out from the offices and bungalows of a single Minister. We were told the other day about the State Bank of India Chairman's office in Bombay having supra mughal luxury fittings in the SBI building in Bombay. We find Ministers grovelling before a money flinging Mohite or a Bombay tycoon who gets hairdressers from London at an expense of Rs. 50,000 in foreign exchange to doll him up for his wedding and the State Ministers go to the marriage to guzzle rich food. How can they talk about austerity and labour discipline? Gunnar Myrdal, a friend of this country has written as to how corruption could be stopped. He says before the power structure has been changed by evolution or revolution it will be difficult to decrease corruption or even hinder its continual increase. We know the first Prime Minister of India had expressed a wish that the blackmarketeers should be hanged on the nearest lamp post and we have lived to see who hangs whom. Even an honest individual in the Ministry or in a position of authority finds himself compelled by the pressure of circumstances as they prevail, to patronise the enormous empire which rests on corruption, and these are the people who swear by the name of Gandhi and all that sort of thing. What right has this Government to call for labour discipline when this is the way in which they behave?

The Finance Minister should also be warned that the continued reliance on aid, above all from the United States, is a road to re-colonisation. 'Aid to re-colonisation' is a title of the book written by Tibor Mende who is a very distinguished French publicist. Our external liabilities in March, 1973 amounted to Rs. 7161 crore. Our public debt, that is to say, at a percentage of national income at current prices, has risen from 35.8 per cent to 42.8 per cent between 1960-61 and March 1973. In this context of our financial condition the impertinences of Moynihan and the dance poses of Kissinger are considered to be a boon from heaven by the Finance Minister and his friends. There was no discussion in Parliament on the new PL 480 agreement. It is a surrender to U.S. blackmail and that is why our Foreign Minister plays down the Diego Garcia business. He does not have the courtesy of meeting the widow of the martyred President of Chile, Madame Allende. In contrast there is the Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, who himself presented

to Madame Allende a large sum of money as a contribution of Sweden to the fighting fund of anti-fascist freedom fighters in Chile today. But of course our External Affairs behaves very differently, and perhaps in expectation of some leavings from the rich laden table of the Shahenshah of Iran. Government deports Iranian students from India. The External Affairs Ministry is unaware that we are living in a world where even Portugal shakes and Thailand, the unsinkable aircraft carrier of the United States gives signs of an explosion, but our External Affairs Ministry arranges the official visit to India of so called Crown Prince and Princess of Spain. I was mystified. I did not know who it could be. They are representatives of the derelict Hapsburg Dynasty kicked out of history by the Spanish people a long time ago and they were given a right royal reception because our Government has to follow a policy of appeasing certain interests on the world scene. And perhaps also to be in the good books of Iran and Japan and the United States, this country prepares to denude herself of treasure, which is not inexhaustile, like iron ore and such wealth which we do not know how to prepare to use for our economic strength and political influence just as the oil-rich countries are using their oil resources for their own political purposes. This is the sorry story—I shall conclude as quickly as I can—about a sorry and sick country which India is today.

That is why to keep this country in leash, there is an apparatus of coercion in the hands of this Government MISA and all, 10,000 and more political prisoners in West Bengal and Andhra, many of them so-called ultra-revolutionaries, unspeakable jail conditions, crimes galore in police custody, all this being conducted perhaps under the direction of the top people in Delhi, the Research and Analysis Wing, a mysterious engine of oppression which is the Prime Minister's particular pigeon costing God knows how many crores of rupees, all forming a paraphernalia of coercion which is needed in order to keep this country in order.

I have warned this Government before, ascent is slow, but descent might be steep. Fallen from people's affections you can also drop off from power. I do not wish them to be replaced here and now, because we have not been able to set up a viable alternative. But let no one imagine that because of the fear of Rightist intervention hoping to exploit a Chile-type situation in this country, since already Shri Masani is asking the Army to take over and offer him and Jayaprakash Narainji jobs to do which the people won't trust them with, the country cannot just go on propping up the present leadership if it performs in this wicked fashion.

I was astonished the other day to see about this Government which ask the working people to tighten their belts, that according to the reply to Starred

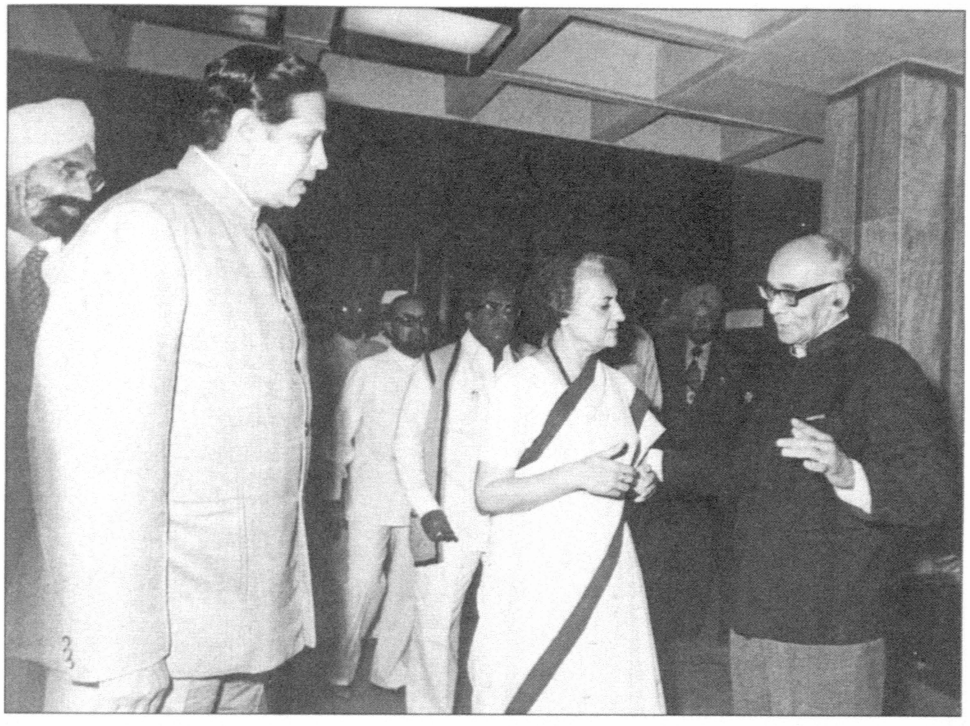
Question 867* on 26 April, 681 officials of the Ministries of the Central Government, apart from the Ministries of Defence, External Affairs, Commerce, Industrial Development, Information and Broadcasting, Tourism and Civil Aviation, Food, Atomic Energy and Health, went abroad costing more than Rs. 73 lakh of rupees. One official went 17 times abroad in the same year. Another official went 13 times abroad. Eight officials went 10 times abroad in one year; 179 officers went more than once abroad during the year. And they talk about corruption elsewhere. They talk about austerity, they talk about people tightening their belts. I am not surprised to find this Government fail; I am not surprised to find government leaders sometimes behaving wickedly. But I am surprised that they are so shameless; I am surprised that they do not come before the country in a sack cloth and ashes, I am surprised to see that they do not even have the grace to apologise to our people. They do not tell our people that these mistakes have been committed for perhaps unavoidable reasons. They never try to put up a case. In Parliament, we have to shout ourselves hoarse, which I personally never enjoy, because I cannot afford—I have not that kind of voice to throw away. But we have to shout ourselves hoarse. They never come out; they never tell our people. This is the only forum where our people have to be convinced and something is being done.

They talk about the right danger. Very well. I agree with them there. I am ready and willing to help them to the extent it is possible to fight the right danger. It is not enough merely to talk. It is necessary to begin to implement things. That is why I say that this Government requires discipline for itself. If it cannot acquire that discipline before long, it will go the way of all flesh.

It is necessary therefore that something is done drastically, immediately, faithfully, sincerely and genuinely to have land reforms properly implemented, to have progressive elimination of industrial monopoly, to have measures for plugging national drain by stopping or at least minimising the outflow of national resources in the form of high dividends, royalty and debt charges abroad. There must be steps immediately taken for the elimination of black money by outright confiscation of illegal holdings and compulsory imprisonment of guilty persons. There must be efficient democratic management of the public sector enterprises, not like the Moghul style management of the State Bank of India Chairman, Bombay. Drastic reductions in the present high defence and police budgets could be achieved by introducing appropriate changes in foreign and internal policies. All this could be done but the Government is not doing it. That is why the Government comes with taxation proposals embodied in the Finance Bill. The concessions he offered are footling little concessions and prove his concern for the affluent;

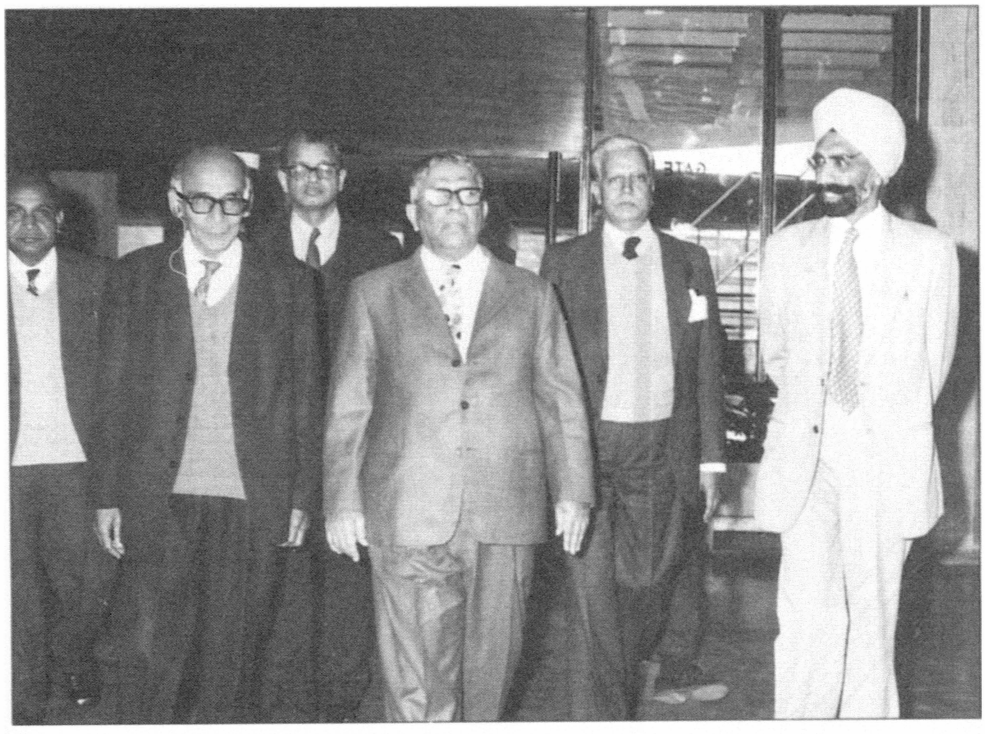
* The question was about foreign tours of officials of the Union Government.

they are a further proof of his complete negligence of the common people. The common people are the salt of the earth. If you do not have common people on your side you must beware of the consequences; you cannot go on talking merely about *Garibi Hatao*, you must do something for the *Garib* masses of our country. You cannot be merely talking of this; you cannot deceive all our people all the time. That is the warning I give to the Government. I told them earlier: Ascent might be difficult; descent can be easy and the descent can be such that if you fall from power it will be a fall from which you will not recover.



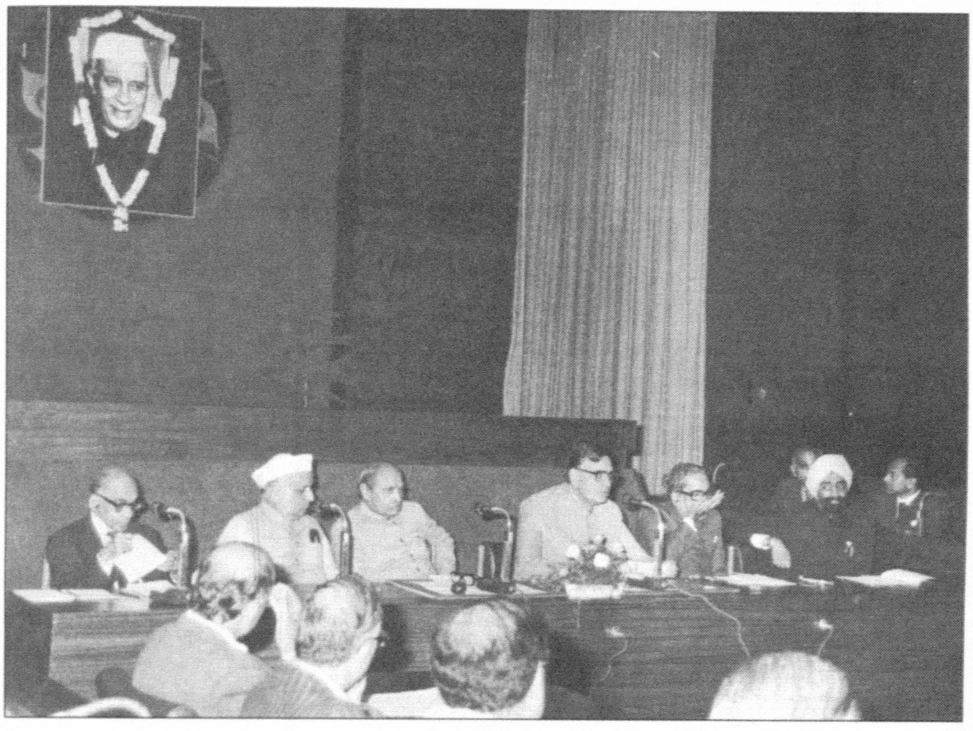
Receiving Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, at Parliament House Annexe. Also seen in the picture is Shri Vasant Sathe, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting

With Smt. Indira Gandhi at the inauguration of Exhibition of Books at Parliament House Annexe. Also seen in the picture are Dr. Balram Jakhar, the then Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri Vasant Sathe, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting and Shri Avtar Singh Rikhy, the then Secretary-General, Lok Sabha



At an Appreciation Course for I.A.S. Probationers organized by the BPST, on 15 February 1978

Addressing a Seminar on "Social Legislation and Problems of its Implementation", organized by the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training (BPST), 12 December 1980. Also seen in the picture are Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha; Dr. Balram Jakhar, Speaker, Lok Sabha; Shri G. Lakshmanan, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha



With Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, Dr. Balram Jakhar, the then Speaker Lok Sabha and Shri Shyam Lal Yadav, the then Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha

Addressing a meeting organized by the ICPS to remember Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Distributing certificates to the participants of the
BPST Training Programme in 1981

At a Certificate Distribution Ceremony

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND REMAINS (DECLARATION OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE) BILL, 1953*£

I will confine myself to certain general observations which I feel are really important to consider when we are having this Bill before us. I was not surprised, Sir, that my friend, the Deputy Minister made very short speech, suggesting that it was merely a technical matter and that much time of the House should not be spent over a consideration of this Bill. I take it, Sir, that is only one instance of the step-motherly attitude of the Government towards archaeology. I think, Sir, that this is a very serious act of omission and commission on the part of our Government because, if we try to examine our ancient legacy, perhaps I should say our archaeology comes first. It may be that some of us might think that the gift of India to the world is the gift of philosophy. But, I am sure if we have eyes in our heads we can see these stupendous piles which confront us in so many places. At least I for one am convinced that architecture is the greatest thing that we have got as the legacy of our country's civilisation. But this Bill, Sir, is one instance of how in a most cavalierish fashion the Government proceeds. I know that there are certain difficulties: as far as the Constitution is concerned it requires certain things to be done and so on and so forth. But, I wanted the Government to come forward with a definite and positive scheme in regard to the ways and means which it is going to adopt about the maintenance of our ancient and historic monuments and archaeological sites and remains. As far as the Bill goes the only silver lining in the cloud I have been able to find is in the amendment of which notice has been given by my friend, Shri Gadgil where he says that authority should be given to declare ancient monuments, etc. to be of national importance to the Government, because, Sir, I do not understand how Government can go on from time to time with schedules amended overnight so to speak. Only last night or perhaps this morning we were sent this document by the hon. Deputy Minister. It said that there would be certain changes in the schedules that had been presented to us already.

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I am very happy that my friend went to Ajanta, but the fact remains that as far as our archaeological treasures are concerned, they are not being looked

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 19 November 1953. [Shri Mukerjeee also spoke on 5 April 1974 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at declaring certain monuments, sites and archaeological remains as national monuments, became 'The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act, 1958'.

after with that much care which it is our duty to show towards them, and that is why somebody remarked in the other place that Curzon in 1904 had more reverence for our antiquities than most of us in Swadeshi India have. This is the kind of statement which was made in the other place. It is on record.

I want to ask the Deputy Minister as to what plans he is making regarding an integration of the knowledge which we are acquiring in the maintenance of these archaeological monuments and sites and remains, and it is there that I would like to ask him what is being done regarding keeping up a liaison with the Archaeological Department of Pakistan. I say so, because—whatever might have happened lately in regard to the State structure of India—our country is one, our culture is one, our traditions have one uniform origin. As far as the most ancient part of our history is concerned, we know it is the period of the Indus Valley Civilisation, as far as our present knowledge goes. Now, Mohanjodaro and Harappa are both in Pakistan. In India also there are certain places like Bikaner, like Himachal Pradesh, like areas of Rajasthan, which also can give us a lot of relics in regard to the Indus Valley Civilisation. I want to know what is being done in order to pursue further research into the Indus Valley Civilisation and what is being done in order to keep up a liaison with the Archaeological Department of Pakistan. I do not know what they are doing on that side, but I saw a book published under the auspices of the Pakistan Archaeological Department, edited by Dr. Mortimer Wheeler—5000 Years of Art in Pakistan. Naturally, it is necessary for us to have some sort of liaison, because our tradition is one; our culture is one; and therefore, as far as our past is concerned, we should try to reconstruct it as well as we can possibly do.

In regard to certain other points also, I would like to know more about what is being done. I am sorry I miss the presence of the Father of the House Shri B. Das, but I remember him getting up several times to ask what happened to the recommendations which were made about the Konark Temple. There was a committee appointed some time in 1949 or 1950, but it seems that its recommendations are not being implemented properly or if they are implemented, they are implemented with such protracted delay that actually the results are not very satisfactory. If the Konark Temple, which as you all know is a gem of architecture, one of the loveliest which we have, if that temple is damaged, then that would be a tremendous calamity for our country. I would like also to know what is being done in regard to the excavations in Nalanda. I see that the Pataliputra University's Vice-Chancellor is sitting here. To Pataliputra, of course, we have given the go-by. Dr. Jayaswal tried to do something about it and after that, hardly anything was done by our Archaeological Department. There again, I cannot blame the officers. They

have not got the money. Maulana Saheb is not here. He says, *jeb khali hai*—there is no money in my pocket. This is the kind of pretext that he puts forward. This is the kind of thing that is going on. A stop has to be put to it. The Nalanda excavations have stopped for some time; at least, that is the report. If I am wrong, I shall be very glad to be corrected. There are so many other places to which a reference may be made, say, about Kausambi. I think in Kausambi, there is a very promising area for investigation, but that investigation, is not properly proceeding. What about Mahabalipuram? Are we undertaking really serious steps to preserve the *raths* of Mahabalipuram? Are we trying really to preserve these temples from the effects of the sea water? Have we any idea in regard to the transportation of these by hydraulic engineering methods—the buildings which are right on the sea—and put them backwards so that no harm is done to them. I don't think any ritual worship goes on there from day to day and there will be no religious susceptibilities in this respect. These are days when buildings can be transplanted and I say that these buildings are facing the danger of continuous damage over years from sea water and the effects of likely erosion and surely we must save these monuments.

I could refer to so many other instances where greater care ought to be taken and where further investigations should be taken in hand, but I am afraid I would not have the time to do so. I don't wish to take too much of the time of the House, but I am very serious on this point, because speaking as a communist, one belonging to a group of people who are accused of having no reverence for the past, I would say that that is a calumny. We do not accept such accusations which are completely out of tune with the real facts. I would tell you that in the magazine *Peoples China*—you may happen to read it, it is available in Parliament Library—you will find that a large number of expeditions have been made to many of their old sites and they have discovered certain hills which are sculpted almost in the same style as our Ellora and they are popularising this matter, because they know that if they are going to build the future, they have to think of the past. The past, present and the future are all linked up in a golden thread and it is necessary for us to understand our past and appreciate the treasures of the past and find out what exactly our civilisation was in the past. As Indians, we are so proud that we have wonderful archaeological traditions, unparalleled in the history of civilisation. As compared to the Indian examples of architecture, and sculpture, the Chinese or any other people cannot claim anything greater or even equal in artistic quality and excellence. Here is something of the great achievement of our people, but this achievement is now being lost sight of, because our Government is not taking any precautions regarding the maintenance of these archaeological remains.

I shall refer to one other matter which is agitating the minds of many people in this country at the present time and that is in regard to the Nagarjunakonda remains. I happened to attend the other day a meeting of the Central Board of Archaeology as a nominee of this House. I think it is my duty to refer to the Nandikonda project, which is absolutely essential to the welfare of the Andhra Desa presently Andhra Pradesh. I am told that this project has been held up because there is a danger of Nagarjunakonda remains being washed away if the Nandikonda project is allowed to proceed. So there is a kind of stalemate and the Archaeological Department says "we note with great dismay that this has happened, but we cannot stop it." A suggestion has been made that perhaps those remains which have been found in this place should be collected and put in a museum as the site may be washed away. Archaeologically speaking, if you want a museum which includes the relics found in a particular place, the museum should be situated in that very place; that is an elementary archaeological rule. Besides a number of relics that have been found there, the discovery of a wharf is most important as far as Indian archaeology is concerned. I do not think we have many other similar extant instances of a wharf and this would help us to find out something about Greater India and about our contact with further Asia. Therefore, Nagarjunakonda is very important as a treasure of this country—it is so not only on account of the memory of Acharya Nagarjuna, but also the remains of the civilisation of his times. Let us not take a frivolous view of the matter. The Central Board of Archaeology was told by people high-up in the Education Ministry that if only the Finance Ministry loosens its purse-strings to a certain extent and spends a little more money, certain modifications might be made in the Nandikonda project so that the Nandikonda scheme could go ahead without delay and at the same time the Nagarjunakonda remains might remain untouched. Both these things are very important and one should not suffer at the cost of the other. Let us spend some more money on the Nandikonda project so that Andhra Desha presently Andhra Pradesh can get whatever good emerges out of it, but at the same time the Nagarjunakonda remains are not damaged in the way it has already begun to be damaged. If I had my way, I would tell the Deputy Minister to go up to the Prime Minister and say "This can't happen. How can our treasure in Nagarjunakonda be allowed to be washed away? It is a slander on our people's sense of values." I think this matter should be taken up at the highest possible level and I ask that Government is in a position, before we pass this legislation, to say something about it.

I would then mention only two other small points which relate to treasures taken out of our country by foreigners. I know, Sir, at the present moment there are some restrictions as far as the export of artistic treasures is concerned, but there are many of the artistic treasures which are already abroad and which have been taken away from our country. I don't see why we should

not negotiate with foreign governments to get back those treasures. We know that there are so many good things which belong to our country in the British Museum and so many good things, for example, in the Boston Museum in the U.S.A. Should we not use our good offices with at least the Commonwealth which, we are always told here, is such a wonderful organisation. Should we not try to have some kind of negotiation with the British Government regarding the return to this country of her own treasures? That is most important. Why should we not also use our good offices with the American Government, with which my friends on the other side are so very friendly, in regard to the return of our treasures from Boston and other museums and make them disgorge our treasure in their public and semi-public collections. I want some kind of assurance in the matter.

There is another point and that is in regard to certain relics which are still here—all over the place—statues of British Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief and that kind of thing. They are found for example, in Rashtrapati Bhavan where I happened to go for listening to some musical.

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A very sensible suggestion. In Rashtrapati Bhavan I saw an array of paintings and statuettes which were only illustrations of our shame—a shame which we have not succeeded in effacing. Let us do something about it now. So far as the Archaeological Department is concerned, let an assurance be given to Parliament that this calumny would be effaced as soon as possible.

I shall conclude by saying that archaeology is a matter of the greatest national importance and that if we are going to build our future, we have to enthuse our people and they will really be enthusiastic when they know how great the country has been in the past and how much greater she can be in the future. That is why archaeological excavations, maintenance of archaeological sites and remains are of such great national importance. That is why I suggest that there ought to be a positive plan for further exploration, for the kind of discovery which has been made in Orissa lately cannot be an accidental phenomenon. Let money be found for this and let the Government come forward with a positive plan and I can say, at least on behalf of a very large part of the Opposition, if not for the entire Opposition, we shall certainly vote larger grants of money with pleasure.

THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION BILL, 1955*£

As I rise to speak on this very important measure, I am very ready and willing to concede that the Bill has emerged from the Joint Committee in very much better shape than when it went in there. But I fear that there are still some very serious lacunae in this measure and I would ask Parliament to consider the character of these lacunae remove them.

I think we are all agreed that what is wanted most of all in our country today is not only more education but also better education at every level including the highest. In this Bill which has higher education in view we find, however, a certain emphasis which is to be found even in its title which I consider to be rather wrong and dangerous. I say this because I have noticed pronouncements by people in Authority with a big 'A' which seem to indicate that there has come about in our country a very serious deterioration in the standards of university training and research and that therefore what is wanted today is merely a rectification of those deficiencies. I do not wish to deny for a moment that for certain reasons that we need not discuss at the present point of time there perhaps has happened a certain kind of deterioration. But when we find emphasis in official pronouncements merely on this point of deterioration, when we find that Government's mind is working more in regard to the mere rectification of this deterioration, then I have a sense of apprehension. I do want to see that there is no deterioration in our standards, that there is an improvement in our standard of work; at the same time I do not want any narrowing of the opportunities of education even at the very highest level. What is necessary is to have more and better education at every level.

I find that in the Bill there is emphasis on its title on 'determination of standards'. This, I consider to be rather dangerous. I say so because as far as the determination of standards is concerned, I feel that such determination should normally be made by the Universities concerned or whenever necessary the determination of standards should be done by such agencies of inter-university consultation as the Inter-Universities Board. I want the determination of standards to be made at an academic level. I fear that this

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 23 and 25 November 1955. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 4 and 5 May 1956, 11 August 1960, 7 August 1961, 30 May 1972 and 20 November 1973 on similar subjects].

£ The Bill which was aimed at amending the provision for the coordination and determination of standards in Universities, became the University Grants Commission Act, 1956.

Commission as it is going to be constituted, inspite of the eminence of the members, who, I hope, are going to be chosen for it—inspite of all that, it will have a certain kind of official savour about it. And that is why I want that the determination of standards should be done by the Universities themselves and whenever necessary by such organisations as the Inter-Universities Board.

I do not say this because I happen to have a certain conception of university autonomy. I know that in an integrated society, there can never be anything like an absolute autonomy for Universities or for any organisation. I certainly would say it from the house-tops that there is no such thing as absolute university autonomy. But at the same time I am convinced that in practice this Commission is going to be endowed with powers so temptingly wide that in the context of bureaucratic functioning which persists in our country today, I have very serious apprehensions as to how this University Grants Commission as envisaged in this Bill is going to function.

I know that this kind of apprehension has been expressed by people who would be considered unexceptionable by even the Government of the day. For example I find in the report of the Sixth Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth, published in 1948, a reference to the danger of political interference or interference ensuing out of a sense of "tidy-minded administration", the passion for standardisation and that kind of thing. This is something against which I wish this House to be on guard. There should not be the kind of standardisation which I fear is for all practical purposes envisaged by the terms of this Bill. In the name of co-ordination and determination of standards, there may be a kind of stereotyping of university courses and university policies. If that happens, that would be a very disastrous thing because our country has a multifarious character. In different regions it has a richness of culture which has got to be nurtured and developed and it is through the instrumentality of the universities that we are going to have that kind of cultural development.

I wish also to bring to the notice of the House the fact that this Bill envisages a body of 9 and they are to dole out at least Rs. 5 crores to some 35 universities. Therefore, I fear that in the present context of things, unless we expand the composition of the Commission, unlest we change the manner of the constitution of the Commission there would follow subservience to Government. I said this because in today's context subservience to Government would be most undesirable. I know that it shall be said in this House that today's context has changed entirely from what used to be the case before; but in certain regards I am not so very sure. For example, I find that this question about standards is coming from Government sources a little too dangerously often. It was exactly on this question of deterioration of standards that in the British days governmental interference in the universities came

about. I remember very vividly something which was said by the great Ashutosh Mukerjee when the autonomy of Calcutta University was in danger. On that occasion also the charge made against the University was that the standards were deteriorating. Ashutosh Mukerjee was the man who put India, so to speak, and universities in India particularly, on the research map of the world. That was his greatest title to eminence and at that time he was a Judge of a High Court; he had not even retired. He had made a speech some parts of which I remember even to this day. He said to a meeting of the Calcutta University Senate: "Forget the Government of India; forget the Government of Bengal; do your duty as senators of this University. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always." He said that when he was a moderate of moderates on constitutional matters or political matters and when he was a Judge of a High Court.

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Now, I know freedom has come to this country. I know the context has changed but in the same way there is a likelihood—I have that apprehension because our Government functions in the same way and has not changed in essentials—of interference in regard to university autonomy. Again, there is no reason why universities should be absolutely autonomous. Universities have to subserve the objectives of the nation; there is no doubt about it. But, at the sametime for purpose of determination of standards autonomy should be given to the universities. Why this emphasis on merely determination of standards? Why not on expansion of education? Why not on the improvement of the efficiency of our educational apparatus? I know there was an effort made in the Joint Committee as well as in the House when it was discussed at the first stage to bring about a change in the long title of the Bill. But that change was resisted by the powers that be and that is why I suggest this is something which we have to look into very carefully.

Then, with regard to clause 2 relating to the question of affiliated colleges the Joint Committee has certainly made an improvement upon the original formulation of the Bill and it has been now made possible on the recommendation of the university concerned to grant monies out of funds at the disposal of the Commission to affiliated colleges. But, as will be noticed by members of the House from different minutes of dissent appended to the Report, many of us felt that this was not enough. Many of us felt that these affiliated colleges, which have been the Cinderella in the realm of education, have got to be looked after a lot more solicitously by Government particularly today. I say this because, if we look into the history of most of those affiliated colleges which were started by private agencies, by individuals or by small organisations, you will find that this is an example of educational idealism of which our country should be proud. These colleges have carried on far a

long time somehow. It is a miracle how they have conducted themselves for so long. It is really a miracle how they have produced the alumni that have come out of them. These affiliated colleges prepare students for the basic factor in education, namely the degree. In universities like Oxford and Cambridge it is the Honours Degree which is most important. You have to go through the grind in order to get your B.A. Honours Degree and generally speaking, in Oxford or Cambridge a good Honours Degree is considered a great deal more estimable than a doctorate in Philosophy or in any other subject because in order to get your Honours Degree you have to go through the grind of university education which is supposed to develop character and to engender in your mind a kind of idealism in regard to the things of the spirit. Now, these private colleges which are in charge of Honours Education have done this type of work from year to year and they have been treated in a most step-motherly fashion by Government. Even today we find there is no provision for support to the affiliated colleges. We have been told: "There are 900 private colleges. How can we assist them? We have no money." Now, if I were to ask for money I may be considered to be a subversive character and therefore my appeal may be of no effect. But, the Radhakrishnan Commission has said that it is about time we shed this repetitive emphasis on the lack of monetary resources on the part of Government; it is about time we came forward and said that education at all levels, the lowest as well as the highest, has the first priority on the finances of the country. Therefore, at this present stage I shall certainly suggest that more is done in order to assist the affiliated colleges.

Now, in regard to the allocation of money so far made by the University Grants Commission I find certain indications which give rise to apprehensions. For myself I am certainly very happy that for scientific and technical education large sums of money, comparatively speaking, are allotted by the Commission. But, I find that as far as the humanities are concerned the expenditure is by no means satisfactory. So far as the figures supplied to us are concerned we find that the expenditure on humanities is very much lower than what it should be. It is a very good thing that we see in the notes of dissent a fairly well-known oriental scholar emphasising the desirability of spending more money on scientific and technical subjects and perhaps, along with the kind of pleasure that we get from reading that particular note of dissent some of us might be happy that I, who am supposed, perhaps, to represent a very material and sordid point of view in regard to the things that are important in life, am championing the cause of the humanities. I do not say that you beat down the amount of money which you have allotted for scientific and technical subjects. I only say that you spend more, but, at the same time, for humanities you spend a little more.

And, that reminds me of what is going on in the minds of many members of this House and that is about the position of Sanskrit and all the classical

languages. There was a question today also in regard to a conference of Sanskrit Scholars held somewhere in our country. I do feel that today the emphasis on classical learning is almost being forgotten. I feel that, if we really want the cultural development of our country there has to be a realisation that these things of the spirit have to be treasured and at least one classical language has to be learned fairly well by whoever is going in for university education. I know there is a move now to make Hindi the really effective State language of our country. I wish Godspeed to that effort. I hear the kind of Hindi spoken sometimes by Hindi enthusiasts; I see the kind of Hindi which is written in Government publications which have the objective of making Hindi understood in different parts of the country. I may have my own views in regard to how this kind of Hindi is going to help or hinder the development of Hindi as a literary medium. I am not in a position to pronounce on it, because I did not learn Hindi at my mother's knee; I learnt Bengali and I cannot talk about Hindi in that way. But I feel that if this kind of Sanskritic Hindi is really and truly considered to be acceptable more readily to the different parts of the country, then it is all the more reason that you also emphasis the study of Sanskrit for certain purposes. Without a knowledge, at least in a certain measure, of Sanskrit, you cannot understand many of the Hindi words which are now being sought to be made current. Quite apart from that, there is the wonderful heritage of the Sanskrit literature and there is also the great Arabic and Persian literature which mingle in the common stream of Indian culture. I wish the Ministry of Education comes forward with a really well thought out plan regarding support to these classical languages. But Sanskrit is now almost being ignored. As for Arabic and Persian, I know certain universities where there is hardly any effort to teach Arabic and Persian, and now Sanskrit is going down the drain in more or less the same fashion. That would be a terrific damage to our cultural life and I feel that in regard to the humanities more money ought to be spent by the Government and the Commission's attention should be drawn towards it.

I shall now refer to clause 5 which refers to the composition of the Commission. I consider that the composition of the Commission as envisaged in this Bill is open to very serious objection.

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I shall turn to other aspects in this Bill which are very important. I find that clause 5 is rather objectionable and requires to be changed rather basically, because I do not wish that this body of nine controls so much finance and has the means of calling the tune on the principle that it is paying the piper and therefore, there is a very serious danger to the entire academic life of our country. I consider that the number of members of this Commission should

be expanded and we should have the elective principle introduced much more into this. I say this because I feel that today we hear from time-to-time from high-up spokesmen of Government that big things are happening in the country; that there is a revolution from below and the common people are coming forward and sharing the resurgence of life, and so on and so forth. If there is going to be an educational reconstruction, it is necessary that educational experts, those who are in charge of teaching and research work in this country should themselves feel that they are participating in the direction of research, university teaching, and all that kind of thing. Therefore, it won't be too much trouble—and if it is trouble, we should not mind it—but there will not be too much trouble in having a kind of set-up where people engaged in teaching and research in the different regions have certain constituencies of their own and they elect some people. The vice-chancellors also can sit round the table and elect some of their number to go and work on the Commission. If, therefore, we enlarge the number of members of the Commission and if we provide for an apparatus of election of members of the Commission by different individuals and different agencies, by vice-chancellors or by those who are engaged in teaching and research in different universities, that would certainly be something which would give us a great deal of encouragement as far as the formation of the University Grants Commission is concerned.

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I know that there is some objection on the part of some people to the whole idea of election; they hold the idea that nomination by Government would perhaps be in keeping with the dignity of the vice-chancellors and that sort of thing. But I am placing my feeling before the House and that is that it would redound very much better to efficiency and the purposes for which this Bill stands if we introduce the elective principle. I wish also to point out that the Radhakrishnan Commission had suggested the formation of regional commissions, because our country is so large that it is very much better if we get the work of this nature done through the instrumentality of the regional commissions, but there is no reference to regional commissions as far as the Bill is concerned.

I would refer again to clause 12. This has raised some misgivings in the minds of many Members of this House in regard to the position of regional languages in higher education. I wish to refer in particular to the minute of dissent given by my friend, Mr. Avinashalingam Chettiar where he says that the expression "national purposes" is rather vague; it is rather undefinable and it is necessary that there is in the statute itself some provision safeguarding the interests of regional languages. I support this idea, because I feel that what we need is the planned growth of our regional languages as well as of the State language. In the universities of the different regions, naturally the

regional language would be the medium of instruction. Therefore, we shall want publications in different departments of knowledge. It is very difficult to bring out really good publications unless they are organised properly with adequate financial resources at the back of that effort; and it is only Government which can do it. Therefore, I feel that in regard to regional languages there should be a very clear provision in the Bill, quite apart from whatever assurances Government may or may not give in this House. I wish Government at least repeats the assurance already hinted at in regard to the nurturing of regional languages. Apart from this assurance which I hope will be forthcoming, I wish there is some actual statutory provision regarding the safeguarding of the position of these regional languages. We want publications in different languages and unless Government comes forward with special assistance for the sake of publications in the different languages on different aspects of knowledge, we shall not get the kind of literature that we need for purposes of our higher education. I also feel that what is pointed out in some of the minutes of dissent is quite reasonable, namely, that block grants should be made to the universities for a specified period of time. If yearly grants are made and if there is a feeling that grants will be renewed on condition of good behaviour, and if good behaviour is to be defined by governmental agencies, then naturally the position would be rather undesirable. In this connection, I find from a brochure supplied to us by Government—brochure on "Financing and Control of University Education"—a reference to the position of universities in Latin America. It says:

> "In Latin America, one comes across a method of financing universities by allotting to them automatically a certain percentage of the total revenues of the State and not demanding any account of how the money was spent."

In Latin America they do this. If we can be more generous in regard to the provision of money to the different universities, that would be a very good thing and perhaps block grants for a specified period of time would be extremely helpful to the cause for which this Bill stands.

I feel, therefore, that it is very important that we are passing this Bill, and it is very important, at the same time, that we pay attention to those very serious omissions in this Bill which are still there. And I am sure the other Members of the Joint Committee, particularly those who have given notes of dissent, and other hon. Members of this House would make their contribution in order to make this Bill very much better than it is at present.

What we need is a thorough overhaul of education. And, as I said before, we want more and better education at every level. What I find is from time

to time the Government trots out apparently impressive figures regarding expenditure on education and other things, but in effect little is done.

Last year a very eminent scientist, Professor Bernal came to this country on his way back from China and he gave talks, and he wrote in some periodicals in England, like the *New Satesman* and *Nation*. And he appeared to think, after his inspection of what was being done in China, that in China the quantity and quality of work that is being done for the encouragement of higher education was better than in our country. Now, why should we lag behind China? There is no reason why we should. I have not myself been to China. I cannot give my own impressions of what is happening there, but here is a scientist who went there and who also advised our country in regard to scientific education. He told us, for instance, about a geological university in Peking. Today there was a question about a geological map of India. I do not think we have yet got a geological map even of such a very rich region, as Dr. Saha once pointed out, like Orissa. We have not got that. In China, I do not know what the actual position of their geological studies is at the moment, but Dr. Bernal wrote in the *New Statesman* and *Nation* that they have got a geological university. In Peking they have provision of an enormous university town where students reside; there are residential institutions. They are there in tens of thousands. And the number of teachers is also very high. The proportion of teachers to students, the ratio, is very high compared to ours. That is the kind of thing being done in China.

But, here in our country we find things are proceeding not only at a very slow pace but in a manner which is deleterious to the interests of higher education, to the interests of everything. We, therefore, do not want ding-dong doings; we want a purposive atmosphere, a basic understanding of the needs of the country and a plan to satisfy the needs of the country.

Therefore, it is very important that we improve upon the provisions of the Bill as it is and get to start to do whatever job we are capable of doing at this particular moment. I need not enlarge upon the importance of this measure, because it is very necessary that we throw open the spiritual wealth of our country—and not only of our country but the wealth that has ensued out of the intellectual achievements of other countries—it is necessary we throw open that spiritual wealth to as many of our people as we possibly can.

That is our objective, and it is with that objective in view that I have suggested certain very serious changes in the form of the Bill as it has been presented to us today. I, therefore, support this Bill; but I do wish that some basic alterations are made in this measure before Parliament passes it.

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.....I need not take the time of the House because it has already been pointed out that we are going to have this Bill for certain very definite and

specific purposes. As far as the central universities are concerned, their maintenance is a headache of Government in terms of certain statutory provisions which are already there. I do not see why in a roundabout fashion the question of expenses in regard to the maintenance of central universities, which is the responsibility of the Government to maintain, is being brought in. The object of this legislation is, very obviously, to see that there is co-ordination and determination of standards in universities and for that purpose, Government is supposed to be generously allocating certain funds for certain very specified purposes—for laboratories, for equipment, for libraries, for hostels, for play-grounds and for Heaven knows what other educational amenities. Therefore, this way of introducing the question of the central universities appears to me to be extremely improper and particularly in view of the decision of the Joint Committee, the way in which Government has come forward somewhat surreptitiously appears to me to suggest also that something is wrong....

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This Bill, which is going to be passed in a short while, is a limited measure and, like the proverbial curate's egg, it is good only in parts. But I hope that its results may be better than I fear they will be.

I have several regrets in regard to the form of the Bill as it passes this House. One is in regard to affiliated colleges, whose condition I am very well aware of on account of close association. I know they have got very scant mercy under clause 2 (f) of this Bill, which provides that at least a very few and select affiliated colleges might be chosen by the University Grants Commission for its benevolence. But I wish that the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission were taken more earnestly into account by Government when formulating this Bill. I know that the Radhakrishnan Commission, of which my friend to my left, Shri Meghnad Saha, was a distinguished member, went round the country, visited most of these affiliated colleges and recommended that some very definite steps in regard to financial assistance to these colleges should be adopted. I thought that when the University Grants Commission was being set up on a permanent foundation, some measures would be adopted by Government in this direction.

I have another regret and that is in regard to the fact that determination of standards is a job which has been foisted upon this nine-man body, the University Grants Commission. This, again, is, I feel, against the spirit of the

Radhakrishnan Commission's Report. In Chapter XIII, section 19 of its Report, the Radhakrishnan Commission recorded a clear finding. It said:

> "We have considered the *pros and cons* of prescribing additional duties for the Commission besides the allocation of grants, and we have decided against it".

I feel that, as in England, the University Grants Commission should have trusted our academic institutions a little more and should have left the determination of standards to be done by the universities concerned or by such agencies of academic consultation as the Inter-Universities Board.

I have another regret, and that is that in the long title of the Bill as well as in the formulation of the Bill. I find that there is no emphasis—which was very necessary—on expansion, as against the other aspect, determination of standards. Now, I say this because when this Bill was first presented to this House, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons there was a statement 'that the problem (of higher education) has become more acute recently on account of the tendency to multiply Universities'. According to the Directory of Universities, 1953, published by the Government, I find that the present number of Universities in India is 39, while there are 17 Universities in the UK, which is of the size of one of our bigger States. I feel there is ample scope for the establishment of many more Universities. In this connection, I want to refer to a matter which I mentioned earlier in the course of the discussion, and that is the report given by Professor Bernal in regard to the position in China. He wrote in the *New Statesman* and *Nation*, a British periodical, on 26 March and 2 April 1955. He said that in Peking there are Universities of Aeronautics, Agricultural Engineering, Geology, Mining, Petroleum and Metallurgy, and he found also that there they plan according to what the country needs. Universities have to subserve the interests of the country and, therefore, the country has to find out how many engineers, how many technicians, how many academicians in different spheres are wanted and on that basis, you go ahead. How many of them we want has first to be formulated, and then we can go ahead. There the emphasis is, on the one hand, on the very highest quality, of top-class education, and on the other, on the production of qualified people as engineers, as doctors, as technicians of varying descriptions who would not be truly top-class. For example, a medical course of four years instead of six years or more would perhaps produce in this country a sufficient supply of people who can go into our villages and man our essential medical services. A similar proceeding can be adopted in regard to the other technical courses necessary for us. Therefore, what is wanted is a kind of plan where there would be a co-ordination of very top-class high quality higher education, and at the same time, the production of cadres of our people who would be able to go into the country and carry on

the work of educational reconstruction or of health recreation and all that sort of thing.

I have no time, because of the limitation of our schedule, to go into detail, but I find that in Peking there are three great colleges of Geology, and also—they have set up a Geology Ministry under a Geologist—a whole Ministry under a Geologist. And Prof. Bernal reports that there are 200,000 scientists, engineers and doctors in training in China and this, he says, is some five times the number in Britain and about a third as many per head of the population as in Britain.

Now, I want my country to go ahead faster than China. I have heard the Prime Minister say that in regard to medical education, we are better off than China. It is very good that we are better off than China, but if we are in that position, let us go ahead faster. And China, as Prof. Bernal says, is an example to the countries of Asia. Let us better that example; let us go ahead much faster than China is doing today. Let us realise that today what is wanted is the rapid bringing out of the latent knowledge and ability of the whole people, and not merely of a privileged few, of a traditional elite. And it is from that point of view that I wish that the University Grants Commission should see about its work. But I fear, Sir, that there are so many limitations and there are so many peculiar provisions redolent of the atmosphere of yesterday that all these hopes that I am giving expression to in regard to the educational reconstruction of our country are perhaps doomed to disappointment. All the same, this is a measure which brings some limited improvement to the state of things in our educational life today and to that extent, I am prepared to welcome it.

SANSKRIT : OUR LITERARY HERITAGE*

Mr. Speaker, I am very happy that we are discussing the Report of the Sanskrit Commission and I would like to begin by paying my tribute to the erudite and distinguished members of that Commission who produced a document worthy of their erudition. This is not to say that I agree with all their recommendations, but I should, first of all, pay my tribute to the members of the Commission.

In speaking on this subject, you will forgive me if I feel a little nostalgic, and specially with you in the Chair, I feel like recalling those days when we were brought up very largely on Sanskrit, and it is a thing which we can never forget. But there are few things of which we are more proud than this many-splendoured legacy which is the Sanskrit language and the literature of Sanskrit. It goes without saying—we need not repeat it—that it is a language of unrivalled richness and purity and, as MaxMueller once said, it is the greatest language in the world, the most wonderful and the most perfect. But to us today, it is very important to recall that it is the parent of all our regional languages. It is a magnificent unifying factor. When we remember those *shlokas* like

गंगेच यमुने चैब गोदावरी सरस्वती।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरी जलेस्मिन सन्निधिं कुरु।।

We are reminded at the same moment of the unity of our country. When we think of our seven *tirthas* or places of pilgrimage like Kashi and Kanchi, we are reminded of the unity of our land. And so we are reminded of the legacy of tolerance and compassion and a sense of oneness with the universe and yet of detachment from it, which is a contribution of Sanskrit culture to human civilisation.

I remember the time when we were told by our elders to recite such *shlokas* as:

यं शैवा सभुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमापटव: कर्तेति नैय्यायिका:
अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरता: कर्मति मीमांसका
सोयवो विदधातु बांछतफलं बैलोकयनाथो हरि

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 5 May 1959. [Speaking while participating in the Discussion on the Report of the Sanskrit Commission].

When we were brought up in that kind of environment and when we were told those *slokas*, we got into our bones the idea of the unity of all who swear by the best achievements of human culture. When our vedic ancestors set for us such wonderful words as:

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यऽकिं जगत्यां जगत्।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुंजीथा मा मृघः॥

where is sociology of a greater order and more essential correctness than what we find in those days? If we want today a slogan for our socialist pattern of society, what can we recite with greater effect than what used to be recited every morning in Gandhiji's Sabarmati Ashram?

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नपुनर्भेव।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्ति नाशनं।।

'I do not want a kingdom. I do not want to go to heaven. I do not want to be born again. What I want is the elimination of the suffering of my fellow beings'. What can be a better ideal for us to work for? This is the sort of thing which we have inherited, so to speak, with our very breath, with our mothers' milk. We have imbibed the kind of culture which Sanskrit represents, and that is why I say that here is a legacy of which we should always be conscious.

We should remember at the same time that surely our tradition, the legacy of India, does not mean mere withdrawal from life. We have such things as references to the 64 arts; we have got the *Arthashastra;* we have got the work of Vatsyayan; we have got works on architecture, like the *Manasara.* We have got mathematicians like Aryabhatta, Varahamihira and Brahmaputa who had such an expansion of mind and amplitude of thought as to look upon the *Yavans*, the Greek astronomers of those days, as their *gurus.* That was a period when there was a kind of real cultural exchange, and that was a time of our greatest glory.

Then followed, of course, a period of declension. That was the time when we made Sanskrit the prerogative of the privileged few, when we took Sanskrit as something which only a few people would specialise in, when we put a ban, so to speak, on the commonest of our people getting into the portals of Sanskrit learning. That was the beginning of our degeneration. That is why it is very necessary for us to find out what we should pursue, and to that task surely the Sanskrit Commission's Report will make some contribution.

The Sanskrit Commission's Report makes a reference to Sanskrit being not only a language and a literature but also a way of life. But I fear that as far as this is concerned, I have to enter *caveat* to express my objection. We cannot revive a way of life, but we can creatively readjust to present day

conditions the best of what we have inherited from the past, and that is why I say that this kind of expression is perhaps smacking of a revivalist tendency which is not altogether a very good thing.

The Commission has also recommended that Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject in secondary schools, and my hon. friend, Shri Supakar, has approved of the idea. Much as I wish that Sanskrit could be made a compulsory subject in our secondary schools, I am afraid I cannot ask for it. You know we have read in schools.

अनन्तपारं किल शब्द शास्त्रं
स्वल्पं तथायुर्वेहवश्च विघ्नाः।

'The years go on and we have so much to do; so many troubles and so many obstacles arise. It is not possible to learn everything.' We are going to have Hindi, the regional language as well as English in the present day context of things. My hon. friend, Dr. K.L. Shrimali, a little while ago was talking about the impossibility of our getting rid of English as quickly as many of us want. So since English, the regional language and Hindi have got to be learnt at the secondary stage, I am afraid I cannot recommend the idea of Sanskrit being a compulsory subject in the secondary stage.

I cannot also agree with the recommendation of the Commission that there should be Sanskrit Universities all over the place. I feel that Sanskrit as a subject should be assisted in every way. There should be specialised institutes. Every assistance should be given for purposes of research. I should certainly say that the *tols, pathasalas* and other places, where Sanskrit was taught according to the traditional methods, should not be pooh-poohed, should not be ignored; they should be looked into and there should be an attempt at adjusting modern ideas in regard to education with the ideas of education which those old seminaries possessed.

I feel also that nowadays the association of Sanskrit learning with the priestly order is no longer very effective because, after all, the priestly order, if it is not really facing extinction, no longer offers an appetizing prospect to our young people. Also there should be a kind of detachment as between learning and priest-craft or things like astrology. Therefore, unencumbered by priest-craft there should be research institutions, there should be educational seminaries and such things where we can combine the best of the past with the best of the present.

The Commission has also recommended the appointment of a Central Sanskrit Board and I was glad to find the Minister of Education, my friend Dr. K.L. Shrimali, saying in the other House that Government is going to make an announcement on this subject. I think there should be as soon as

possible a Central Sanskrit Board which would look into matters that would naturally come before it.

The Commission has also recommended that there should be some effort to standardise examination in order to give degrees and diplomas in Sanskrit and oriental learning. I think this is also a matter on which Government ought to come to a decision as soon as ever that is possible.

There has also been an idea that manuscripts are there, strewn all over the place in private hands. We have an Indian Historical Records Commission, but I am afraid it does not operate as effectively as we wish it to especially in regard to Sanskrit manuscripts. There is an animus in the minds of our western academicians in the Historical Records Commission. They do not care to go so much about the *tols* and *pathasalas* of the past. It is necessary that a very special effort is made to locate Sanskrit manuscripts in this country and to get them together and to bring out editions of them with references that are very important for our purpose.

I feel also that if the Oxford University could bring out anthologies of Greek verse and Latin verse, there is no reason why our universities should not bring out publications like the anthology of Sanskrit verse, because we have such a magnificient legacy of Sanskrit verse that surely, if a collection and a selection is made, it will be a most wonderful thing. If, for example, the University Grants Commission takes it upon itself to encourage certain universities where Sanskrit studies are carried on most efficiently, then perhaps very good results may ensue.

The Sanskrit Commission has also recommended that gifted exponents of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavad Gita*, etc., should be employed in the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Schemes. I feel that it is very necessary. You know very well that I profess an ideology which is materialistic, but, at the same time, I know very well that there are certain things which are absolutely related to the moral conduct of man, and quite apart from the purely religious connotation and purely metaphysical connotation of the matter, there are certain moral aspects and cultural aspects which are absolutely important and they should be instilled into the minds of people. If *Kathakatas* and other media of instruction are so important, it is very necessary that in the Community Development Projects and in the National Extension Centres, the real enthusiasm of our people is moblised in an inspiring fashion and that can even now be done only if gifted exponents of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are called in.

I have seen, for example the edition in English—the exposition of the *Mahabharata*, by Shri C. Rajagopalachari. It is a wonderful thing. That is the sort of thing which makes an appeal to the hearts of our people straight and

that is the sort of thing which recalls to the minds of our people the great achievements of our ancestors in the past, especially today when I find in the South, at least in parts of the South, in Tamil Nad, a sort of revulsion. Perhaps this is a reaction which is temporary. I find some people have got an animus against our classics, scriptures and all that. It has to be combated. It has to be understood. Of course, may be, they have certain things to say. It is necessary for us to go and understand them and to tell them that after all the tradition of our country is embedded in this wonderful legacy which we have got and which we have no business to ridicule, which we have no business to keep out of the reach of the people.

Therefore, it is necessary that gifted exponents of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, etc., are requisitioned not for metaphysical purposes, not for propagating any particular variety of religion—because India was always much too tolerant for all that—but in order to instil those eternal verities of conduct which have got to be assimilated before we can go ahead and we can reconstruct our life. Therefore, what I am pleading for is a creative readjustment of all that is best in our tradition with all that is best in the present dynamic modern age and that is something to which Government should give its attention.

It is a pity that our work so far in regard to Sanskrit and oriental studies in general does not compare with the work done by foreigners. A German like Aufrecht has produced a *catalogus catalagorum* in which he has mentioned about 50,000 manuscripts in Sanskrit in different museums in Europe. We do not know a good deal about it. We have come down to such a stage that if we want a good dictionary, even now it is the St. Petersburg dictionary which we have to consult. We are beginning to do something in this regard and some of our pioneer scholars have done very good work during the last hundred years. We can do a great deal more when there are men like Dr. Kane, Vidhusekhara Shastri and others; there are men all over the place especially in the South and other places like Banaras, who can give us something of the best in our cultural heritage. Surely we ought to make as much use of them as possible.

I am reminded of something which I learnt long ago, with which I shall conclude:

त्यदीय वस्तु गोविन्द तुभ्यमेव समर्पय

Whatever we have learnt, whatever we have assimiliated, whatever we have got from our country, whatever is the gift of our country, the gift of our mother to us, we have to give it back to our country. Our country has suffered ages of humiliation. Our country has had years of glory; there is no doubt about that, but centuries of humiliation have also been the portion of our

country. It is necessary not only to worship our mother, but also to help her rise. We can only do that if whatever we have assimiliated, whatever is real, good, proper and true that we have learnt, we give it back:

त्वदीय वस्तु गोविन्द तुम्यमेव समर्पये

If we can do that, if we can contribute to this country which gave us everything, surely we shall go ahead in this dynamic world of today.

FEASIBILITY OF DEVANAGARI AS COMMON SCRIPT*

Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, my friend, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has, in his usual persuasive and powerful way, moved his Resolution, and if this Resolution serves the purposes of national integration, to which earlier today the Finance Minister made reference, it surely deserves support. I fear, however, that in spite of a certain sympathy for this Resolution, I do not think it would be advisable for the House at this present objective moment to give out as its opinion that Devanagri should be adopted as a common script for all the regional languages. I am myself attracted to the idea of a single script and I confess that I have a soft corner for Roman script, though I have no time to go into any details in regard to the advisability of Roman script being adopted. I know also that under the Constitution it is Devanagri script which is set out to be the form in which the official language is going to be expressed. Sir, I feel, however, that it is necessary, if we can, as soon as possible, to get a common script in which we can convey our ideas and only till very recently in the army the *Fauji Akhbar* came out in the Roman script and, I am sure, it did a good deal of very valuable work.

I know very well that the Nagari script is, phonetically speaking, very nearly perfect and it is most scientifically constructed and perhaps, except for the sound "Z", there is no other sound which can come out of the human tongue which cannot be most scientifically formulated.

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But the trouble is that we have in this country different linguistic units. At the present moment, I am talking only of the present day. We have in this country different linguistic units which do not appear at all ready to accept Devanagri as the common script for all their languages. I know my friend, Shri Parkash Vir Shastri, has stated that one does not have to give up his own script in order to accept Devanagri but, after all, if Devanagri is officially recommended and imposed, so to speak, as a common script for the whole country, then, naturally, the result would be the virtual elimination of the other scripts. Now, whether we would like it or not, there is a great deal of feeling about these scripts. There is a feeling for the Gurumukhi script, for instance, which has created so much trouble for the Punjab, even though the difference between the Devnagri script and the Gurumukhi script is

* *L.S. Deb.*, 17 March 1961. [Shri Mukerjee spoke while participating in the debate on a Private Members Resolution moved by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri regarding Devanagari as Common Script for all regional languages].

infinitesimal; even so, the attachment to the script is there. There is the Tamil script and in the national museums you will find inscriptions in which the Tamil script is used, inscriptions which are 2,000 years old. There is a great deal of sentiment and emotion attached to this kind of script and there is, in large parts of our country, a feeling that the Hindi Speaking population, as far as their leading spokesmen are concerned, are perhaps trying to go a little too fast, and I have heard from my friends in Tamil Nadu that the indications in the mile-posts are sometimes given in the Hindi script.

That is a kind of thing which naturally they object to. We have noticed also how, in the case of numerals, the use of international or Roman numerals which is enjoined by the Constitution is objected to by many who look upon the Nagari numerals to be also the proper kind of script to be employed. So, that being so, the atmosphere in the country today is such that the purposes of national integration are not likely to be served by the adoption of the Devanagari script as a common script for all the different languages.

At the same time I know that it is very important for us to try to make an effort. Gandhiji wanted Hindustani in the Nagari and the Persian script. That was his prescription. It was only after we got the Constitution that the Persian script is pushed out of the picture altogether. Personally I feel that the Persian script is a little too pictorial with too many dots and too many curves. It can hardly be printed. It cannot cater to the needs of the modern age. Therefore, the criterion should be as to how the necessities of modern life can be properly satisfied.

Nagari is perfect as far as phonetics is concerned, but as far as its appearance is concerned, its writing is concerned, its typing is concerned, its printing is concerned, there are certain cumbrousnesses which still appertain to it, which cumbrousnesses are perhaps not to be noticed in the case of the Roman script, if you can make certain changes and adopt them to the needs of our country. But I am not asking that the Roman script be adopted. I only say that the Nagari script has also many special difficulties which we have to think of. Therefore let us take a long range view of the situation. As far as the short run is concerned, let us not try to make up our minds to have the Nagari script for all the regional languages. Let us postpone that decision for the future. But let us try to reform the Nagari script. There is a movement already to bring about certain changes in the Nagari script. Let us try to find out the essence of the question, the details, the application. Let us try to investigate as to whether the Nagari script or the Roman script or both could in some foreseeable future be adopted as a Common script for all our regional languages. But for the time being let us not produce an impression in the country which would mean that the different regional scripts are going to be thrown overboard. If they are not going to be eliminated at least they are

going to be toppled over, so to speak, by the predominance of the Nagari script. That is why I say, with all my admiration for the phonetic perfection of the Nagari script and with all my personal inclination to the adoption of one common script for all our languages, it does not seem advisable for the time being to express an opinion on behalf of the House that Nagari should be the form in which the different regional languages of our country should be expressed. That is how I look upon the matter. I have been trying to think aloud. That is why I wish to say that the resolution and the amendments as they have been put forward do not commend themselves in my opinion.

My hon. friend, the Home Minister has very rightly put it that we are discussing a matter of national significance, and it is very important that we reach as nearly as possible a national agreement on the matter of this Bill and I am hoping that perhaps with a few slight alterations this Bill could be made so that it would be acceptable to almost everybody concerned.

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If there was in this Bill a clearer assurance—and my hon. friend, the Home Minister has already tried to give something of that assurance—if a clearer assurance was incorporated in this Bill and not merely the assurance verbally given by the Minister, it would have been better. If the apprehensions of the non-Hindi speaking areas regarding discrimination against them can be laid at rest, then surely there ought to be no difficulty in securing almost unanimous agreement on this Bill. As far as I am concerned, on behalf of our group I support this Bill, and we are only making certain suggestions so that it might be made really acceptable for the people of this country.

It goes without saying that for the advance of our people, for the efflorescence of our people's culture, for the social, political and economic development of our country, our own languages in the different regions of our country should have their rightful status. Hindi has already been the country's choice as the official language, but I wish to say here that Hindi as well as our other national languages have to be assisted by Government agencies as well as by non-official effort to come into their own as quickly as possible, and it is only in so far as that objective is assisted that this Bill is going to be helpful to India.

I hope there will be no disagreement with regard to the basic principle, namely that we cannot and must not perpetuate the present position of English. We cannot also, unless there is clear patriotic justification, prolong indefinitely the transition from English to Hindi and the other national languages of our country. I know there are some people who wish English to continue for as long as we can foresee in the future. We cannot agree with

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 23 and 26 April 1963. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 27 April 1963, 18 and 25 February 1965 and 7 and 13 December 1967 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for the languages to be used for the official purposes of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purposes in High Court, became The Official Languages Act, 1963.

that point of view. English cannot perpetually have its present position, but we must not then be goaded by fear and dislike of what is described sometimes as Hindi fanaticism into supporting the point of view of some of our friends here who want English to continue permanently in this country.

Indefinite continuance of English as official language is now a move which is being made by certain people in our country. But the categorical answer of Parliament to that move should be "No". We cannot have the indefinite continuance of English in this country. Of course as the Home Minister has said, we do not try or we do not wish to hustle things overmuch and that is where the Prime Minister's assurance comes into the picture. We are all happy that the Prime Minister will later intervene in the debate. But in 1959 the Prime Minister in several pronouncement had made clear that he would like English to continue as an associate additional language and he would like it to continue as long as people required it. He had also added that he would leave the decision not to the Hindi knowing people but to the non-Hindi knowing people. I do believe that the Prime Minister made a very statesmanlike statement on the occasion and I am sure he is going to stand by it. But I do hope also that he is going to make it clear that we are not going to have anything in our statute which would make it impossible for Parliament to have a law in regard to our national languages, Hindi as well as the other national languages. Only a minority, 'a' vocal and vociferous minority should not have a veto in regard to whatever democratic decision we arrive at. Our basic principle is clear. We have to we have as quickly as we can our own languages, Hindi and the other national languages into the picture. English cannot continue permanently. But English has to continue for a certain length of time which we cannot specify at the present moment. In the meantime every effort must be made to see that Hindi and the other national languages really and truly come into their own. All-together, therefore, we have to decide what to do, Hindi and non-Hindi areas together. I do not want a bifurcation between Hindi and be said that only non-Hindi areas would decide or Hindi areas would decide. All-together we should decide this question of national importance.

This question of English is being brought up sometimes very effectively, because of a certain kind of fixation we have developed about this language. It has played such an overpowering part in the shaping of our lives in this country. But I do wish to say a few words about this language as far as our official employment of it is concerned. There is no denying that English is a magnificent language. But there is no denying at the same time that it is foreign to us. There could be no question that our roots touch different soil. We shall certainly utilise English, but within necessary limits. We shall certainly never banish English from our academies or from our libraries. We shall certainly, as quickly as we can, remove it from its position of predominance,

a predominance which it enjoys at the cost of our own languages and our own effort to rise to the full stature of our being. There has been in this country a sort of a thralldom to English. Not a mere political or emotional matter is involved in this. It is not a matter of sentiment being posited against sense. But this predominance of English has been a brake on our creative work and creative development through which alone we can justify ourselves as a people. We learn our own languages at our mother's knee: we imbibe our own languages just as we imbibe our mother's milk. There may be a microscopic minority of Indians who speak English at home. They may imagine that English is their mother language. I am not referring to the Anglo-Indian community to whom English is, as a matter of fact, the mother language. But there are many Indians, a very few people who perhaps speak English at home for God knows what reason. But they are a marginal set of people who are inconsequential to India. They may have been the top dogs in the *angrezi* era but they cannot continue to be so any longer. It is only through our own languages that we can think and write and act creatively and naturally and effectively and that is why there should be no difficulty about accepting the principle that we have to have a change over to our own national languages, Hindi and the other national languages as quickly as it is possible.

There has been in this country such an utter disproportion between the energy we spend in learning an ineluctably foreign language which we cannot perhaps learn properly and what we have achieved in creative spheres and this disproportion if we come to think of it makes our hearts sick. Gandhiji once regretted that Ram Mohan Roy had not written in Hindi. Some people thought at that time that it was perversity on the part of Gandhiji to suggest that Ram Mohan Roy should have written in Hindi. But when we think of our own history, who are really the creative springs in our people's life even today? Not the English-knowing among our own greatmen; they were indubitably great men; there is no doubt about it. But our own poets and saints and mystics have had the real influence over our lives: Tulsidas in the north, Thiruvvalluvar in the South, the Siva and Vaishnava saints of the South, the grand line of Maratha mystics from Gyaneswar to Tukaram, that grand sequence of great men like Kabir, Dadu, Nanak, Chaitanya, Ravidas, Hazrat Nizamuddin and Moinuddin Chisti—such a wonderful galaxy of people of whom we can never be sufficiently proud. It is to them that we have to look. I do not wish to say that the recent period of Indian recovery has to be forgotten. No, not at all. The English knowing element among our greatmen have made a very large contribution but as far as the deepest springs of our people's activity are concerned, they are linked with what contribution has been made by our great men who operated through our own languages, through our own media of communication and that is why

in this country we have found these poets, saints and mystics who are the heroes of Indian history. So, it is these which I wish this House to remember because we are discussing something of very profound importance to the present as well as to the future.

In biblical lore we read about David who laid aside the armour of soul and who collected pebbles from his own native brook. We can only be invincible when we have our own resources, our own spiritual and material resources to depend upon.

Let us not compliment ourselves too easily of our proficiency in English. Perhaps we are somewhat proficient—an achievement at a very heavy cost to ourselves. This achievement is secondary and derivative and almost always uncreative. Neither Toru Dutt nor Sarojini Naidu is remembered today even as a second rate poet in the English language. With novelists like R.K. Narayan writing English fiction, we have no place except in the margins of English writing. We are just nowhere as far as English sensibility is concerned. Let us not imagine that we can produce a kind of Indian English which would be part of the legacy of English literature. That kind of illusion should be nurtured not in Parliament but in a kind of place which I need not specify.

I know that it is the great provocation which comes from Hindi chauvinists which make us forget these things. Provocation comes all the time. The provocation appears to give a certain kind of justification to this kind of thought which makes us cling to English as long as we ever can. But that great provocation notwithstanding, we should not rebound into the snare of the protagonists of English, who want English to have a permanent settlement of this country.

"स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेय: परधर्मो भयावह:"

We should remember that. We should not from one extreme be pushed into another, a snare which we should avoid.

Must we truckle down, because English is more developed than our own languages? Where does this argument lead to? How can our languages ever go ahead if English superiority pins them down, as it has pinned us down, for so very long? Rabindranath Tagore once said, how can you expect a mint to go on producing coin if the coin is not legal tender? We have not got a literature of knowledge sufficiently to carry on so much of our work in the country, it is only because we have not plunged into the water and tried to swim because we have left our languages in the shape, because we have thought we have nurtured to ourselves, hugged to our bosoms, the illusion that English is a language through which we shall express ourselves, our personality, our creativity or the best that is in us. That is why this fixation

about English has got to go, and that is why one day I said in reference to those Members of this House who occasionally create a great deal of rather undesirable disturbance,—I said about them—that they have a passion for our own Indian languages which has developed in them as a kind of fixation; God bless them for that passion, because that is a passion which is the exact contrary of that rather unworthy passion for an ineluctably alien language like English which has taken so much of our creativity. Now that we are trying to stand on our own, let us try to depend on our own resources and then and then alone shall we be able to make a contribution to the world which is worth-while. Vested interests are busy delaying the process. But we know we have to defeat this; for this purpose, I repeat—over and over again, every time I say Hindi, I say, at the same time, Hindi and our other national languages—they all have to be given encouragement to go ahead. The Home Minister said that in the different States they are making a move. I know they are making a move, but how tardily, how ineffectively, how unenthusiastically? Even in West Bengal, which is supposed to be so very proud about the Bengali language, they have only recently announced that on the anniversary of the birthday of Rabindranath Tagore on the 8 of May, they are going to make Bengali the official language of the State. It has taken them such a very long time. Take Tamil Nadu for instance. I know that they are using Tamil language for their official purposes to a large extent in Tamil Nadu. But I do expect that these particular regions of our country which are specially proud about their own cultural heritage go ahead much faster than they have done.

Take the Hindi-speaking areas. Even in those areas, when I was a member of the Parliamentary Committee whose report is before us at the present moment, we got so many reports that even in Hindi-speaking areas real progress in regard to making Hindi the official language for State purposes is not being made. Even now, I would like my hon. friend, the Home Minister to read the report of the Parliamentary Committee dated some time in 1958. It had made certain tangible suggestions about what could be done not only for Hindi but also for the other national languages, for instance, in regard to recruitment to the services through the Union Public Service Commission and similar agencies for recruitment to institutes like the Military Training Institute near Poona and other places. This Committee had made a definite recommendation that some expert body should be set up to examine how far it is possible to have a moderating system so that not only Hindi but all the other national languages can be used as the medium of examination for the recruitment through these agencies. As far as I know—I shall stand corrected very gladly if I am wrong—no expert examination has been made in regard to how, for purposes of recruitment through the Union Public Service Commission or for purposes of recruitment to national institutes for training of various sorts, we are going to employ our own languages, Hindi as well as other languages. No expert examination has been made and the Committee

had said at that time that the quota system was possibly one alternative so that different regions might be represented in the services, but the quota system was not very desirable because it went against the whole principle of recruitment on an all-India basis, and that therefore there should be an effort to have a system of moderation so that all the regional languages could come into the picture. This recommendation was made in 1958 and nothing was done. Sometimes, from the non-Hindi areas the complaint is made that this Government is doing it too much and too fast for Hindi. But even for Hindi it is not doing it, let alone other languages. There is some kind of lack of care, a lack of real emotional desire to do something worth-while in as quick a time as possible. There is a lack of seriousness and earnestness in the official hierarchy, particularly because our administration is cluttered with people who because they have been brought up on English have naturally a vested interest in the continuation of English for as long as we care to foresee in the future. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. If we can carry on as long as we are alive with English which we have learnt, it is all for the better; our children also are growing up on English; I am told so many children now go to the English medium schools. Sometimes I feel a sense of shame when some of these English-speaking stalwarts come and tell us that so many of our enthusiasts even for Hindi and other Indian languages send their children to English-medium schools. If that process continues, the idea of having an elite, a selected class of people with special qualifications which are supposed to be superior, would get into the picture and even cut across the whole ideal of a socialistic, secular and democratic State, and would cut across the whole idea of the possibility of changing over from English to our own Indian languages without which we can never be able to go ahead. I do not mind if there are English medium schools here and there. I do not mind; but as far as our primary school system is concerned, there has to be a particularly important provision that everybody in the primary stage, if he or she has to go to a publicly-sponsored school he or she has to have the education through our own Indian languages and not through a language which is not ours. If there have to be English medium schools, they must be for a very marginal section of our life, which must be there more or less as show-pieces, and for those like the Anglo-Indians to whom the English language is their own mother-tongue. But the change-over to our languages is not being done, and even in the non-Hindi areas, the shift from English to our own languages is not being done in the way in which it ought to be done.

I feel also that we have to look ahead, and the Prime Minister is here; he has called upon us to look further into the future. We have here the Home Minister also. He should examine the idea, how far it is now necessary to incorporate such languages as Mundari and Sindhi in the Schedule of

languages in the Constitution, because it is very necessary that we try to get into the picture those people who speak in these languages so that they might have a sense that they are sharing in the task of building a new India of the future.

That is why I believe that once we accept the principle that we have to shift to our own languages as quickly as we can, once we agree that for the time being, of course for some special difficulties, we are going to allow English to continue for a certain period of time which we cannot quite define at the present moment, then perhaps there could be almost unanimous agreement over this Bill.

Coming to the actual provisions of the Bill, I would suggest that in clause 3, "may" is changed into "shall". I say so particularly because only earlier this morning we had a very intriguing discussion how "shall" might mean "may" and how "may" might mean "shall" and so on and so forth. I am not being unparliamentary, but Shakespeare himself has told us that the law is an ass. But the law is an ass particularly when the English variety of jurisprudence is concerned so much that Shakespeare's Jack Cade once said "let us go and kill all the lawyers". I do not understand. I did study some law once upon a time, but I have forgotten most of it. But I am quite prepared to concede, as I recollect some little law which I had once tried to imbibe, and I would say that in clause 3, the word "may", as used, might conceivably be interpreted as "shall". But I am not going to take any risks; when I find jurists like our law Minister getting up and saying things—obiter, which they *throw* about—and referring to unspecified judgments of the Supreme Court or the Privy Council, we all get rather befuddled. It is rather better that instead of "may", we put "shall". Also, we are going to have translations of all these things into our own languages. This is a provision which is overdue; a long time ago it should have been done. Now I would ask my hon. friend, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to try to translate it from "shall" to "may". If you keep "may", very probably a difficulty would arise. Then you cannot say that according to Maxwell, in his famous *Interpretation of Statutes*, and what he has said therein, "may" means "shall" or "shall" means "may". In our Hindi version of this law, we cannot have that kind of playing about with words which might be a wonderful terminological exercise which gives great satisfaction to Jurisprudence. But we have been tied too long a time to that kind of things and it is better we say things straight. Let us say what we mean, and let us in clause 3 put "shall" instead of "may".

In clause 4, my friend, the Minister has given certain explanations, certain assurances also, in regard to how the report of this Committee would be discussed in Parliament and how it would be circulated to the State Governments. But here, in regard to this clause, I would suggest that not

only should the Report of the Committee to be appointed ten years later be discussed in Parliament but this Report should also be circulated to the State Legislatures so that apart from the Governments concerned the State Legislatures also may have an opportunity of discussing that Report, and if the President is in possession of the discussion of the Report in the different State Legislatures and also in Parliament he would be in a better position to make up his mind in regard to what special steps ought to be taken about this matter.

Clauses 5 to 7 are more or less acceptable, but I would just add a caveat that perhaps the expenses in the translation into these Indian languages—we are having the translation into Hindi, of course; there is an English version and in Bengal or Tamil Nadu there would be Bills or Acts which are accepted in Bengali or in Tamil and they would be translated into Hindi and there would be an English version also—are going to be heavy. This process of translation which would take place all over the country is a process which is going to be rather expensive, and it would need a certain kind of organisation. I would suggest that this task is taken over by the Centre. All these different States also have a kind of feeling that they have only the obligation to produce their stuff in Bengali or Tamil or Gujarati or Punjabi, whatever language it is, and they can do the English translation—they do not have to do the translation; they even now think in English as far as statutes are concerned,—that these two jobs can be done very quickly. If there is going to be Hindi translation—it is very important and I support that idea—perhaps it is better, for the time being, to make a provision that these translation undertakings are organised and financed by the Centre so that the different States will have an idea that in regard to the interpretation of these statutes in our own Indian languages the Centre itself is taking its share.

I would suggest, also, that in regard to the recruitment to the services the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee are examined—I do not say that all the recommendations can be accepted *in toto;* many other problems are cropping up and many other grievances may be brought up especially of the non-Hindi speaking areas—and there should be a definite assurance that recruitment to the services even at the All-India level would be by an examination where the medium of examination would be Hindi as well as the other Indian national languages. There is no difficulty, of course, about having Hindi as a compulsory paper. There would be no difficulty about having some kind of a test after one gets into the services, and in the case of people who come from non-Hindi-speaking areas the test might be made not a particularly hard one so that one need not be a Hindi scholar in order to continue in the service and to receive all chances of promotion. Therefore, as far as recruitment to services is concerned, I would suggest ways and means are found for incorporation in the present piece of legislation, if that is possible,

a certain provision which would give a kind of definite assurance to the non-Hindi-speaking areas that they have nothing to fear, nothing to worry about, that all the apprehension of discrimination is unnecessary.

I would suggest also that, as a tentative measure, in Parliament we might try to have a system of simultaneous translation. From time to time this question has come up, and the former Speaker, Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had even suggested that he might begin that system of translation into two or three languages. We cannot at one go have simultaneous translation in all the 14 languages scheduled in the Constitution, but we can at least start by making an effort so that there may be simultaneous translation of speeches which are made in Parliament. I say this because on so many occasions our colleagues come and they are not able to speak in any but their own languages. Only the other day one of the Members of our Group, a Santhal Member from West Bengal, spoke and whatever he spoke was not intelligible to whoever did not understand Bengali—it was the language in which he could express himself. Therefore, I would suggest, at least tentatively, something is done to see that in Parliament there is provision of simultaneous translation of our speeches into at least some of the leading Indian languages.

I say, therefore, what I said in the beginning, that consistently with our needs and our situation we have to advance the pace of Hindi. But we have also, at the same time, to advance the pace of development of our own national languages. This has to be done simultaneously and hand in hand. Let the States effectively begin to employ the regional languages as official languages and the medium as instruction at every stage without delay. Till the balance is happily struck, English will have to remain, but not for ever, not indefinitely, not virtually as a permanent settlement.

"In my father's house there are many mansions" that is what the Bible says. In our emerald country there are many demarcated regions. But we are a country where on the way to Kedarnath you see lotuses with a thousand petals, a country where *arathi* is performed before the deity not with one lamp but with five lamps held together in a lovely bracket, where the age-long quest has been for the one in the many, for fundamental unity in diversity. But today we live in a restless and changing world and our response has been a plan, a plan for socialism where unity in diversity will be respected and raised to higher levels of living. Let all of us, whether we live in Tamil Nadu or Punjab or in Assam or in Kerala, join together in the task of serving our country and our people. And, we can do that best in our own way by the use of our own language as the key to the people's heart. Let the Hindi-speaking areas behave so that all suspicion and fear is eliminated, and then we can all embark on our common endeavour and achieve the success which is overdue.

With these words, Sir, I support this Bill, but I suggest that it be altered so that the non-Hindi-speaking areas can be definitely and concretely reassured that no discrimination is going to be practised against them.

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I am a signatory to an amendment which has already been moved which seeks the substitution of 'may' by 'shall'. I am still pleading with Government that this amendment be accepted. I will try and state my reasons very shortly.

The Home Minister has used the expression that this Bill envisages a period of 'prolonged bi-lingualism'. As far as we are concerned, I hope we have sufficiently explained our point of view, and I expect we shall not be accused of any kind of antagonism towards Hindi or any of the other national languages of our country. But the fact of the matter is that the Home Minister himself has been constrained to say that he envisages a period of 'prolonged bi-lingualism'. As far as I am concerned, I would like the length to be as short as possible. But he has talked about 'prolonged bi-lingualism' . The Prime Minister, has also said in this House—no use harping on what he said much earlier—only yesterday that the *status quo* was to continue indefinitely. Therefore, as far as the Government is concerned, and its assurances are concerned, the country is being told that at least for the time being, for an indefinite period to ensue from today, English would continue to be used as an additional language. The difficulty comes when the word "may" is injected into the picture, and the difficulty arises because, as I tried to say during the first reading stage, of the habits of interpretation which we have inherited from British Jurisprudence, and that is why we have heard in this House what we cannot dismiss as so much nonsense, because it was not nonsense. It is a very serious matter that under the canons of interpretation of British statutes, "may" can mean "shall", and "shall" can mean "may". I know as a lawyer, though I have forgotten most of my law, that it is a fact that on occasions "may" may mean "shall" and "shall" on occasion may even be construed as meaning "may".

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As far as I am concerned, I was actually going to refer to what my hon. friend, the Minister of State has just now said, namely that the Home Minister has brought in an argument to which he made reference just now. I will come to it a little while later.

In English Jurisprudence we have got this position where "may" can be interpreted as "shall" and "shall" can be interpreted as "may". As lawyer or

a former lawyer, whatever you choose to describe me, I am quite prepared to say that the use of "may" as it has been made here does really appear to be capable of being construed as "shall" and that was the understanding of the Prime Minister, and that was the understanding which he conveyed in his letter to Shri Anthony.

I am envisaging a time as rapidly as possible when all our statutes shall be available in their official texts not in English, but in Hindi and the other national languages. I am thinking of a time when our subjection to the laws of Interpretation of Statutes as expounded by Maxwell and that sort of people would no longer pass muster in our country and we will have to interpret our own Hindi or Bengali or Tamil statutes in our own way. I told the Home Minister in my speech day before yesterday that if he had a translation of this into Hindi, he would be hard put to it to be able to say as he can say now, that "may" means "shall".

So, all over the country there is now a controversy over this, a controversy which can easily be allayed. If there was some insuperable difficulty as Shri Tyagi wanted to point out and as the Home Minister had also indicated, that is a different matter, but my submission would be that it is not by any means an insuperable difficulty. Therefore, I would say that "may" could be substituted by "shall". What Shastriji said yesterday was an additional argument which he perhaps borrowed from Dr. Mahatab, who had also said it, that if "shall" is used, it would mean duplication of avoidable work. That was the one argument. The Hindi speaking States could communicate with the Centre only in Hindi and they would not be under an obligation to give an English translation of their communication if "shall" is not there and "may" is there. My submission is that we are discussing this matter from the national point of view. The Hindi States would be communicating from time to time not only with the Centre, but also with the non-Hindi States. That is to say, communications between States might very well continue for a certain length of time to be bilingual. When the Home Minister himself said that he envisages a prolonged period of bi-lingualism, he certainly does not mean that insofar as the Hindi speaking States are concerned, bi-lingualism would be dropped like a hot potato straight-away. No. The Hindi States also being part of India would be practising bi-lingualism, which, unfortunately for us, is more or less unavoidable in the present context,.... by translation of correspondence. That additional expenditure should not be an objection of an insuperable character.

Shri Tyagi brought up an argument of a more serious nature. Shri Tyagi pointed out that if we have "shall" in this Bill, then for all time to come we are precluded from getting rid of English as an additional language for official purposes. With great respect to Shri Tyagi I submit that is not a correct

interpretation of the matter. In the Constitution, as far as the present position is concerned, it is stated in article 343 that English shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union during this period from 1950 to 1965. In this period, therefore, there is no question that English can be used, and in spite of the *Swamiji* or anybody else, English has a right, and whoever chooses to speak in English has a right to express himself or herself in this language. We have got this constitutional safeguard.

What are we envisaging in the period which is to follow? If the *status quo* is continued, if prolonged bi-lingualism is the proclaimed objective of the Government, then surely we are permitting English to have the same kind of opportunity and privilege in official matters as it used to have between 1950 and 1965. But are we under any obligation, because we pass an Official Languages Bill, in 1970 or somewhere like that to continue English for ever and ever? We are not amending the Constitution. We are only having an ordinary Bill, which can be changed by ordinary methods of amendment. And what happens after ten years? According to this Bill, there is a parliamentary committee. That parliamentary committee reports, and that report goes to the President, that report goes to the State Governments, that report is very conceivably and rightly discussed by the State legislatures because the State Governments would like to fortify their position by sounding the opinions of the legislatures, and after all this process has been gone through, it comes back to Parliament and Parliament decides what to do. Parliament on that occasion, let us hope, would decide that there is no further reason for continuing to give English the status which it has got today, and Parliament would come up with legislation of whatever kind is necessary, and we shall have the best solution conceivable at that point of time of our languages problem.

So, I feel that if in this legislation today we stick to "may"; the prejudice already in the mind of the people in the non-Hindi areas would be accentuated, the suspicion already in the minds of the people in the non-Hindi speaking areas would be intensified, and you know very well how language is a particularly incendiary factor. If some people are given the opportunity of exploiting linguistic issues in that incendiary manner.

Therefore, when the country requires integration, when the country requires maximum possible unanimity on every single issue of importance, our legislation should not be formulated in such a manner for legalistic or other things which can only give room for more suspicion to accumulate, for animosities to grow, as between our linguistic groups. Therefore, I feel very strongly that if "may" is substituted by "shall" it might mean some additional expenditure as far as this correspondence of the States with the Centre and among themselves is concerned, but that would not be particularly prohibitive,

and there would be no problem as far as the Parliament and the country are concerned, after a lapse of ten years or so, to have a kind of legislation which would say good-bye to the status of English as far as official purposes is concerned.

I do, therefore, feel strongly and I earnestly ask the Home Minister not to consider this matter, not to look upon it as something obstinately put forward by the non-Hindi-speaking people. I am sure that many of the Hindi-speaking people will come to see the logic of what we are trying to point out. As I said before, we do want the transition as quickly as ever it is possible to our own languages, and personally speaking—I am speaking purely in my personal capacity—I am not so happy with the expression 'prolonged bi-lingualism which Shastriji uses. Why should it be so prolonged? Why should we not rather envisage that we should go ahead much quicker than we have done so far? Why should we not try to encourage Hindi and the other national languages to grow in such a manner that we can get out of the English swaddling clothes as early as possible? But we are not moving in that direction. If we do not want to pay the price for any change, we shall never have any change in this country. If we really had a thorough-going revolution, perhaps Hindi and the other national languages would have come into their own a long time ago, but because we did not have a thorough-going revolution, because we inherited the entire apparatus of the British administrative system, because we wanted to go slow, because we believed in the inevitability of gradualness, because we do not want to bring about a sea change in the manner of life which our people are conducting in different areas of our country, we have chosen to proceed in a rather snail-like pace. That is why even in regard to our Plan we cannot go ahead. Let us try to follow a more imaginative policy; let us try to take that imaginative policy to the country and let us try to enthuse our people and then only we shall have emotional integration. Otherwise, all this talk about some legalistic methods of going ahead will lead us nowhere. That is why I feel that we should go ahead as quick as we can. But we should not take any hasty or precipitate step which would create a dangerous situation. Let us not intensify the suspicion, the doubt which is there, not merely lurking there, but which is very much on the map. And there are people who positively are going to exploit that lurking suspicion and doubt in the country. That is why I am making a very humble submission to the Government to consider this amendment and accept it.

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Sir, the clause under discussion relates to various Hindi translations of Central Acts, etc. There is a provision here that from the appointed day, 26 January 1965, the authoritative text in the English language of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of

Parliament shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in Hindi authorised in such manner as may be prescribed by rules made under this Act. We support this provision but we want to make an addition and that is why we have put in an amendment which says:

> "Provided that any member expressing his desire in writing to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha that he be supplied with a translation of the same in any other language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution but not in Sanskrit;
>
> Provided further that no member shall be entitled to this other than in Hindi unless the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha is satisfied that the member does not understand either Hindi or English."

Thus we have made this as non-contentious as possible. There are some members in this House as well as in the other House who are not familiar with Hindi or English and when, very rightly, our own languages come into their own and we have the Hindi version of the authoritative texts of Central Acts and amendments, we should make provision that those who do not understand English or Hindi should be in a position to get copies of these Acts translated for their benefit. The President has been good enough to accord sanction to whatever little financial commitment might be necessary on account of this amendment being accepted. I do believe that this is a very fair, humble and simple request which is only in conformity with the desire of everybody in this House. We want to see that every member of the House is in a position to follow the proceedings and participate in the proceedings more effectively and that is why we have moved this amendment. With these words I commend our amendment for acceptance by the House.

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My amendments are very simple. On page 3, line 6, I want to omit the words "Hindi or". Clause 7 reads:

> "As from the appointed day or any day thereafter, the Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of Hindi or the official language of the State, in addition to the English language, for the purposes of any judgment, decree or order passed or made by the High Court for that State....."

I do not see any point in having Hindi mentioned here specifically because the "official language of the State" will cover those Hindi-speaking areas where Hindi is the official language of the State. My feeling is that this would mean that the non-Hindi areas would have the obligation or an alternative

possibility of having Hindi also to be used for the purposes of any judgment, decree or orders passed or made by the High Court. I think it is a very simple amendment and it should be accepted.

My other amendment, amendment No. 112, wishes to add the words, "and Hindi" after the word, "English". When there is use of Hindi or other official languages in judgments etc. it is necessary to have a translation of the same in the English language. When the official language of the State alone is used, a translation should be made available under the authority of the High Court so that there is no difficulty at all. I only want a verbal change in order to assuage any remote possibility of suspicion in the minds of the non-Hindi speaking States in the country and I make special provision for the Hindi language also, wherever it is necessary, and that is why I have moved these amendments.

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I have tried in the course of discussion to explain our point of view which was that we accord full support to this measure, and we have endeavoured to make it as effective as possible and we have tried to stress that reassurance to the non-Hindi areas has got to be given in the maximum possible measure in the interests of national integration.

The Government has accepted some of our ideas and the Government has come forward itself with some reassuring formulations, but I do hope that further efforts would be conducted so that all doubts and apprehensions in the minds of the people who live in the non-Hindi areas are laid at rest.

I would suggest, for instance, that the Home Minister himself, and surely, the Prime Minister, should approach the people and should go on the air as quick as possible and tell them about the significance of this measure and particularly try to convince the people who live in the non Hindi areas that this is a measure which we are adopting only in order that people can really and truly come into their own in the administrative sphere as they have done already in the political sphere.

We have, therefore, accorded our support to this measure, and we do hope that every effort is made in order to allay whatever apprehensions and doubts remain in the minds of the people of the non-Hindi areas.

I would also like to say, however, that in certain quarters of the country, a slogan has been raised 'Hindi never, English ever'. I have read this formulation, according to the Report, as having been made by the leader of the Swatantra Party, Shri Rajagopalachari. I do expect that our friend

Shri Ranga who leads that Party with so much distinction in this House would be able to persuade himself to repudiate the connotation of slogans of that sort which seem to rivet the chains of domination by the English language round our neck for all time to come, and that this House has made by means of this Bill a gesture to the country that we are not going to have to domination of the English language, that English will continue on sufferance, that English will continue to be used only because for objective historical reasons the people living in different parts of the country are not yet able to use their own languages for the purposes which are indicated in this Bill as also in the Constitution.

We are, therefore, passing a measure of very great importance, and I do wish that Government makes further efforts to see to it that all apprehensions are allayed and the country goes forward hand in hand together, the Hindi areas as well as the non-Hindi areas, in the great effort to use our own languages in which alone we can express ourselves, in which alone we can creatively develop to the fullest stature of our national being.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a misgiving in many Muslim minds, whether rightly or not is a different matter, that the special character of Aligarh is likely to be violated under the new arrangement. Shri Chagla has been a judge and you. Sir, also have been in that elevated position and you know of the judicial maxim that justice should not only be done but it must also appear that it is being done. It is the Government's responsibility to assure Muslim opinion all over the country that this apprehension is wrong.

I know that Shri Chagla is right insofar as he is trying to put a real, secular, democratic complexion to Aligarh University; but if this misapprehension has arisen in the minds of many people about all of whom we cannot be sure that they are reactionaries, then certainly something more has got to be done about that. That is why I say that a regular Bill has got to be brought forward as soon as ever that is possible. If it is possible, in the very next session let this Bill be brought forward. No avoidable delay should take place.

We have swallowed a bitter pill—the principle of nomination and all that kind of thing, the exclusion of representatives of teachers in the court and the executive council and so many other items into which I need not go; but we have swallowed a bitter pill only for the time being so that the regular medicine follows a little later.

I wish also to say that it is time when we discuss a matter of this sort that Muslims and Hindus and all, we remind ourselves of the role of Aligarh University in the context of the composite culture of our country. Aligarh has been a symbol cherished by Muslims no doubt, more than by other people in India, but it is cherished also by the rest of the Indian people. In the traditions of Aligarh there have been many bad things—no doubt about it; good and bad are mixed together as far as the traditions of Aligarh or of any other comparable place are concerned. But we cannot forget that in the great days of non-cooperation men of Aligarh came out and started a National Muslim University. We cannot forget that Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Khan

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 6 September 1965. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 6 January 1972 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at amending the Aligarh Muslim Universiity Act, 1920 sought to provide an administrative structure for smooth functioning and better pursuit of basic academic purposes, became The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Act, 1965.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Hasrat Mohani, Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Zakir Hussain and Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim and Raja Mahendra Pratap have all been brought up in Aligarh.

Besides, Aligarh is not merely a foundation set up by the minority community. It is a foundation which the whole country has taken to its heart and that is why today we find 1,625 non-Muslim students and 130 foreign students from 23 different countries in Aligarh. The reputation of Aligarh is not merely the responsibility of the Muslim community. The reputation of Aligarh is something which the entire country has got to look after. Therefore it is very important that more positive efforts are made towards the cultural integration of Muslim and Hindu students residing in the hostels.

I should also like to say in this regard that Muslim opinion in our country has a special responsibility in trying to point out the position of Aligarh in the totality of Indian life. I find Pakistan exploiting us in the international free masonry of Islam and we should try to counter it and say that here in this country Islam has found a hospitable home; this is the one country in all the world where Islam has found itself in a position to become acclimatised and that is why we have got this total composite culture. Islam has its uniqueness—no doubt about it. Our unity is not a rigid structure; it is a unity in diversity but the uniqueness of Islam with its militant affirmations has come to terms with the infinite eclecticisms of Hindu thought and the result has been the creation of a composite culture which at least we should try to tell the world that we really and truly cherish.

The Muslims in the country should also perhaps in fairness to the Government remember that apart from Aligarh we have the Jamia Milia Islamia, the Khudabaksh Research Library which Shri Chagla is going very soon to elevate to the status of a university, the Dar-ul-Alam at Deoband to which reference was made by Shri Yashpal Singh; we have the seminaries at Lucknow, Saharanpur, Azamgarh and Hyderabad; we have faculties of Islamic history and culture in different universities. "Islamic Culture" is the name of a periodical brought out by Osmania University's Oriental Publications Division which is known all over the world. These are matters which we should utilise in the counter-propaganda against Pakistan's telling all the world that here in India Muslims are an oppressed minority. I know that the Muslims have their grievances and I have not hesitated to point out the grievances of Muslims when I have found them to suffer in spite of the secular democracy which we have got, but that is no reason for yielding to Pakistani counter-propaganda which is winning friends for them today. Even in the present situation they are telling all the world that Islamic culture is ignored in India. As a matter of fact, in spite of whatever one might think about this particular piece of legislation, there are in this country institutes of Islamic learning which can compare with their prototypes anywhere in the

world. And I say this because I am convinced and I am sure this House will agree that the Muslims in India have never been an alien element. The impact of Islam has never violated the integrity of Indian life. A stupendous man like Amir Khusro, for example, said, "I am an Indian Turk and I can reply to you in Hindawi"—that was the language—and he said, "As I am a parrot of India, ask me something in Hindawi that I may talk sweetly." He said, in the fourteenth century, "Do you know why the air of this country is hot?"—He was referring to Delhi in his famous ghazal—"It is because of the warmth of loyalty and devotion that the sun demonstrates towards this country."

In the grand days of non-cooperation when at Gandhiji's magic call, Hindus and Muslims and all came together, what do we find. A grand team of Muslims who were national leaders of this country, men like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, were leaders of all, not merely of Muslims of Hindus in the separatist fashion, the leaders of everybody. I am reminded of a Muslim who was talking of the grievances of the Muslim community, proclaiming his loyalty to India in terms which have struck in my memory. He said, when a Hindu dies, his body is burnt and the ashes are thrown into the river to be carried by the current—God knows where—but when a Muslim dies, he wants six feet by three of India soil; and he belongs to India in life as well as in death.

What has happened in Kashmir? Who is fighting in Kashmir? Only the other day, Shri Dwivedy, who is not here, told us in this House that he went to Kashmir, that he went to the hospitals, to see some of those injured army men, and everybody he talked to was a Muslim. Who was the first Indian who, in free India, got the Param Vir Chakra? It was Brigadier Usman, brother of a dear friend of mine, who was the first recipient of the Param Vir Chakra. He gave his life for his country. Greater love than this hath no man than that he gave his life for his country. This is how the world goes on; this is how our country goes on; this is how, in our country, Hindus and Muslims and all have to combine. Let us forget footling little differences; let us forget the differences we have in regard to small matters here and there; let us forget what particular things we can bring up against Government on particular issues. But the issue that matters is: let us remember that India is one and we have got to fight together. For that purpose, let us purge the Aligarh institution of its dross and keep the Aligarh institution as a shining example just as we should keep the Banaras institution also as a shining example of the totality of Indian culture where the uniqueness of different trends of life and thought have come together in a beautiful stream. For that purpose, I want Shri Chagla to reiterate more emphatically some of the assurances he has given and to seek to remove persistently, by repeated effort, the misgiving which continue in the minds of many Muslims in our country, all of whom I am not ready to brand as reactionaries, that this legislation is going to hurt the Aligarh institution and to hurt the interests of this country.

THE BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1965*£

I cannot claim the kind of intimate association with the Banaras Hindu University to which reference has been made by my hon. and respected friend Dr. Govind Das, whom we are very happy to see here after a long period of absence, nor of my hon. and gallant friend Shri Krishnapal Singh, and I can recall only one item of association. That was, when I was a student I went over to Banaras for participation in a debate competition, and I happened to have been a recipient of a gold medal. I am referring to it not because of the gold which the Prime Minister may wish to draw away, I refer to it because I remember that on that medal were inscribed the words *Kashi Vishva Vidyalaya*—not Banaras Hindu University, but in Nagari the words written were *Kashi Vishva Vidyalaya*. And I am glad to notice that this fact has been in the minds of many of my friends in the Joint Committee who have pointed out that the original intention of the founder of the University would be best served if we have today the name changed to *Kashi Vishva Vidyalaya*.

Dr. Govind Das has told us that Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, as was very characteristic of him, had the humility to ask for deletion of the honorific 'maharishi' from his name and he told us that he was such a modest man, as all great men ought to be, that wherever his soul might be he would be pained if he discovered that we here in this wretched planet have named a university after Madan Mohan Malaviya. I am not particularly in the know of the where abouts of people after death but this I know that if I were a believer like Dr. Govind Das presumably is, that if a soul inhabits heaven according to his computation, Malaviyaji would have gone to heaven and not to the other place. If a soul goes to heaven it no longer is bothered by the impulses and emotions which trouble us here on earth and we need not bother about the soul being disturbed by what we are doing. On the contrary we have a duty by the people who inhabit this planet; we have a duty by the people who live in our India; we have a duty from time to time to remind them of the great men of our country, particularly a man of the stature of Madan Mohan Malaviya. Therefore, though generally I am not in favour of naming universities after individuals, there may very well be exceptions just as there is in Berlin a university named after a great scholar, Humbolds. Here we might very well name a university in very exceptional, cases after a

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 24 November 1965. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 14 August 1958 and 25 November 1965 on a similar subject]

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for matters related to the functioning of Banaras Hindu University became The Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Act in 1966.

particular person. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the heart and soul of the institution in such a fashion that he was the creater of the university and he was the person who sustained it and caught hold of Dr. Govind Das's father and Shri Krishna Pal Singh's father because they were among those who answered the summons to come and assist him in the foundation of a great institution, a national institution and in those days that was why it came later to be known as Banaras Hindu University.

The difficulty today is that everything is overshadowed by this question of nomenclature and I was very sorry, and I should say, almost indignant—Shri Chagla is not here for, I suppose, some satisfactory reason; I am not so sure—I was very disturbed when he told us as if it was a very innocent matter and that Government had made a very libreal gesture by asking the House to vote just as it pleased; Government had not made up its mind about it. Is this the way the Government of this country functions? Government had nothing to say; he said that the House can discuss this matter on its merits. What has the Government to say with regard to the merits of the case? What is the business of Government, when it proposes a matter for consideration? How is it that after having taken a forthright stand on so many issues before, how is it that having appeared before the Joint Committee as well as all the other Committees with almost synonymous objectives—Government took part in discussions and were participators in decisions—now how is it that Government comes forward before this House and says that Government does not know its mind or atleast if it knows is rather chary about it, apprehensive and nervous about expressing it because, God knows, whose corns they might be treading on, what communal difficulties might arise in U.P.? And therefore Government choses to keep mum about the whole thing. I protest against it taking shelter under the cover, which is quite patently an absurd cover, that it is a liberal gesture that Government is making to this House, the House can decide this matter on its merits; they are taking shelter like this on this very important issue which is agitating the country. You cannot run away from it merely by postponing discussion here and now. Government does not tell us what its mind is. Somebody might say: after all what is in a name, a rose called by any other name would smell just as sweet.

Communalism stinks wherever it is, whatever you call it, in whichever language, would stink and all that sort of thing. But in this case what happened? I presume that after some thought—I credit Shri Chagla with some capacity for thought—I presume after some thought some measures were going to be adopted by the country in order to fight communalism in certain centers, particularly in certain centers of learning. It has so happened that the Education Ministry is such a particularly capable custodian of its responsibilities that the Central universities—for the honourable exception of Delhi perhaps where academicians rather than Government are responsible

for whatever credit the university has won—all the central universities are a hot-bed of the kind of activity which ought to be anathema to a decent society, and the supervision of the Central Government has been so effective that whether you look at Visva Bharati or Banaras or Aligarh, you find an unsavoury scene, the less said about which the better. In regard to Aligarh University the other day when the Minister was here having discussion—that was also a sort of a discussion largely on account of Government's ineptitude and inability to make up its mind, inability to keep its own house in order—at that point of time it was suggested, and the Joint Committee worked upon that hypotheses, that while merely by deleting the word Hindu from here, Muslim from there, Jain from a third place, or Buddhist or Sikh, whatever it may be from other designations, we could not solve the problem of communalism, though that is granted, that we cannot merely by eliminating the word Hindu or Muslim from a particular institution make it really and truly non-communal and secular and democratic, sometimes symbolic actions become very important; some times a beginning has got to be made, a beginning which might have very serious and very important repercussions later on, and it was on this hypothesis and this hypothesis alone that I take it our colleagues of the Joint Committee thought, so many of them who had given their separate notes and the Members of the Rajya Sabha who by an overwhelming majority accepted this change, they gave thought to this aspect of the matter and they decided that we should make a beginning with the Banaras Hindu University and we should go ahead almost straightaway; in regard to the Aligarh Muslim University also Shri Chagla has promised only the other day to introduce a measure in this very session and said that the nomenclature would be changed more or less correspondingly. As a result, all of India would not become non-communal; everything would not smell lovely in the Indian garden but a beginning would have been made and the attack on symbols and other things which savour of communalism would be pursued properly and therefore we would get that image of secularity about which we are really and truly proud in India to shine in the eyes of our own people as well as the rest of the world. It is a very serious matter indeed. If Shri Chagla or his friends—I do not know what kind of friends he has got now; I find him so often being embarrassed by the friendships he has recently acquired in political life—I do not know whether they do or do not take seriously this idea of a secular programme. In that case our faces are going to be tarred all over the world over the issue of Kashmir. If we at all take seriously the idea that India is a secular democratic State which I claim it is, while Pakistan is not, if we treasure the motion which I am sure we all do that Kashmir is a part of India—a Muslim majority State as part of the Indian Union is a fact which is in itself a tribute to the idea of Indian secularity—if on that basis we face all the world, if it is because of that the Muslim in Kashmir finds it in order to remain within the framework of the Indian

Union, if these are important matters, nothing should be said or done by Government or by Parliament which would tar the image of India which we have put up before the world. What we are saying today is being watched by men like President Ayuub Khan. What would they say? I would not blame them if they said that. They would say, they tried in India to start an anti-communal campaign by changing the names of certain universities where the communal label had occasionally given rise to difficulties, as it did in the Aligarh Muslim University only recently and as it continues to do in a place like Banaras; they would say there is an agitation that is got up in Banaras—yesterday the Minister told us that the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha got up an agitation; we read in the papers that the hon. Member from Banaras City, Shri Raghunath Singh, a former Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party, was telling the Members of Parliament that he had sent a statement to the press asking for the retention of the name of Banaras Hindu University—they would tell us that Parliament was pressurised into accepting the kind of thing which these propagandists, communal propagandists in Banaras and elsewhere, are now trying to do. This is exactly what they would say. You could not say they are far wrong. It is a very serious matter.

I know Shri Chagla personally, surely, must be very perturbed about this matter. Shri Chagla has a secular mind; as a functioning politician he is trying to adjust himself to the kind of surroundings he has chosen to keep company with, which he does at the present moment. It would be a very difficult job for him, but perhaps as a decent, human individual he is a very secular personality. I am sure he feels that here was a beginning of the attack of communalism. It was not the end of a story; merely making Banaras Hindu University the Kashmir Vishwavidyalaya, we do not eliminate communalism. Merely by deleting the word "Muslim" from the Aligarh Muslim University, we do not eliminate communalism. But it is a beginning, a symbolic beginning, an important beginning, something which is going to be followed up, and to that extent, I am sure personally he must be perturbed—he ought to be—if my reading of him is at all correct. But Government does not seem to take it seriously. Here is a measure which suggests to the enemies of this country that India is tarring her own image of secularity, that India is beginning to take a certain course of things.

I should say in regard to Banaras, as Rome is claimed to be the eternal city in Europe so Kashi is our eternal city. Here in Kashi is the Vishwavidyalaya which had been started by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, something of the symbol which this country surely wants to preserve and develop.

Quite a number of interesting things were said by my good friend, Shri Krishnapal Singh, and he said some rather peculiar things also. He said, for instance, that many great States in the world are religious States and we

can also be a religious State. Of course we can be Pakistan is an Islamic State; may be some great States are religious States. We might choose to be a religious State; if that was the view of the Swatantra Party, I would not mind it, because after all the views of the Swatantra Party do not matter so far as the people and their future are concerned. But he said this; that some great States are religious States, and we may also be so. He talked—correctly talked about some peculiar features of Hinduism which are very grand—the tolerance of Hinduism and all that sort of thing. It is exactly because of this that the character of Hindu civilisation can come out in the words "Kashi Vishwavidyalaya" named in that way and not with the addition of the word "Hindu".

This is a country where our civilisation has been predominantly of Hindu thought. But our forefathers never tried to use that word "Hindu" in an exclusive manner. After all, the result has been that "Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan"—even though that trinity of words has been arrogated by certain people to take to near fascist connotation—these words have been used by Hindus and Muslims alike with reference to the whole country.

"मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना
हिन्दी है हम वतन हैं हिन्दोस्तां हमारा"

When we talk about Hindu civilisation, we should have a sense of proportion. Insofar as Shri Krishnapal Singh has pointed out, it is very good—this tolerance of Hinduism, the expansiveness of Hindu thought, its comprehensiveness of approach. As Dr. Govind Das also said, the Hindus comprise not only the believers but also the non-believers. We have been, many of us, brought up in the Hindu faith; that does not mean that a secular State gives its support to purely communal, denominational institutions which, in their actual working, are found to encourage fissiparous and communal tendencies. How can we get away from the fact that over and over again, in Banaras, in Aligarh and in Visva Bharati and other places, particularly in Banaras and Aligarh, the communal poison has been found to work? We have seen that when the communal poison works, the Hindu and the Muslim extreme communalists combine, as they did in the case of Aligarh only the other day. This kind of thing has gone on far too long, and we must try to stop it. That is why I take it that the overwhelming majority in the Rajya Sabha wanted to change the name to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's name as part of the nomenclature of the university and to call it "Kashi Vishwavidyalaya".

If in normal circumstances we were discussing this matter, I would have pointed out certain things which I have felt; there is the Kashi Vidyapeeth and we are now having the Kashi Vishwavidyalaya. All these things would

have come up, but I am not going to stress those things because in Banaras and elsewhere a certain agitation has been started against it. Everything else has been overshadowed by the fact of this agitation, and I would ask my Hindu friends, who are practising Hindus, professing Hinduism, enthusiastic Hindus, evangelist Hindus—whatever else they might be—please do not forget the basic things in Hinduism. If you are a real, good Hindu, what would you like to feel like? Would you not rather say, quoting something like this, from Nirwanshatak:

"न मे द्वेषरागौ न मे लोभमोहौ मदो नैव मे
नैव मातसर्यंभाव:
न धर्मो न चार्थो न कामो न
मोक्षश्चिदानन्दरूप शिवोहम् शिवोहम्"

That is what we want to be. If you belong to Banaras, if you belong to Kashi, do please try to project your ideas on the sublimest things. Do not think of the petty, little, communal lollipops which you can pick out of your political confectionery. Do not let yourselves be exploited by the miserable communal element and try to pull back the wheels of history. And do not forget that if today, we do this,—if after all this discussion, if after a prolonged confabulation in the Joint Committee which met for several months and after the Rajya Sabha, by an overwhelming majority, decides something—the addition of the word "Hindu"—because of the anti-communal, and secular, democratic posture which we have taken up,—very rightly taken up—at this posture of time, when we are fighting Pakistan over Kashmir, then, our face will be smeared with dirt to go on in the fashion in which Shri Raghunath Singh, for instance, wishes the House to go.

I ask the Government not to abdicate its responsibility. Government must take courage in both hands. I know that Government always likes to take the line of least resistance, whenever communal factors come up. But Government should have that much courage to whip up its Members to find out if there are people who want us to tarnish the image of India, and to see that they would not be allowed that kind of freedom, in the name of freedom to vote, in the name of the liberal opportunity given to Parliament, to vote whichever way it likes. This kind of miserable thing should not be permitted to be practised in this country. I would not have put it in this way, like this; if it was in the context, I would try to put it in that context. I have tried to remind Government of this, though Shri Chagla, who is busy otherwise, is not giving his attention to whatever I say. I know he is much too busy otherwise. He has got a very difficult task. He would not be able to do it if he has not that courage to do it, if the Government has not got the courage and the imagination to act today in the way in which it should.

Therefore, I say—quite apart from the little matters, small matters about which I had a good deal to say but I would not say—that this is one matter which has overshadowed the whole thing. If you fail it here, you fail the country, you fail the future. History will not forgive you if today by lack of courage you fail. That is exactly the point. Whatever Hindudom might say, if India today does not stand on her feet and say, "we are launched on a course of secular democratic progress; we shall not be deflected from it by any kind of propaganda in Banaras or Aligarh or elsewhere and we are going forward", if we do not choose to do that, we shall be, dirtying our own face. I do hope Shri Chagla has the courage to tell the Parliament that he would not like the Parliament to be a party to that kind of miserable thing.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it would have been a pleasure for me, purely personally speaking, if I could welcome the first legislative sponsorship in this House by my hon. friend the Minister of State, but I am afraid I cannot compliment him because this ordinance and the Bill to follow is a peculiar present to Visva Bharati on the eve of the celebration of its golden jubilee.

It smacks of a spirit of authoritarianism in the Government of the day of which I thoroughly disapprove, and perhaps it is as an expression of that element of authoritarianism that I find not only that the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of Visva Bharati is absent—she could conceivably have so many other engagements; I do not mind—but the Minister of Education, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray, who was supposed to have conducted a personal investigation in the affairs of Visva Bharati, which alleged investigation has let to the production of this proposition, is not here. He was here during the morning, but he is not here to answer anything that House in its wisdom might bring up. But I do not think he even supposedly lifted a little finger in regard to a serious investigation of Visva Bharati affairs. But he is not here even to answer anything that might come up.

I say also that this is a peculiar present to Visva Bharati because this goes right against the entire spirit of the institution. One might ask, 'Who cares for the spirit Visva Bharati? We have a hell of a job to do. Visva Bharati is a headache and, therefore, we have done this'.

I am reminded of the last speech which Jawaharlal Nehru had made to the inmates of Visva Bharati and Shri Nurul Hasan can discover a tape-recording of it in Shantiniketan—where he had referred to Visva Bharati's special mission. He had pointed to the tall buildings and growing affluence of the institution as something about which one should beware, and had added—I am quoting the exact words he spoke in Hindi:

लेकिन सरकार से थोड़ा अलग रहना चाहिए।

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in his last speech to the inmates of Visva Bharati had said that it was necessary that Visva Bharati should remain somewhat aloof from the cruel touch of the administration of this Government.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 29 November 1971.

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for matters related to the administration of Visva Bharati University became 'The Visva Bharati (Amendment) Act, 1971'.

You will forgive me if I think of the days in which Visva Bharati had been set up with certain ideals which Government may not care for but the country, will, if properly apprised of certainly care for:

"यत्र विश्वम् भवत्येक नीडम्"

That was the Vedic slogan with which Shri Brajendranath Seal and Shri Rabindranath Tagore took part in the foundation-stone ceremony of Visva Bharati in December 1921, and as a result of that ideal of inviting the entire universe to the nest, so to speak, the cultural nest of Shantiniketan, we find people like Sylvain in Levi, Winternitz, Stenkonow coming and sitting down with scholars like Vidusekhar Shastri and conducting their work.

That was why men like William Pearson and Elmhirst got enthused and by the idea of Sriniketan. It was the embodiment of the contact of a university with agricultural life, agriculture being the oldest form of human culture, and Tagore had envisaged that the University at Shantiniketan would be organically linked to this University, whose ideals would be conformity with the fundamental tenet of an orginic sense of life in all its manifestations. But all that has gone overboard. Nothing of that is in the contemplation of these ladies and gentlemen who comprise authority in this country.

That is why it is not suddenly that Visva Bharati; on account of what they say, violence and destructive activities, has come down. As was just pointed out, if you take the toll of violence and destructive activities, so many other Universities could show a record by which the record of Visva Bharati would pale away. It is not that at all. For year now, Viswa Bharati is going down the drain and nothing is being done by the Government of the day in spite of Smt. Indira Gandhi being for the last five years or so Chancellor of the University, in spite of her going ceremonially on every Christmas Day and addressing a meeting in the sylvain surroundings of that place. Nothing is being done. That is why our grouse is that during the last few years, repeatedly, demand has been put forward that there should be a real, genuine probe into the affairs of Visva Bharati. It never took place. This demand was made because the characteristic institutions of Visva Bharati have been deteriorating. The Chin Bhavan, which in the days of Tan Yon-shun, a friend of Mao, Tse-tung himself, was a stupendous institutions, an institution with potentialities which were incalculable. The Chin Bhavan is now in a derelict condition. Even the Hindi Bhavan, in spite of the enthusiasm for Hindi on the part of some members of the Cabinet, is in shambles. The Shilpa Bhavan, the museum, and all that are in absolute doldrum. What is supposed to be an advance centre of philosophy is completely defunct, and Sriniketan, about which I would say a few words a little later, has been going downhill all the time. The Vidya Bhavan has been without an Adyaksha since Dr. Rudra's

resignation. For several academic departments, the corresponding needs of the Boards of studies are just not there for a considerable length of time. Almost all the institutions at Sriniketan are without a permanent head. The Bengali Department of Rabindra Sadan has not even a nominal head for quite sometime. There is a statutory office of Proctor unfilled since the last incumbent resigned. The Controller of Examinations fell ill and took leave, the acting incumbent is reported to have resigned and perhaps there is no body to mind the baby for months. The position of the Registrar was uncertain, whether he was going to stay or to leave, no body knew about it. There is no internal audit officer. They have got a finance officer, an honorific, ornamental designation for a good friend of mine who is a working judge of the Calcutta High Court. Is it a joke—the idea of looking after the accounts of the university? There is no internal audit officer. And the finance officer is a person who is a working Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who can come for an occasional jaunt to Bolpur. but he cannot do anything more than that.

This Ordinance and the Bill which has followed, if they were *bona fide* measures, I could welcome them. If they are *bona fide* measures for a genuine amelioration of the disease which has been afflicting Visva Bharati for so long, I could have welcomed it, but it is not there at all.

I say this because the Prime Minister, as Chancellor, and the President, as the Visitor of the University, have nominated three members to the executive council in addition to other persons and other sources of influence over the University. What has happened in the meantime? Why has not anything been done in the meantime? Section 10 (2) of the Act empowers the Visitor, that is, the President of India, that is to say, "the President, acting on the advice of the Ministry of Education." The President of India has the power to cause an enquiry or inspection. This sub-section was never invoked up to now. Parliament, when they passed the original Act for Visva Bharati invested the President, that is to say, the Minister of Education, with the duty, the responsibility, of having an investigation when situation was called for. That duty is not discharged; that responsibility is shirked. And then, you say, I want complete autocratic power for myself. I want a truncated body, a very small number of people entirely at my beck and call to command everything in Shantiniketan. Parliament authorised the Ministry of Education, because the President is just there more or less as an ornamental personality. Parliament wants, and puts in a section of the Act that "you investigate the matter and take steps." They do not investigate; they do not take steps. Though all kinds of grievances and abuses have accumulated over the years, they do not take even one single step, even though Prime Minister was approached umpteen times, and often several discussions take place in this House as well as in the other House on the entire situation, and they come at the last moment and say, "We take it over."

How do we take it over? We read in the papers I do not know what happens behind the scene—that the Minister of Education attends a meeting of the Cabinet and the Minister of Education is given the job of making a personal investigation. That is not the kind of investigation envisaged by Parliament seriously in the Act. The Minister is asked according to the Press reports, by the Cabinet to make a personal investigation and report. What was the investigation that the Minister did? How? We never know. He never went to Shantiniketan after he was asked by the Cabinet to have an investigation. As far as we know, people in Shantiniketan tell us that they were never asked any questions in regard to the so-called investigation to be conducted by Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray. Nothing happened. They come and tell us:

> "We have this very small body as envisaged in clause 3 of the amending Bill. They are pushing out of the picture all the *Adhyakshas* Professors and heads of departments, the *Adhyakshas* of the *bhawans*, heads and Principals of the institutions who were according to the original Act members of the *Samsad*, the court of the University. They want a small body; they want some people entirely at their beck and call to go and reorganise the Shantiniketan."

If I knew that they had genuinely proceeded in regard to reforming the abuses, removing the abuses at Shantiniketan and told us that on the basis of this investigation we had appointed a small committee which is necessarily small because they have to act very rapidly, I could have tried to understand that proposition. But they never tell us anything. What is the investigation that they have made?

Parliament has over and over again asked for an investigation into the affairs of Visva Bharati, 1969 and 1970 were the years of turmoil in Visva Bharati. A professor of philosophy who was the Vice Chancellor of the University was compelled to resign and we know for a fact that the so called representatives of ex-students of Shantiniketan who control the entire apparatus, morally speaking, blackmail the Vice-Chancellors of the University, like Dr. Kalidas Bhattacharyya who was compelled to resign and they have their association with a grisly group of people who run the *Ananda Bazar* Patrika and certain other vested interests in West Bengal. The sooner we get rid of that kind of excrescence from our country, the better for everybody. Those are the people who are dominating over Visva Bharati; these are the people who are making the whole thing a sham and a shame-for this country and that is why we have to come to this pause.

What the Government has in mind, we do not know. That is why I say that I want a definite answer in regard to the Education Minister's alleged investigation without which they could not have proceeded to the issuing of

the Ordinance and the legislation that followed. What did he do? Did he visit Shantiniketan? Did he find out things after he was asked to investigate and that sort of thing.

This is not 'operation rescue' for Visva Bharati; it is 'operation capture' for Visva Bharati. Why should the Government of the day be interested in capturing an institution like this? I do not know. Is it because Visva Bharati being situated in a part of West Bengal where a certain brand of extremist political agitation has been rampant for some time much to the disconcerted bewilderment of many of us, is it because of that they want to get hold of the University lock, stock and barrel and control it in a completely autoratic fashion which goes right against the grain of any kind of university autonomy principle? Why should we think of that in that way?

After all Visva Bharati is not insulated from the rest of the community. In the district of Birbhum if there is some agitation, some repercussion, it is bound to enter into the minds of the young people who inhabit them. Even so in Visva Bharati itself such instances were few and far between. You can never say that Vishwa Bharati students have behaved very badly or that the Visva Bharati University teachers were very politically minded. Not in the least. Nowhere in this country is perhaps a community of teachers who are so basically non-political as in Vishwa Bharati. Nowhere, not in Calcutta or Jadavpur or Burdwan; forget West Bengal universities, not even in Delhi. The Delhi University teachers are a great deal more politically oriented than the teachers of Visva Bharati. Then why do you do this? Only because you went to assert your influence directly.

The Vice-Chancellor—I knew him personally, I have known him for 40 years now nearly—is expected to be more effective by becoming subordinate administrator, dancing near the doorsteps of Shri Nurul Husan and Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray. Is he going to be a better administrator if he is to make his curtsies to the officers of the Government of India?

He was chosen by the *Karma Samiti* and the Samsad. Both are dissolved, and he is made a subordinate official. I do not understand what has happened to the academic community of this country. If I or any of us were in the position of the Vice-Chancellor, and having been nominee of the *Karma Samiti* and the *Samsad*, if the *Karma Samiti* and the *Samsad* are pushed out, I would never have agreed to continue under the surveillance of the Minister of State or his millions in the Education Ministry. I would never have done it. Educational autonomy and academic freedom are things which we should treasure, but this Government goes on behaving in such a way that the mind of the academic community is tainted and distorted and they begin to worship power, and they come to the shrines of power which are supposed to be

situated in Delhi. That is exactly what is happening. And apart from that so many other things are done.

I want Government to tell us something more about it. Why have not Government looked after Sriniketan? What has happened? So many of the Government people tell us that they are interested in the revival of the village industries, the talent, creative activity of our people as far as the village folk are concerned, Tagore started this institution. I find the Agricultural University—University, I think, it is called—working fairly satisfactorily in the very inhabited conditions of our country. Why should not Sriniketan be made the nucleus of something like an Agricultural University when it is functioning properly? Sriniketan products have a wonderful market, internal market as well as foreign market. But why is it that Sriniketan does not flourish? Why is it that no attempt is made, as Tagore wanted, towards an organic link up between the economic life of the people and their creative activity, their production of economic goods and the academic, cultural atmosphere of the country? Why is it that here we find that artisans who are as good as artists are not really encouraged? If the idea is that Rabindranath Tagore lived a long time ago, that he had some antiquated notions in regard to education, that in the modernistic mind of my friend, the Minister of State these notions are no longer valid, I would like an investigation. I do not say that we should stick to Tagore's ideas and all that sort of thing. If they are outmoded, as they might very well be, if Shantiniketan should no longer carry on in the old fashion, if Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's idea towards Shantiniketan ought to be repudiated, no longer passes muster let us find out, let us have a civilised intellectual discourse in regard to that matter. Let there be an investigation made by competent people. Let Tagore's ideals be thrown over board if they are no longer in conformity with the requirements of today. But have we made that investigation.

What are we doing? Setting up a few buildings, putting in a lot of money; and then having a complete picture of demoralisation, degradation and inefficiency. Is this the way in which we should conduct our affairs? That is why I say this is an example of the authoritarian mentality which operates in the Government of the day, which extends to the sphere of the academies, which utilises, exploits the idea of political disturbances in educational institutions even to the extent of repudiating all the academic ideals of a man like Rabindranath Tagore, and that is why the Act is being changed, and in the name of having a comprehensive legislation at some future date they are having this passed.

I have been in this House for 20 years, and I am fed up with the idea of Government coming up and saying that they will bring a comprehensive piece of legislation later on. It never comes. By the time it comes so much

water has gone down the Jamuna that your comprehensive legislation is no longer adequate to the scene. That is why we have to be very careful.

I do not want to take more time, but I feel that all the Central Universities are stinking today—Banaras, Aligarh, Delhi and Visva Bharati—every one of them is stinking more or less. Sometimes the stench goes upto the high heavens. Sometimes it does not go so high up. Anyhow that is how it is. Even right under the nose of the ministry, Jawaharlal Nehru University is developing a sort of isolated academicism, which is as remote as one can imagine from the ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru. This is on account of the Government's predilections for authoritarian methods of work. I charge this Government that in regard to Visva Bharati, which is the Prime Minister's particular pigeon, she has no business to be Chancellor merely because she was at one time a student of Shantiniketan. I charge the Government that Visva Bharati, which was very specially required to be nursed by some of the leading figures of Government—that was the idea of Jawaharlal Nehru—has been deliberately allowed to rot and stink. For the last two to three years, Government has been entirely negligent in regard to every demand that has come from the public as well as from the students and teachers of Visva Bharati for a genuine probe into its affairs. Government has acted only in order to support the idea of that clique which, in the name of representing the ex-students of Shanti-Niketan, want to control that institution.

Now Government have come forward with an authoritarian piece of legislation. If Government expect that they would be able to nominate independent minded academicians to get into the picture under the terms of this Act, I say, Government is barking up the wrong tree. They will never get men worthwhile who will work under the terms of this Ordinance and this Bill. They will never get any kind of genuine, civilised administration of an honest academic institution if they want to stick to the provisions of this ordinance and this bill. Therefore, I repeat the disgust I feel at the way in which Government has proceeded in regard to Shantiniketan and Visva Bharati. I repeat that this is a cruel and most pervert present to be made to Shantiniketan on the eve of the celebrations of the Golden Jubilee of Visva-Bharati.

I am distressed that in spite of my partiality to the Minister of Education, I am driven to have to criticise him very strongly in respect of repeated legislation which he has brought before this House, legislation which is generally brought in a hurry so that the Minister might repent at leisure, legislation which perhaps makes it a point of excluding consultation with the House by way either of reference to the Select Committee or by circulation for eliciting public opinion or anything. Perhaps, being in an avuncular position I have to speak to him like what the Europeans say, a 'Dutch uncle', but I do not enjoy the experience. I have also to say the reason why I could put in my motion regarding eliciting of opinion so late was because I was out of town for three or four days and I discovered that this motion was right there for discussion yesterday and I had no other option but to send a belated notice.

I have heard from the Minister that he has at last condescended to give his attention to the Jha Committee's recommendations and bring up this legislation. I have had the privilege, or I do not know what, of having been a Member of the Jha Committee, and, because of that, I have desisted on so many occasions from asking questions in this House about the National Library because I was waiting to see what the Government proposes to do about that Institution. From what I have seen so far, Sir, I have a feeling that—the idea which Jawaharlal Nehru had about the National Library, and Maulana Azad had when he inaugurated the ceremony of the acquisition of the Belvedere premises, the former residence of the Viceroy of India for the National Library, the dream which Abdul Kalam Azad had given expression to in those days,—has vanished a long time ago in the arid wastes of the Secretariat and the Jha Committee Report and the earlier report to which I also happen to be a party are awaiting what Karl Marx once said, "the gnawing criticism of mice" and not the civilised consideration of a really perceptive Government. In regard to this institution, the National Library, this Bill has been formulated. As Shri Chatterjee said, it is a bureaucratic measure, a piece of desk-work by a few people who happen to have no idea, no interest, in regard to a thing like the National Library.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 20 December 1972.

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for matters related to the administration of the National Library and certain other connected matters became 'The National Library Act, 1976'.

And, that is why the first legislation that we are going to have on our statute-book on the National Library is what it is and the Minister proposes to rush it through this House. We do not know why the Minister comes at the fag end of the session with this kind of legislative measure. It is something which passes comprehension; but the way things go on in Parliament, it is better we give up trying to comprehend what happens and why it happens in this country.

The Minister has said for instance, in regard to the two points which he pressed that he has tried to follow the Jha Committee's recommendations and he has given an autonomous Board. Sir, the Jha Committee was composed of humble people, laymen who may not have known all the intricacies of law. When they talked about autonomy, they only intended that a national centre of scholarship should have the opportunity of autonomous functioning and that should be made sure of by Parliament. If we made a statement which was contradictory it might have rejoiced the hearts of the law advisers of the Ministry, but it is neither here nor there.

What the Jha Committee wanted was that this National Centre of Scholarship should be looked after properly. And, to have it done, it is necessary to have a Director of the proper character, the proper status and the proper calibre and a body which would look after it without being treated as a pettifogging Government Department, Supervised from Delhi or its hangers-on in different parts of the country. That was the idea with which this Committee asked for an autonomous body and they have now given us an autonomous body in this sort of sophisticated legislation which they consider to be right, which the Jha Committee had not thought of. At least one Joint Secretary of his Ministry functioning at that time had been a Member of this Committee and he had not pointed out that this anomaly or this contradiction was likely to arise out of the report. But, let us forget that. The Minister in his wisdom has given the National Library an autonomous body and he says: 'I am following the dictates of the Jha Committee'. But what has he done? I am quoting from page 21 of this cyclostyled report. The Jha Committee's report has not even been printed, as far as I know. The Jha Committee's report has not even been supplied in its entirety to Members of Parliament or even to a former Member of the Committee itself. The Member Secretary of the Jha Committee who happens to be a favourite employee of this Ministry signed the report in front of all of us and he never indicated that he would give a note of dissent, but taking advantage of the generosity of Shri Jha—a genuine gentleman of the old brand,—gave a note of dissent, made fantastic statements in that note of dissent to an extent that the Chairman Shri Jha had to write a special note in order to correct the misunderstandings created by the Member Secretary, and then the Member Secretary had the gumption to produce another counter-note to Chairman Jha's report, which

document has not been made available to us, let alone Members of Parliament or the members of the public. That is how the Jha Committee is treated. But let that apart, we are perhaps having to get used to this kind of activity on the part of certain busy-bodies in the administration.

The Jha Committee wanted a governing council exercising real authority, and they wanted eminent professors from universities, distinguished educationists and administrators of proved worth and of an academic bent of mind and scientists of repute. It is not merely that people who hold positions should be members of the council. This governing council should meet at least thrice a year. A third of the members should be replaced every year by the principle of rotation, allowing for regional and other representation. They should have the fullest liberty to function within the budget allotted. The selection should be made in such a manner that the various regions of the country and various interests are represented in the council with no preponderance given to any particular region. This was a very clear formulation by the committee in regard to what this autonomous body should be like. They have given us a body consisting of ten people that is, the Secretary in the Ministry of Culture or whatever it is, the Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, six persons to be nominated by the Central Government of whom four shall be academicians of some sort and one shall be a representative of the universities, and the other shall be from among persons who in the opinion of the Central Government have knowledge of and experience in science and technology, one person to be nominated by the chairman of the UGC and the director of the library. Out of ten persons three are more or less likely to be Government nominees of the usual brand who would just go to supervise things, just go to make sure that some rule or other in their book is observed, and seven other people would be there. How are they going to function? How can they run a library with a national character?

Sometimes, I have heard the allegation which is absolutely rotten and unfounded that because the National Library has been in Calcutta, some of these Calcutta people want to monopolise the show, and they want not only to retain the national library there but also they want to continue control of it. But that sort of slander passes muster in the corridors of Delhi. I know also how schemes have been prepared from time to time to shift the National Library altogether from Calcutta and to have it somewhere else, obviously in Delhi, where crores are there for the asking and you can spend millions of money for all sorts of projects. But at any rate, I am glad that Government says now that the National Library shall be at Calcutta.

But we have tried—and the committee was composed of not merely the Bengalis living in Calcutta, but people representing all parts of the country

and the committee wanted to make sure that the library should be run by a representative council representing all the regions of the country and representing the totality of intellectual life of our country.

If we want the national library to be what it ought to be and surely I expect Prof. S. Nurul Hasan to recognise and try as much as it lies in his power to see to it that we do have a national library as a proper centre for research and intellectual guidance then surely this national library requires not a committee consisting of ten people of whom three are obviously Government people and seven are nominated, who have other assignments and who never know how and when to attend meetings. You cannot have a body consisting only of ten people who can run, for the purposes that you intend, the National Library. That is why we have got the executive council which they are going to have, formed in a completely indeterminate manner, and that would be done according to the behest not of Prof. S. Nurul Hasan as an academician, but at the behest of his advisers who want to keep things entirely under their thumb, things they do not know a thing about, things that they can never dream about, things of an intellectual nature of which they have not the slightest little apprehension; those things are now going to be controlled by people in Government who bring out this sort of legislation.

In regard to autonomy, this is what the Bill tries to do, distorting entirely the recommendation of the Jha Committee. In regard to the Director, my hon. friend. Shri Chatterjee, even though he is a trained lawyer, unfortunately failed to see how the Government have decided—and they are free to do so—to play a trick, a fraud, upon the Jha Committee's recommendation. Ostensibly claiming to satisfy the Jha Committee's desire, they have now given us a Director. And what does it say about the Director? This is in clause 13.

> "The Central Government shall appoint a person, who in its opinion possesses academical qualifications of distinction or is a distinguished Librarian, as the Director of the Library".

The Jha Committee had said—I am quoting its own words, page 22, paragraph 41:

> "The Committee recommends the appointment of a Director of the National Library who should also be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Governing Council. The Director should be selected from amongst distinguished scholars with administrative competence. Professional librarians who have reached outstanding status and who command respect in the academic world should also be eligible for appointment to the post. His salary and status should be comparable with those of Vice-Chancellors of Central Universities".

The stress here—I wish the Minister takes note of it; you will understand the distinction—is on the fact that we need for an institution like a National Library a Director who should be academically acceptable, who should be eminent, as a person who would be consulted respectfully by members of the academic world from different parts of the country. The Director of the National Library is one of the leaders of the intellectual life in this country, while we have seen what has happened. The rot in the National Library began when instead of comparatively imaginative people of intellectual stature and spiritual attainments, we got people belonging to a completely different mettle.

There was Mr. Chapman in the old British days who, at any rate, had the kind of width of mind to translate the *Shakta* and *Vaishnav* lyrics into English, who had a sort of understanding and sympathy for Indian culture. We had the great Harinath De in the old days who died very young, who was the first Indian Librarian of this institution, who was a stupendous scholar, not only a linguist but a really encyclopaedic scholar. Since those days we got appointments of footing little people who, if they have got a certificate from a Library Association imagine they know all the tricks of the library trade and, therefore, they can be head of an institution like the National Library.

That is why I was constrained to say during the Jha Committee proceedings that Moolay who came as Librarian was a misfortune and Shri Kalia who followed was a calamity. This kind of thing went on because people with no real understanding of library problems, no perception of the intellectual life of this country, no stature, personal or intellectual, which would be respected by people who come to consult the Library—these were ruling the roost. They want to come back by the back-door, these miserable people; the Member—Secretary, against whom things have had to be said in spite of the politeness we could muster in the Jha Committee's report, basking in the sunshine of the favour of Delhi bureaucrats, drawing the same pay and that sort of thing and hopes to come back, I expect, as Director of the Library with a heightened status.

That is why it merely says 'or':

> "The Central Government shall appoint a person, who in its opinion possesses academical qualifications of distinction *or* is a distinguished Librarian, as the Director of the Library".

We have had distinguished Librarians. We wanted that to be a distinguished Librarian is no bar to be at the same time a very distinguished academician. Only the other day the Government had appointed—I do not want to name the persons—as Director of an institution high up in the hills,

in the Himalayas, who was a distinguished Librarian as well as a distinguished academician. This country is not so poor in talent that we cannot have people who are good in both jobs, librarianship as well as academics. But there might be occasions when you do not get a purely technically qualified librarian, but you get a very wonderful person. The Library of Congress in Washington once appointed a poet called Archibald McLeish as Librarian of the Library of Congress, and he did a great deal to revolutionise the entire functioning of the Library of Congress. Do we not have any idea about the perspective of the development of our national library? What is Prof. Nurul Hasan, if he has not entirely said good-bye to all his past accomplishments and aspirations, doing? What is he doing in regard to the development of the national library? Why is he a party to this kind of legislation which can come from the deadwood of the desks behind which sit all his minions but which has nothing whatever to do with the intellectual life of the country, which does not care to take note of all the ardour and the desire of the members of the Jha Committee who wanted to see in this national library a new movement? Why is there no mention of what the Jha Committee has said over and over again—that we want in this country a full-fledged effort to have national libraries where we would find the collections in all our regional languages? There is no reference in the Bill to the idea that the national library at Calcutta should be at the apex of the pyramid, so to speak, and there will be regional and national libraries. We are a large country which cannot be served perhaps by only one national library. There has to be a national library; one is there already; you need not dismantle it; you need not push it out. We can have the apex; we can have the different regional national libraries. But here there is nothing at all.

Shri Chatterjee complained very righty; where is any reference to what is to be done by these people? The Jha Committee tried to supply a few things; collect everything published in India. Nowhere is in this Bill any directive that all efforts should be made provided, of course, that it is within the range of possibility to collect everything published in India under one roof. Then we have to collect everything on India published abroad in different languages. We shall have to make special efforts to collect and preserve the valuable books, manuscripts and treasures of similar description which are in different places. We have not got anything like the Historical Records Commission in Britain, where they go and collect things from the treasure-houses of the different aristocratic families. We do not do these things.

We suggested also that the Indian National Bibliography has to be taken care of, which was neglected all the time. Only recently for a flare-up period, the Indian National Bibliography again began to be looked after, but for years the Indian National Bibliography which at one time won the applause of the UNESCO and other international organisations was just given the go-

by. We have suggested at the Committee that the specialists should be assisted in their research work and for that provision has to be made. We have suggested the task of reprinting the valuable material and the acquisition of microfilms and other kinds of photo-copies of material from different countries abroad. We have wanted this library to be developed as an international publications exchange centre which every other country, every other mentionable country has, but this—very large country with so much intellectual resources is not able to do so. There is no mention of anything of that sort here.

The Minister would not even send the Bill for elicitation of public opinion; he would not even send it to the Select Committee. The Minister would not like to consult anybody in regard to legislation which he,—God knows for what reasons—wishes to push through. Would the Heavens fall if this legislation is not passed by this House and the other House before you rise for Christmas? What happens? For more than three years they sat tight on the Jha Committee's report. Even now, the Jha Committee's report is rotting in the archives. Who would lose if you wait a little longer and bring up something which is different? But this sort of legislation is terrible. I do not understand. This Government is a peculiar kettle of fish. It is most queer and unintelligible. Have not they got other jobs to do? What is their idea? If they wanted to do something about the national library, why not do it more sensibly or do other things, Mulki or anything you like? Do those things which to you seem to be more urgent. But if you are going to deal with the national library, deal with it in a circumspect, thoughtful fashion.

I feel something very rotten is the situation of things in the National Library and this Government and its bureaucracy is absolutely incapable and unwilling to look after it; there is no doubt about it in the last few years. The Jha Committee reported in 1969. In 1969-70 the new acquisitions to the National Library according to the report which I have seen were 19,302. In 1970-71 that figure came down to 18,305 and in 1971-72 it came down further to 17,557. Books are multiplying and the Parliament Library under your direction is having to buy so much because so many more books are coming out these days but the National Library acquires less. Old and valuable acquisitions are going waste. The newspaper section in Esplanade, five kilometres from Belvadere, where most valuable material, brittle material, is there, is absolutely going to waste because people do not look after it. No attempt is made to look after it of course there is the question of employees being at logger heads; it needs sympathetic treatment. The joint council between employees and others is not being worked properly. There are so many other things that could be said but I would not try your patience any longer.

I would say with every emphasis at my disposal that if this Government has the slightest little interest, seriously speaking, in the National Library it should look after it properly and not deal with it in a lackadaisical, bureaucratic manner. It has given the Jha Committee a slap in the face by interpreting its recommendations for autonomy and the appointment of an intellectually capable director by giving it a twist and turn which is entirely dishonest and it has done great disservice to Indian scholarship by making of the National Library Bill a putrid and bureaucratic document that it is. It is something which should be withdrawn by the Minister unless he can give an undertaking to the House that he is going to accept my motion for circulating this Bill for eliciting public opinion in the next three or four months or he agrees to a Select Committee of Members of the House who are good enough for any job of work to sit down with him during January and produce a Bill which could be passed into law in February. But this legislation which with any understanding of the intellectual requirements of our country. I cannot for one fraction of a moment persuade myself to be a party to, and that is why I am entirely opposed to the Bill as it has been formulated.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

It has devolved on me to open the debate as far as the Opposition is concerned. I am afraid I must say at the very outset that it is a pity that the President's advisers have chosen to put into his mouth words which paint a picture in this country which is un-related to the facts, a smug, self-satisfied picture of the conditions at home. At the same time, the President's advisers have made him pronounce certain rather puerile, pathetic platitudes regarding the international situation which, we know, today has taken a very explosive turn. There is also reference in the Address to such almost fantastic statements as an all-round general progress at an increasing pace. And, this statement is being made when the spectre of famine, of retrenchment, of mass starvation, are not merely haunting shadows, but have actually gripped our land all over its area. I find again what I am sorry I must characterise as the profound pettifoggery of our Government when there is reference to a steady improvement in the food situation which was underlined by my friend who has just spoken. There was, of course, the inevitable expression of gratitude for the infamous wheat loan which we have got from the USA. I am sorry I cannot go into detail over all these matters, specially, in view of your ruling regarding the motion which was sought to be discussed by means of an adjournment. I propose to confine my remarks to those aspects which relate to foreign policy in the President's Address.

In regard to that, I also find how the President's advisers appear to have become completely detached from the life of our people. Because, otherwise, I cannot understand how when everybody everywhere is talking about war, about the real and positive danger or war breaking out in our Asian countries at a moment when in the stock exchanges of our land where big money tries to make itself even bigger, prices of shares go up because war is going to break out—in that wonderful organisation, it seems that when peace threatens to break out, the prices of shares go down, but when war threatens to break out everybody is buoyant and joyous, gladdening the heart of my friend the Finance Minister—when everybody everywhere is talking about the danger

* *L.S. Deb.*, 13 February 1953. [Participating in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks on President's Address, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 22 May 1952, 13 February 1953, 18 and 22 February 1954, 23 February 1955, 20 and 23 February 1956, 17 February 1958, 22 February 1965, 1 March 1966, 21 March 1967, 14 March 1972 and 27 February 1974 during discussions on similar Motions].

of war, our President, goaded perhaps by his advisers into the kind of statement which he has made, says that he has considerable apprehension about the way things are going and he expresses his grave concern. That is about all. I do not understand why when the people of our country are so deeply perturbed,—not only in our own country, but everywhere in the world—when people are deeply concerned about the turn that events are likely to take because of certain recent developments, we cannot give a more positive indication of that fight for peace which should be the mission of our country, if our freedom is to have any kind of concrete significance. But, we see nothing of that sort. We see not a single positive statement as far as the Address is concerned in regard to the steps which are going to be taken in order to stop the rot which has already set in, in order to prevent the warmongers having a kind of absolutely devilish satisfaction of their desires which they are trying to do.

It is exactly in that context that I would say that the President's Address also tries to make much of the fact—and my friend who has just spoken has also referred to it—that we made a very serious effort to put an end to the war in Korea, that we should congratulate ourselves upon that, and rest upon our oars, that we have done our job and for some time to come we are entitled to be content and happy about it. I would like to say that what we have actually done, the kind of proposal which we formulated in regard to the settlement of Korea was a contribution not towards peace, but towards the prolongation of the crisis which has been highlighted today by what the President of the USA has chosen to say and to threaten in regard to the de-neutralisation of Formosa, in regard to the threat to blockade the territory of the People's Republic of China. I would like to say that we ought to remember the way in which these American imperialists have been functioning, particularly lately. We ought to remember that a few days before the Korean war actually broke out, on 21 June 1950, Mr. John Foster Dulles had said:

> "Korea does not stand alone. My talks with Gen. MacArthur will be followed by positive action."

The cold war in Korea became a hot war straightaway within a week of this statement which was made by Mr. John Foster Dulles who occupies a particularly upholstered seat in Washington today. We find, therefore that the imperialism represented by the USA is acting not only as an aggressor but also as the policeman of a new kind of fascism all over the world trying to strangle freedom wherever it can, and is endeavouring to implant fascism, and is using every possible step, re-militarisation of Japan, active intervention in Indo-China, using the Kuomintang troops to invade the Chinese mainland expanding the area of conflict in Asia: all these are being sought to be done today in the most unashamed fashion. We find American military experts

and naval experts having audiences with the President in order to find out ways and means of doing this, in order to find out ways and means of putting an end to all the hopes of the people of the world for freedom, for self-development and for the fulfilment of their desires. That is exactly what is happening.

In his great message on the State of the Union, the President of the USA said,—and we should try to understand the significance of what he said—he gave notice, that under his administration, the United States Mutual Security Programme, on which hinges a large part of the fulfilment of our Five Year Plan, would give help to other nations in the measure they strive earnestly to do their full share in the common task. The common task of the United States imperialists has got to be shared by us too, because, that is the price which they say openly and unashamedly they are going to exact for the little aid, assistance, gift, loan or God knows whatever else they call it, which they are giving to this country under the most irritating terms. The President of the United States has gone so far as to say that a free world cannot indefinitely remain in a posture of paralysed tension. Peace to these people, whom I refrain from characterising in the language which really fits, is a state of paralysed tension. They want the free world to get out of this state of paralysed tension. They want us to have the war being carried all over Asia. They want Asians to fight Asians. They have been talking about it. They used to say we are 'gooks'. Heaven knows what the term means. In the yankee phraseology possibly 'gooks' has a particular significance. They used to say that the Asians are 'gooks' and that they are going to get the Asian gooks fight one another.

I find in a summary of Congressional proceedings of the United States which are distributed by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association—very distinguished auspices—that as early as 2 July 1952 in the Senate of the United States there was some discussion, and there was a gentleman called the hon. John C. Steannis, who is a Democrat Member of the War Services Committee, and the hon. H. Alexander Smith who said that:

> "From a dollar-and-cents standpoint it would cost much less to equip the Chinese divisions than to equip U.S. divisions. At the same time, it will provide the additional advantage of giving us Asiatic troops to fight the Communist movement in the Far East."

They are trying to get Asians to fight Asians, and that is why they are now trying to help the Kuomintang regime in their projected attack on the territory of the People's Republic of China.

We said we have been trying our best, we have been trying to put an end to the war in Korea. The President of the U.S.A. has made it very clear that he wants the war to go on in Korea to accentuate the position in Indo-China. He has agreed to assist the British satellite as far as the Malayan business is concerned. He has also said that he is very much interested in what is

happening in Africa and of course, as we know, as it came out in the Question Hour, he is very interested in the Middle East Defence Organization. He has got his ANZUS as far as the Pacific is concerned. He has got his NATO as far as Europe is concerned. He has got his MEDO as far as the Middle East is concerned; and Heaven knows what other things he has got up his sleeve, but, at any rate he is unleashing the dogs of war all over the place, and he wants Asians to fight Asians because he says otherwise Communists are going to overwhelm all the peoples of the world.

And we said we have tried to make peace in Korea and we hoped to get the plaudits of the world, and we imagined that we already have got the plaudits of the peoples of the world, but the people of the world knew exactly what we are doing. They would not even give you the kind of ignorant approval which they may sometimes appear to give you. You may imagine that you are gaining the approval of the world, but the people at any rate do know what exactly the Indian Resolution on Korea amounted to.

Why is it that even in the British House of Commons on the 6 November 1952 on behalf of the Labour Party. Mr. Noel Baker who is a very important personage there said in the debate on the Queen's Address:

> "The first stage in Korea would be a cease-fire..."—I have got this quotation from Parliamentary Debates from Hansard itself—"The first stage would be a ceasefire on the basis of agreements already made. After all the practical arrangements for supervising the troops have all been settled. The second stage would be agreement about the prisoners' return. I should have thought that once the fighting had stopped, the chances of getting agreement on the prisoners of war would be increased."

That was what he said on 6 November 1952.

On 10 December 1952, Mr. Morgan Philips, who is possibly the Secretary of the Labour Party—I am not sure—called for support of the Indian Resolution on Korea which required the Koreans and the Chinese to give way on the prisoner of war question before a cease-fire, thus permitting the war to continue. This happened because on the British Labour Party, which for a time was trying to represent the desire of the peoples of peace for the cessation of hostilities in Korea, pressure was put by the American barons who were trying to dominate all over the world; and so, Mr. Morgan Philips had to send out his whip, and the result of it was that everybody went off to support the Indian Resolution doctored by Eden and by Acheson; and the result is that as far as the Indian Resolution is concerned, it does not take into account at all the viewpoint of the People's Republic of China.

I remember last session when this question came up, the hon. Prime Minister told us that his desire was to act in concurrence with the People's

Republic of China. The People's Republic of China had handed to the Indian Ambassador in Peking a negative note regarding this Indian peace proposal in Korea on 24 November, but it was on 3 December 1952 that we went ahead, and the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Resolution on Korea which we had tabled. What was there in our Resolution? It contains 17 proposals dealing with the prisoner-of-war question. Not one of these 17 proposals mentions a cease-fire. Only in the final paragraph of the preamble, it is only there that we find the words that the Resolution will be sent to the Chinese Government and North Korean authorities as forming a just and reasonable basic for an agreement, so that an immediate cease-fire would result,—in other words, an offer of a cease-fire on terms which we knew beforehand to be completely unacceptable to the Chinese and to the Koreans. It is an effort to prolong the war and to put the blame on the Chinese and the Koreans. That is why when Mr. Chou En Lai, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China wrote to the President of the United Nations, he said:

> "You adopted this illegal resolution which has as its basic content the U.S. principle of voluntary repatriation under an Indian cloak."

An Indian cloak was put upon this Resolution, and I hate to have to say this, but you know being an authority in matters relating to our epics, you know the story of Shikhandi in the *Mahabharata*, who went ahead, and behind him came the serried ranks, and because of his being there, Bhishma could not really defend himself because he did not like to throw his arrows point blank at Shikhandi.

Now, why do we play the role of Shikhandi in the new *Mahabharata*, the new epic of creation that is being composed today by the peoples desiring peace all over the world? Why do we try to allow the U.S. and British imperialists to take shelter behind the Indian cloak? Why do we play something like a Shikhandi role—and that is exactly what we have done as far as our resolution on Koera is concerned.

In contrast to that, there was a Resolution sponsored by another State which I need not name, which said in the first clause:

> "An immediate recommendation to the belligerents in Korea to have an immediate and complete cease-fire, and after that is done, refer the prisoner of war issue to a Commission of 11 States including Britain, U.S.A., France, Switzerland, India, Burma, South Korea, the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia and North Korea."

And this body of eleven States was to reach its decisions by a two-third majority. We rejected it. This Resolution was for an immediate cease-fire, and

this Resolution was for the appointment of a commission of eleven where a pro-American group had an indubitable majority, but we rejected it; we pushed our Resolution, because we were told to do so, because that is how our Government now tries to behave. And so the war in Korea continues, and no amount of sympathetic declamation regarding the desirability of the termination of war in Korea will produce results till you really make up your minds that you are going to line up behind those forces all over the world, forces of the common people hungering for peace.

It is only when you make up your mind about your real alignment with the forces of peace, liberation and progress, it is only then that we shall be able to put an end to all those fears and apprehensions to which reference has been made by the President in his Address.

We did so perhaps because we hoped that the Americans might assist us, give us some kind of largesse, as far as the Kashmir question was concerned, but we discovered to our horror and dismay that far from rewarding us for the Shikhandi role which we took up in the United Nations, the Americans behave as if we should go to the devil, and that is why today we are confronted with the MEDO proposition. We are confronted with a crisis, and even the Prime Minister had to tell the Indian National Congress that things are taking a very different colouration. He had to say that the war is coming to India. Why is it coming? Who is bringing the cold war to India? Why don't we align ourselves against those forces which are bringing the cold war to India? Are we not sure about who is bringing the MEDO business to India? Are we not sure who is behind the Eisenhower intrigue for breaking the peace of Asia, for making Asians fight Asians, for abolishing all hopes of freedom as far as Asia and Africa are concerned? Don't we know that these things are absolutely incontestable propositions? If we do, why don't we join up with the forces of peace and progress? You say we are not aligned, but I think we are aligned, definitely tied up in a most subordinate and disgusting manner to the Anglo-American combination and we know how the British Empire and Commonwealth too have also been behaving. You know very well how Mr. Eden again goaded by the state of public opinion in Great Britain said to begin with, that Eisenhower's speech was a danger to peace and was not very desirable, and that sort of thing he put in a very mild diplomatic language, of which, I am sorry I am not very capable. And then he went off the track altogether, and changed his style and he came forward as an apologist, as a defender of American policy. They have got to do it, but why should we be tied up with them? We are aware of the fact that Britain, in her present posture, has to behave practically as a satellite of the United States of America. But why are we assisting the British Government insofar as certain transit facilities for the Gurkha troops are concerned? I asked today a question, as you very well remember regarding even the opinion of certain

of our Indian troops, Indian officers, for service in the British army, among the Gurkhas in order to give them a certain kind of special assistance. Why are we doing all these things? Why is it that we are sending our Prime Minister, who after all is a figure of international importance, to attend the Queen's Coronation? Not perhaps to perform a kind of ceremony of homage. But at any rate, why do we send him there? Why do we hear reports in the Press, very disquieting reports; about the Commonwealth Defence Conference going to be held in New Delhi? Why do these things happened? Why is it that we read reports in the papers about British officers who have served in Korea, being given opportunities to address our officers in this country? Why was it that Brigadier W.G.H. Pike, for example, was allowed to come and address our officers at the I.A.F. Cinema Hall in Safdarjung, New Delhi, on 8 November, 1952? Why is it that we read in the papers that an American superfortress No. 5492 captioned by one Colonel Davis, landed at I.A.F. Station, Agra, in early December 1952, took a number of photographs of parachute training installations and other equipment and then took off? Why is it that we hear these things? Why is it that we get such information—I want to be corrected later by the Prime Minister, if I am wrong—as that in October 1952, there were as many as 3250 military landings at Dum Dum Airport, and out of that number, the Indian Air Force's contribution was only 25, while the American Air Force came there to the tune of 1200 landings? Why is it that these things happen? Why is it that a British warship which took part in the operations in Korea visited Calcutta, Madras, Cochin and Bombay ports and they were feted and feasted like Gods Almighty, because we look upon them as people to whom we ought to register our admiration? Why is it that this sort of thing happens? Why is it that because of our tie-up in the Commonwealth machine, we are not really able to raise our voice against what is happening in South Africa, about which so much moaning was heard from that quarter in the House? Why is it that in East Africa and in Kenya, unspeakable atrocities are being perpetrated, and we really cannot do anything effective about it. I know the hon. Prime Minister will get up and say. 'Well, what the hell do you expect me to do? I cannot do anything about it. You cannot expect one sovereign State to interfere in the affairs of another State'. I do not want the Prime Minister to go about and interfere in the affairs of other sovereign States. But at any rate we can make our position clear. The Prime Minister has told us so many times in his career, about the glory of India, the mission of India, the ideals of India and at least we should register our protest. But why are we seeing these things? Why is it that when the British imperialists in the case of Japanese invasion on Manchuria, could carry on, in the manner of Sir John Simon, defence of what the Japanese fascists were trying to do; we protested against it, with all our national strength—but now we can do nothing about it? We are becoming ourselves parts of a machinery which is operating in this fashion, which is fraught with

the most mischievous consequences, as far as the world and its future is concerned. Now, if that is so, there is every reason for us to be extremely perturbed about what is being sought to be done today in the sphere of foreign relations, and I am afraid that as far as the President's Address is concerned, we do not get any indication as to the change of policy which is necessitated by the circumstances of today. In this connection, I would draw special attention to the speeches which were made by Chou-En-Lai, and I am quoting from a statement which he made in a communication to Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Chairman of the United Nations, on 14 December 1952. Mr. Chou-En-Lai writes here:

> "You are doing everything possible to induce and coerce some of the United Nations' representatives in the General Assembly to endorse jointly the policy of the United States, of no armistice, no negotiations and no peaceful settlement, but the prolongation and expansion of the Korean war."

Now, this is very important. We feel we are being blackmailed by offers of hypothetical assistance into playing the role of subservience to the United States. And this is a role which we have got to give up. It is a role which is mixed up with our subservience to the British Empire and Commonwealth at the same time. This is a role which we have got to give up, and if we really believe that we stand for freedom, particularly for the freedom of Asia, then surely a situation has arisen today when we must raise our voice, must assert our independence, because if we did not do that, we shall merely be deluding ourselves, we shall merely be behaving in such a fashion as is unworthy of our country, unworthy of the traditions of the people of our country, the people who desire peace above all things and therefore I say—and I put this as a challenge to the Prime Minister—that as far as our peace effort on the Korean situation was concerned it was an effort which misfired not because of the opposition of a minority in the United Nations, but because it did not put first things first, because it forgot that the Americans there have treated the prisoners of war in such a fashion that nobody who really goes into the question, can think of that kind of attitude towards the prisoners of war question with equanimity. It was because we forgot to put the first demand of the peoples first, namely complete and immediate armistice. We feel that if we did that first, we could surely have a settlement of the prisoners of war issue. I ask therefore the Prime Minister to tell the House very frankly whether or not he is going to raise this question in a new spirit, in a new way, absolutely breaking away from the ugly moorings to which he got riveted on account of what happened in late 1952. If we get that assurance, then and then alone shall we be in a position to say that certain steps for peace are being sought to be taken by the Government of our country. Today there is complete unanimity in all sections of our people that we do not want war,

and we want Asian and African peoples to live in freedom. The danger to peace, and the danger to the freedom of the people of Malaya, of India-China, of Indonesia, of Tunisia, of East Africa and of South Africa and everywhere, comes today from the United States imperialists and their satellites, their lieutenants, the British imperialists, and if we go on being tied to them, naturally the situation would become absolutely impossible. Let us therefore cast ourselves away from the kind of moorings which we have adopted so long, because they are most ugly moonings, and they must be shed, if we have a vestige of national, self-respect left in us.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY*

It is good that we get an opportunity from time to time to discuss the foreign policy of our country because it is important that we recall the categorical imperatives of our foreign policy. It is important that we remember the major premise of our patriotism in the setting of foreign policy, which is that we shall always raise our voice, and wherever we can, we shall raise our hands also, in support of the people who are fighting for freedom wherever they might be. Today it is of special importance that we are having this debate because at Geneva a Conference is taking place where Asia is above all on the agenda. The question of war or peace in Asia has come to the forefront. Today the peoples of the world are confronted with hope and despair at the same time because of what has actually happened; those who want to retain their stranglehold on peoples struggling to be free have been compelled by the pressure of circumstances to agree to the holding of this Conference but they are trying even not to sabotage this Conference and see to it that this Conference does not produce the results which our Prime Minister is hoping for along with the rest of the peoples of the world.

I am reminded in this connection of what was said once, at ideas what was reported to have been said once, by Clemenceau in 1919. It appears that a British diplomat was going with Clemenceau in a car along the streets of Paris and on that day there had been a railway ancident. It was placarded on the newspaper hoardings; at one place it was described as "an accident on the railway" and the other report said, "disaster on the railway". The British diplomat then asked Clemenceau: "In French, does 'accident' and 'disaster' mean the same thing?". He barked in reply: "No of course it does not. For example, if President Wilson falls into a well, it would be an accident but if he gets out of it, it will be a disaster." What has happened today in regard to the international situation is that Mr. John Foster Dulles and his tribe find themselves in a position where they can no longer resist the urge for peace and freedom in Asia and their agreement to have this Geneva Conference particularly with People's China participating is really a sort of an accident which has happened, but if Mr. John Foster Dulles and his tribe can get out of this accident, that would be a disaster. And that is a disaster against which the people of the world have to take every possible precaution.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 15 May 1954. [Participating in the discussion on Motion re: International Situation Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 17 September and 23 December 1953, 15 May and 29 September 1954, 20 November 1956, 2 September 1957, 1 September and 20 November 1960, 16 September 1963 and 12 July 1972 on Motions regarding International situation].

I was happy to see the Prime Minister getting rather angry over the peculiar improprieties of the imbroglio which has happened over the San Francisco Treaty in relation to Japan and the treatment which has been cavalirely meted out to us. I say I was happy to see him angry because he said a little earlier that India is not angry at her exclusion from the Geneva Conference. I do not expect our Prime Minister to say that he is angry at our exclusion from Geneva. I do not say that India has need to be angry. But at the same time there is no use getting away from the fact that in spite of India today possessing something like a moral initiative in world affairs, an initiative which has from time to time been exercised with positive courage, in spite of all that, this pernicious effort to keep India away from Asian deliberations, from deliberations in which she rightfully ought to have a part, this effort is continuing, and this effort is having the utmost support from our friends of the Commonwealth, from the United Kingdom.

This happened not only in regard to our exclusion from Geneva but also in regard to our exclusion from the Disarmament Commission, from the Sub-Committee on Disarmament which has been appointed by the United Nations. M. Vyshinsky had suggested that India, China and Czechoslovakia should be on the Disarmament Commission. The United Kingdom came forward first of all to prevent our being a member of the Disarmament Commission. India actually being present on the spot and contributing her share of wisdom and understanding and insight to international deliberations is today an important factor in world affairs. But, today there is a definite effort being engineered, a deliberate effort, to keep India out, if at all that is possible. That is why I say I was happy to see the Prime Minister angry at least at one thing where these people have shown us that they do not greatly like the idea of India's participation. Because, the voice of India today is always raised on the side of peace and freedom of the peoples.

Most of our attention is naturally riveted on the Geneva Conference. And there we certainly wish that a settlement is arrived at over the question of Indo-China and of Korea. Why is it that the peoples of the world today are so very anxious about the outcome of this Conference? It is because with the hydrogen bomb experimentations and with the talk of "massive retaliation" which the United States of America was going to practise against whoever incurred her disfavour, it was in the context of these things that the people of Asia realised above all that peace is a need, peace is something which has got to be achieved here and now. And this feeling of the people of Asia is today so paramount that no force on earth can prevent it. And that is why a very fine setting has been provided to the Geneva Conference by the great victory of the people's forces at Dien Bien Phu. They try to say it is only an effort on the part of those who are fighting for the freedom of Indo-China to negotiate from positions of strength. That is their phrase, the phrase of

imperialists. They, choose to forget that the planning for the Dien Bien Phu battle was made by the French imperialists with American instigation and assistance in order that they might give a death blow to the fight of the Indo-Chinese people for freedom. But it came back like a boomerang, and came right on time, so that we know what is what in Asia. Come all the hydrogen bombs and atom bombs all together against the spirit of the people, that spirit cannot be daunted. That, therefore, is the background of what is happening at Geneva today.

There is no need for me to go into any detail over the questions which are being discussed there. But I wish that we make clear that if we are going to have a settlement in Indo-China and in Korea—and surely a settlement must come in these two countries—then we must concentrate on the essential points. Of course there should be a cease-fire. Of course there should be a negotiated settlement. Of course, there might be a dispute about who are going to take part in the discussions preliminary to a settlement and as to who are going to constitute the supervisory commissions of those supervisory Commissions which are going to be appointed if and when elections are held in order to give the people an opportunity to determine their own destiny. But, the crux of the matter is that the foreign troops who are there, either in Indo-China or Korea, must quit. A time limit must be fixed for their evacuation because we cannot have anything like free and fair elections inspite of supervision through United Nations or any other kind of agency, if we have got foreign troops still in operation in those areas. Therefore, the real demand of the people of these areas—and surely, that is a demand which we can support enthusiastically—is that the crux of the matter in regard to the settlement of the issues at stake in these areas is that there must be an evacuation of these areas by all foreign troops of whatever description, Asian, European, American or African, before the people can choose their destiny; before the people can decide on what kind of Government they are going to have. This is a matter which is escaping the attention of our people. To our people, Sir, the whole picture is painted in a very confusing fashion. The idea is presented that the two camps are fighting for power in those areas; that the Soviets and China they are putting forward certain claims and the Americans, British and others are putting forward certain other claims; that there is a tug-of-war and there is a stalemate. We have to find out what exactly are the positive proposals which are being made. Therefore, I say, that General Nam II of North Korea has offered certain proposals, very concrete proposals, and there this question of evacuation by foreign troops within six months is made a condition precedent to any kind of real settlement. I say, that is absolutely important in regard to this Indo-China war which has gone on for seven years. At one time the French used to say, it is a forgotten war *"le guerre oublie"*, yet they could not forget the wounds the canker eating into the very vitals of French spirit and economy because of the dirty war *"le guerre sale"*.

Whether it is forgotten or whether it is dirty, they have got to come to some kind of settlement, with the people of Indo-China. That is something which they realise. In spite of that, what are they doing? They are not really taking any positive steps for the settlement of the question. The settlement can only happen if we get not only the suggestions regarding supervisions, but a definite proposal that the foreign troops of any kind of shade or colour should all quit the scene. We know ourselves how the United Nations Observers and such other authorities behaved in regard to Kashmir. We know only too well how the United Nations Observers behaved in regard to Kashmir. In regard to Pondicherry once in 1948 the French Government conducted the elections in its possessions and the results were so dismal that the Indian Government had to scrap the agreement to have a plebiscite under United Nations auspices and had to demand unconditional merger of those colonies without any kind of strings whatever. We know what happens when this kind of supervision is in the picture. If the foreign troops are out of the scene altogether, then surely, there can be agreement. In regard to the method of supervision, I find in the papers that M. Molotov has made certain suggestions about how the Supervisory commissions may be constituted which may be acceptable to either side. I need not enter into the details of the matter, but the crux of the matter, I repeat, is that there must be evacuation of these areas by all foreign troops as soon as possible. If these foreign troops are there, it will only create certain factors which are extremely undesirable. That is a point which I would like to emphasise with all the strength at my disposal.

Now, Sir, as the Prime Minister has said today, these Asian questions are the most important of all. In connection with it, naturally we are reminded of what is happening in our own land and our own soil. The question of Pondicherry and other French possessions, as well as Goa, would come to our mind. These questions have been repeatedly discussed on the floor of this House, either by way of questions or otherwise, and the Prime Minister also has said that as far as the negotiations with the French are concerned, they are being pursued at the present moment. He has also made certain observations in regard to Goa. I do not want to go into the details of this matter, because our Government has taken a stand in regard to these foreign possessions, a stand which we wish to see materialised in practice as soon ever that is possible. Therefore, I do not want to embarrass the Government in any way. But, I do wish to say one thing. The patience of our people is being very sorely tried. From time to time, questions come up in this House as well as in the other House and the answers which we get from the External Affairs Ministry are by no means really satisfactory. Because, the thing hangs fire; the stalemate continues; the humiliation of these foreign possessions on our soil does not appear likely to be effaced within a short span of time. This is the kind of thing which happens. I do not know if you got also, I suppose all Members of Parliament were sent, a copy of the speech made on Goa by

Dr. Salazar on 12 April 1954, along with a covering note from whoever is the diplomatic representative in charge of the Portuguese legation in New Delhi; it is, I see the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Paolo Cunha who has sent this circular as well as the speech to all Members of Parliament as far as I know. I entirely agree with the Prime Minister that the Portuguese are trying to make up something by way of a treaty in the 17th century and they are importing it into the 20th century. But, even worse things are happening. Passions which are worse than primitive have been resuscitated by the neo-imperialists of today, those who are flaunting the possession of hydrogen bomb and atomic weapons and other instruments of mass extermination. The Portuguese are reviving something of the 17th century which was a gracious period by comparison with certain other periods in history. These people are raking up pre-primitive days. Perhaps I may be insulting our ancestors in saying that they are raking up the spirit of those days. I do not think there was ever any period in human history when people of a certain sort could move about in respectable society and get away with it people who are merchants of death, people who brag about their possession of weapons of destruction on a scale which is absolutely unprecedented and which on any computation is immoral to the nth degree. This sort of thing is happening today. When this gentleman Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister and Dictator of Portugal, invokes the Anglo-Portuguese treaty, when he says openly that he has had a talk with the Prime Minister of Canada who says something which contradicts what the Prime Minister had reported to have been the Canadian reaction to the Portuguese possessions like Goa, when he says these things and when I put two and two together, when I recall the British conduct in regard to India's role in world affairs today, when I find that forgetting all canons of propriety and decency, even diplomatic immunity of our representatives is ignored altogether by the British marauders, who talk about law and order, in Africa, when these things happen, I think something should be done about it. We are in the Commonwealth. The guardian angel of the Commonwealth is the United Kingdom and the United Kingdom takes up this kind of attitude from time to time.

In regard to Goa and in regard to Pondicherry, in regard to these foreign pockets in India, I think it is time that we set a target date and we say, look here, we are not going to tolerate this nonsense any longer. I remember what was said in the days of the war for Italian independence: *"le cri de douleur"* "the cry of sorrow" is coming from our people who live some miles away. We can no longer turn a deaf ear to the cry of sorrow which is coming from these areas. That is what we have to say. That is what we have to tell the French and Portuguese imperialists. However much they might bank upon the support which the Americans have promised and the support which the English, somewhat timidly, have tentatively promised them, they must give an undertaking that after a certain date they will quit. If they do not quit, we

are no longer responsible for whatever action the people of that area are taking and we must not be internationally criticised if our people also assist those of their countrymen who are living in these foreign pockets. I should say, therefore, that we ought to take a very strong line in regard to this matter.

Now, the Prime Minister referred to the Colombo Conference and I certainly should concede that, in spite of the somewhat unpropitious composition of the conference, the pressure of public opinion was such that the decisions of the Colombo conference has largely been a blow, a powerful blow, directed against American imperialism and other imperialisms which are trying to dominate over Asia. But, I did not quite understand when the Prime Minister said that reference was made to Tunisia and Morocco and not to places like Kenya or Malaya which are mentioned so often in this House. He said that mention was made of Tunisia and Morocco because they are not under colonial powers, but they had quasi-sovereign jurisdiction and therefore they stand in a different category. I say by all means let us mention Tunisia and Morocco, but let us not forget Malaya and Kenya and such other areas of the British Empire as British Guiana. Why should we forget them, I see no reason. Tunisia and Morocco might stand in a different category. When we speak of Tunisia and Morocco, our arguments are different, but in regard to Malaya, in regard to Kenya, in regard to British Guiana, in regard to so many other areas of the world, we also have to say what we feel. There, I have a suspicion I do not want to put it more strongly than that—that it is only because of our association with the British Commonwealth that we cannot take a forthright attitude on this point. I know I annoy the Prime Minister, but I am quite used to it. I do annoy him, but what can I do? I cannot help it. I do say, I aver it, I assert it, with all the emphasis at my command that this kind of discrimination, when we try to attack the imperialist process in Tunisia and Morocco and do not attack or condemn the heinous activities in Malaya and Kenya, is something which I do not like.

Then, I heard the Prime Minister with much interest in regard to the Colombo conference decision that there should be no interference—Communist or anti-Communist or any other—in the areas of Asia. He said also the world today is a place where it appears as if a *dharm yudh* is going on, a crusade is going on, and we do not like it, we want to be left alone. I agree entirely that we want to be left alone, and I say as a Communist what has been said over and over again that Communism is not a matter for export. It cannot be taken in a suitcase from one country to another. The Communist influence on India is something which can only have validity and reality if it grows out of the conditions of our country. That goes without saying. That is one of the primary presuppositions of Marxist thought. I would ask the Prime Minister what exactly are the influences which we have

so far experienced. Since 1947 when the Prime Minister came to his office, who has interfered in India's internal affairs—Britain, United States of America or the Soviet Union or China? In Kashmir who has been continuously interfering and plotting against our sovereignty and independence? Did not the Prime Minister once say in regard to Truman and Attlee that they were trying to bring some kind of pressure on us in regard to Kashmir?

As far as the people of Pakistan are concerned did the Soviet Union impose a pact on them, or is it the Americans who are now having their domination over that area by imposing this pact on them? The people of Burma can justly ask their Prime Minister: "Who let loose the Kuomin-tang bandits on the people of Burma? Was it the American imperialists, or was it the Soviet Union or China?" The people of Ceylon—I mention those countries which were represented in the Colombo conference—would certainly ask their Prime Minister: "Who put terrific pressure on the Government to see to it that there was not an advantageous economic deal between the People's Republic of China and Ceylon—the rubber-and-rice transaction? Who put the kind of pressure which was wrong?" The people of Indonesia might certainly ask their Prime Minister: "Who intervened against us when we were fighting arms in hand against the Dutch colonialists? Was it the United States, or was it the Soviet Union?" Who are these foreign interventionists? Are they Communist interventionists? Have you ever been able to spot them? We know, everybody knows, in Indo-China who are supplying the French with arms and ammunition. They are openly bragging about it. They have not yet found one single Soviet soldier or anything like that. There is no evidence to show that the Soviet or Chinese are interfering directly in the war. Of course, they are neighbours of China and, so to speak, they have their affiliation, but that is a different matter. But, where is the intervention? I would beg of the Prime Minister to remember what he knows more than most of his followers, that countries with a socialist economy do not require imperialistic areas of exploitation. They do not have heir super-profits to sink in other areas where they can mullet the labour, sweat the labour and squeeze super-profits. They do not need this sort of thing. He knows it very well. That is why, the danger today to our freedom is not from Communist influences abroad, but from these imperialist influences which are stalking all over our land, which are stalking over Asia and Africa and which are trying to dominate the whole world. That is a point which I would like the Prime Minister to remember, because, as I say, he has made a study of these things. He knows that more than many of his followers, who have rather no idea in regard to how these affairs are being conducted in the world today.

In regard to the *Dharm Yudh* he has said:

"*सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्*"

It must be written somewhere or other on the panels of this House. He said that truth will triumph. We say, yes, the truth will triumph. He has asked for peaceful co-existence. I could give you chunks of quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-Tung and all the authoritative exponents of Communism, who have spoken on co-existence. But we do not believe that this co-existence will last for ever. We believe that the stamp of doom is on capitalism. Capitalism will go. We can co-exist for quite a long time as far as we can see. But in competition, real competition capitalism will go down before socialism. There is no doubt about it. As sure as I am speaking here, and as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, capitalism will go, and socialism, will come. But we say we do not have to fight, we do not have to send arms and ammunition, we do not have to send spy rings into different countries, because we depend upon the objective development of social and economic forces in every country, which would lead to the inevitable success or victory of socialist forces. That being so, the *dharm yudh* is going on, and

"सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्"

Truth will triumph. Do not try to vitiate the truth by giving a handle to imperialist powers to distort reality, to intimidate people, to thwart their spirit, and to depress their courage which is going to recreate the world nearer their hearts' desire.

I do not wish to take any more time of this House, but I think it is a happy coincidence that we are discussing foreign policy on the eve of a very auspicious day, *vaishakhi poornima* day, the day when the prince of peace, the Lord Buddha was born, the day when he achieved enlightenment, and the day when he departed from this world. But what did the Buddha stand for? He has left us a heap of treasure that neither moth nor rust can corrupt, that not even our traitorship, if we become traitors to that legacy, can sully. He has left us that heap of treasure. But what did he preach? He preached peace, but peace based on right living and right thinking. Let us try to live rightly and to think rightly. That shall certainly make us find out who are our friends, which ideas are welcome to our country, and how we are going to recreate our country. Then, and then alone, we shall be able to rid this world of ours today—this lovely world which we want to recreate in the manner it should be recreated—of the ugly miasma which haunts it today, and then we shall make up our minds to fight those forces of evil which are threatening the very existence of man and his possibilities of peaceful and happy existence.

Mr. Speaker, I feel it is a very good thing that we are having this opportunity of discussing the Motion and I am sure the House will agree when I say that it was a very good thing that our Prime Minister went to the last session of the United Nations General Assembly because that was a great occasion, and in many ways it has helped us to know who stands where and what each of the Great Powers is up to. The speech of the Prime Minister this morning has also given us a very clear picture of some of the major problems which confront the world today, and I am very happy that we have this opportunity of discussing the Motion.

From what the Prime Minister said and from what we have already read in the papers, it does appear that all efforts for peace, for colonial freedom and for international co-operation, efforts towards which India has made a very large contribution, are being sought to be perverted—almost sabotaged—by certain intrigues being conducted; and the Prime Minister has specifically given the instances of at least two Powers, Belgium and Portugal, which are behaving in a manner which surely world public opinion will detest.

Sir, as I said before, India has made a large contribution towards clearing the air and towards bringing about, as far as that is possible, international co-operation and the advance of colonial freedom and the achievement of peace. In the drama in the United Nations our part has been very heartening. But, what I wish to add, after having heard the Prime Minister, is that we should take certain lessons rather very seriously to heart, lessons which are implicit in the Statement which he has made before the House this morning.

In regard to disarmament, I need not repeat that India's stand has been such as certainly commends itself to the conscience of humanity; and the Prime Minister and the Government of India have made their position very clear. I am glad he said how disarmament and control have got to go together. The common man is very disturbed to find out that there is a controversy among the great powers in regard to which should start when. There is a feeling that the Soviets advocate complete disarmament, the acceptance of complete disarmament as an objective and the adoption of certain steps in

* *L.S. Deb.*, 22 November 1960. [Participating in the discussion on the Motion re: International Situation, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 17 September & 23 December 1953, 15 May and 29 September 1954, 20 November 1956, 2 September 1957, 1 September and 20 November 1960, 16 September 1963 and 12 July 1972 during discussions on similar Motions].

that regard from now. On the other hand, the position of what is called, rather euphemistically, the free world, is that controls have to come first and disarmament will come later. But the Prime Minister has said very clearly that disarmament and controls have got to go together. We have to be absolutely clear about our objective in regard to complete disarmament, and, particularly, immediate abolition of nuclear armament. And that is why it is very good thing that the Prime Minister has made it very clear and unequivocally that disarmament and control have got to go together.

And I am happy that in this regard there is complete agreement between our country and the socialist countries, countries like USSR. The most vital issue of the day being disarmament, the first and foremost objective in the world today being the achievement of peace, a world without war being what we all aim at, it is a very good thing that India has come out very clearly. India had stated her position even earlier. But it is necessary to remember that this idea of disarmament and controls proceedings together, this idea of the effective advance towards complete disarmament, towards a world without war is being sought to be prevented, is being sought to be more or less sabotaged by the activities of what are called the Western Powers. And that is why we noticed that when the Prime Minister was in the United Nations—he had said that—how certain proposals which emanated from the Western Powers did not really assist the achievement of this objective.

In regard to anti-colonialism, to the question of Africa in particular, the Prime Minister has expressed sentiments about which, I am sure, there would be complete unanimity in this House. I only wish there was some mention in the Prime Minister's speech of Cuba. I remember his having told Dr. Castro, the leader of Cuba, that he was happy to meet him because he was a very brave man. Cuba is a very brave country. Though small it is challenging the might of the United States of America where imperialism is very much alive and an ugly thing. But, otherwise, the kind of things to which the Prime Minister has drawn our attention could not have happened on the world stage today. In regard to Cuba, I feel that a word of appreciation from the Prime Minister about the effort which the people of Cuba, under Castro's leadership, are making against imperialism and its depredations, would have been very much in order, would have been very seemly. Congo, of course, naturally occupies the attention of the world most of all at the present moment. And I am very happy that the Prime Minister has repeated that the one solid thing in Congo today is the Parliament and the settlement in Congo must proceed on the basis of the Parliament being called and getting into the picture properly speaking.

In regard to Congo, I do not think it is necessary for me to expatiate a great deal after what the Prime Minister has said. But I wish to say that we are happy that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal, an Indian national, even though he is

an international civil servant at the present moment, has done his job of work in such a very splendid fashion. We have got his report. And this report also shows how differently Shri Rajeshwar Dayal has tackled the extremely difficult problems in Congo when we recall what had been done by his principal Mr. Hammarskjoeld. I am sorry I have to say that. After all, it is necessary to remember that perhaps the position in Congo would not have deteriorated; perhaps the waters would not have been muddied in Congo if earlier the United Nations had behaved with a little more integrity, with a little more sympathy and understanding of the desire of the people of Congo.

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I think I better disregard the kind of observations in regard to the work of an Indian national, who, as an international civil servant has done a job of work which requires expression of appreciation in an unqualified fashion.

In regard to Congo, we know that Belgium is the villain of the peace. The Prime Minister has made it very clear. But Belgium is not alone. Behind Belgium are certain powers which the Prime Minister in his position could not name. But we know who they are. Only the other day, in the city of Louvain in Belgium, Mr. Spaak, the Secretary-General of NATO made a speech; and he said that by any means the NATO powers should stay in Africa, particularly in the Congo, because, otherwise, Communists would take over. I can understand this kind of animus against Shri Rajeshwar Dayal himself in certain quarters because of this kind of fear being expressed by the Secretary-General of NATO. I think it is a tribute to Communism that whenever our colonial people emerge into freedom there is a fear in certain quarters that their emergence into freedom might take the shape of a Communist society. But, we know very well who are behind Belgium. We know very well United States' stand in regard to Congo, in regard to this Good Offices Commission which is going, in regard to the seating of Mr. Kasavubu as representative of the Congo, in regard to all the troubled waters as far as the active settlement on the basis of parliamentary activities being reestablished in Congo is concerned. So, the Prime Minister has said very clearly how in Katanga and Kasai and such areas the behaviour of Belgium and the friends of Belgium who are operating not so much behind the scenes but very clearly has been absolutely egregious.

But this being so, the position in the Congo being now very clear, a state of things might arise where the Western Powers, as they are called, might line up against Shri Rajeshwar Dayal's report as they have done; and we shall see the socialist countries and many of the other countries like our own

support the report of Shri Rajeshwar Dayal and its implications and the duties which devolve upon the United Nations in this regard.

I know that the Prime Minister has told us today that we cannot do things overnight, that we cannot do things in a hurry. The position is difficult; all sorts of complicated problems are there. We have to have patience and modesty and all that sort of thing. But where the position is so very clear, it is not necessary for us, only because we are uncommitted, to go on being uncommitted. I am very glad that the Prime Minister said that our neutrality, if it is neutrality, is very positive and that we stand for certain objectives. In regard to Congo the position is now so very clear that as far as the only settlement which will bring about real freedom in the Congo is concerned, that settlement is being opposed, as I said before sabotaged, by certain interests. On the other hand there is the other suggestion put forward authoritatively by Shri Dayal's report as well as by the other Afro-Asian nations and other countries like the Soviet Union and other socialist representatives in the UN which is, on its own merits, the real solution of the problem of Congo. After listening to the Prime Minister, we would expect that the Indian stand continues to be positive, and strong and continues to be such as would bring about conditions of freedom in the Congo.

The Prime Minister referred to the question of structural changes in the UN and as he very rightly pointed out, the structure of the UN today is completely out of tune with the changes that have taken place because of the emergence into freedom of so many countries, in Africa in particular. Here also he says that things cannot be done in a hurry. I agree I do not expect India should run about the place trying to bring about changes in the Charter and that sort of thing. In this House we have been given particulars about the inadequate representation of even our country in the higher echelons of the UN. According to certain figures which were presented before the UN and reported in the Press, 17 posts of Assistant Secretary-Generals out of a total of 28 are held by representatives of the Western bloc—7 by representatives of the US, one by a Socialist country's representative and ten by representatives of uncommitted nations. Of the existing 34 posts of Director-General 28 or 83 per cent belong to the Western bloc—14 or 41 per cent are held by the US, 5 by the neutral countries and only one, by a socialist nation, USSR. This kind of imbalance is already there. It is not merely the quantitative imbalance to which I want to draw the attention of the House. The very fact of Shri Dayal's getting into the picture in Congo had brought about a qualitative change in the atmosphere of the UN activities in that part of the country. That shows how the problems in the world cannot be tackled if these problems are to be left to the tender mercies of certain representatives of the free world who happen today to be in a dominant position in the UNO. It is, therefore, very important that, howsoever quietly and modestly it may be necessary for

days, and after the "New Bandung", perhaps, we will have a very different atmosphere in the whole world.

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I know, Sir, that because all over the world liberation is moving ahead at such a pace some people are highly disturbed and therefore new diversionary tactics are needed and that is why the atmosphere has to be muddy, that is why the whole tempo of the world today has to be disturbed, that is why certain passions have to be roused and that is why my hon. friend Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has given notice of an amendment which is a loud wail of woe at what India did at the United Nations and which wants us, so to speak, to go back upon all our declarations in regard to our objectives in the sphere of foreign policy. Sir, I know these diversionary tactics are necessary for certain people, but I do not think that these diversionary tactics would really pay and I do not think it would be seemly for the Government of India to give any kind of countenance to these diversionary tactics which are being adopted.

I refer to these diversionary tactics particularly because of what happened yesterday. And even today you said when the debate started that some reference might be made in regard to the question of the borders. We have made our position very clear. We surely want a settlement as quick as we can of the India-China dispute. We have declared over and over again that if Indian territory and its integrity is violated then the Communists would be the first of all to jump to the defence of our country.

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When the call for defence of the territory of our country comes we shall find out who responds and who does not. But that is a different matter. The emphasis today is on peaceful settlement of whatever disputes there are. That is the policy of this country, that is the policy of the Government of this country, and we stand by that policy. Because we emphasise the idea of a settlement which is in the interests of our two countries, not only of our two countries but of all ex-colonial countries which are fighting for freedom, we are being hauled over the coals. I do not mind being hauled over the coals, but I do mind when propaganda which is mendacious, which has no truth at all is conducted against it.

Sir, I do not wish to go into the details, but yesterday the Prime Minister mentioned three cases. He said he did it unwillingly, it was not his desire to do so and it was not normal either to do so. But I am sorry, if this is the sample of information on the basis of which he has given some kind of support to our friends here who delight in maligning Communists every time they get a chance, then I am very sorry indeed. With regard to those

three people, one man had already given a repudiation of the information which apparently has come to Government. The other man, Mr. Krishan Bhatt is a person whose whereabouts at least I through the apparatus with which I am in contact have not been able to identify. There is another case, that of Shri Mazumdar from West Bengal, whom I know very well, with whom also I have not been able so far to get in contact, but about whom I can say with a great deal of confidence that he is not a person likely to say the kind of thing reported about him. There is no doubt that the Prime Minister naturally depends upon Special Branch information. We know how the Special Branch information is collected. If on the basis of this kind of information we get accusations hurled and sought to be answered—very naturally if accusations are hurled they have to be answered—then I am sorry the whole position is so bad that the atmosphere gets unnecessarily disturbed.

I know, Sir, one of the leaders of our party, a former General Secretary, went to Himachal, because he belongs to that area, to address some party meeting. All the local papers reported him correctly. Even some of the right wing papers of Delhi reported him correctly. Only in one Delhi paper the *Hindustan Times* Special Correspondent sent out deliberately propaganda which is so mendacious, reports which were so inaccurate, which never corresponded with reports given by other people. It shows how there is a deliberate propaganda being conducted only in order to distort the picture in our country today, only in order to muddy the waters, as I have said so many times before.

We are all keen upon the security of our borders and I would rather ask the Government instead of worrying about us—if they want to worry about us let them, they are very welcome—let them also take some other steps about security in the borders. Punjab is a border State. There shootings take place even inside the jail and a disturbed atmosphere continues. I do hope Government gives some attention to solution of problems which have cropped up in the Punjab, a territory which being on the border needs a much greater sustenance, a much greater and more careful looking after. Assam is a border State. As far as the Nagas are concerned, even today the Prime Minister answered certain questions which shows that the war atmosphere continues in some areas of the Naga land. As far as the Brahmaputra Valley is concerned, the ruling party has condoned certain activities which politically and morally are nauseating. We have not settled the problem of Assam at all. I do wish that some attention, some serious thinking is given.

Then, again, as far as our borders are concerned, there is Pakistan. We want friendship with Pakistan. We do not like some of our friends here to get up and say that the Canal Waters Treaty has got to be written off....

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We do not say that sort of thing. We want friendship with the people of Pakistan. But we want at the same time to warn the country that through the Canal Waters Treaty the World Bank, which is the international mechanism of big money interests abroad, is getting a finger in our pie. We want to warn our country that only the other day the CENTO naval manoeuvres took place near Karachi where the United States and U.K. aircraft carriers took part. We heard reports that the headquarters of CENTO might even be transferred to Karachi. We read reports of the Pakistan Finance Minister making a statement that he appealed to the United States of America and he had got an assurance from the party which is going to be in power, the Democratic Party in the United States, that the United States military assistance to Pakistan is going to be stepped up. We know all that. We read about the time bomb speeches in reference to Kashmir made by President Ayub of Pakistan. We read also about India thinking of handing over certain areas to Pakistan even without the slightest reference to the people living there, the 12,000 people of Beru Bari. Sir, I am not going into the merits of the question. Let us be careful really and truly about the condition of our borders. Let us be really and truly aware of what is happening in our neighbouring countries. Let us remember that the biggest fact today, as the Prime Minister very clearly and cogently pointed out, is the successful fight against colonialism, against chauvinism that is going on all over, and because of the resurgence of Africa and Asia there is no force on earth, not even the United States and U.K. if they are given strength a million fold, which will be in a position to defeat this upsurge of people all over the world. That being the context of things, it is very necessary for us to have a proper perspective. That is why I say that India has done a grand job of work in the United Nations. India has put up her case for peace, for disarmament, for anti-colonialism and all that it implies. India shall go ahead and ought to go ahead now much further with greater *elan*, with greater spirit, and try to have back a new Bandung atmosphere so that, as in 1955, so again in 1960 or 1961, we can move with such strides that the whole world would soon be a world without war, a world of freedom, a world where the kind of spectre which haunts the peoples,—because of armaments continuing at the rate at which they do today,—is no longer there, a world for which our people have fought for their freedom, a world which we want to achieve as soon as we ever can for our children and our children's children. To that task, India has made a very large contribution. May that contribution be enlarged; may we have a more realistic approach and may we do all we can which will really and truly bring about Afro-Asian solidarity as an instrument for changing the history of the world in the 20th century.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, it is a good thing that we are now having an Extradition Act which would consolidate and amend the law existing today in regard to extradition of fugitive criminals. I feel, however, that there has been a certain amount of haste on the part of the Government in bringing forward this Bill in the present shape. I want an Extradition Act to be put on our Statute-book as soon as possible. But, I do wish that our consolidated Act is something which is fully in conformity with the spirit of our Constitution and the desires of our people.

I say that there has been some haste in the Government coming forward in regard to this Bill also because I would have liked the Government to have suggested a reference of this matter either for eliciting opinion from circles which are in the know about this kind of thing or for reference to a Select Committee. I did not myself give notice of an amendment of that sort, because, I could guess from the go of things that it was merely a cry in the wilderness. I am suggesting it now to the Government that perhaps it would be wiser, perhaps it would be more advisable for the Government to wait a little longer. Perhaps the Ministers are in consultation.

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I feel that in regard to this matter, more care should have been taken. Particularly because, the Law Commission itself had suggested that this kind of a statute might profitably have been referred to the Law Commission. I am quoting from the Fifth report of the Law Commission which was concerned with British statutes applicable to India. There, we find an Appendix, where a certain number of statutes are mentioned. The idea of the Law Commission was that consideration of these statutes should be postponed till the Government proceeded to legislate upon them and the opinion of the Commission was sought. I do not quite know if the opinion of the Commission had been sought in this matter. If it had been, I have no grouse at all.

At that point of time when the Law Commission submitted its Fifth Report to the Government of India, there was also a note by Dr. N.C. Sen Gupta who was a Member of the Commission, which suggested that the

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 17 August 1961. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 7 August 1962 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill which was aimed at providing for the amendment of the then existing law in regard to extradition of fugitive criminals became 'The Extradition' Act, 1962'.

Extradition Act should be taken up as quickly as possible. He had referred to certain difficulties which ought to be sought to be overcome when legislation was brought before Parliament. I find that the suggestions made in Dr. N.C. Sen Gupta's note to the Fifth report of the Law Commission of India have not been properly observed. I find, for instance, in the Bill, there is naturally and necessarily reference to extradition treaties and on page 2, clause 2, sub-clause (d), it is said what an extradition treaty means. Dr. N.C. Sen Gupta in this minute had pointed out—I am quoting from pages 89 and 90 of the Fifth report of the Law Commission of India—

> "The question as to the existence of Extradition treaty of India with other countries is not free from difficulty. The answer to the enquiry by the Commission to the Government of India does not clear up the matter. The continuance of the rights and obligations under the International agreements is governed by the International Agreements Order made by the Governor-General under section 9 of the Indian Independence Act. International conventions and membership of international organizations are governed by paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Schedule to that Order." Paragraph 4 lays down a more general rule in the following words:
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> "Subject to articles 2 and 3 of this agreement, rights and obligations under all international agreements to which India is a party immediately before the appointed day will devolve both upon the Dominion of India and upon the Dominion of Pakistan, and will, if necessary, be apportioned between the two Dominions."

And Dr. Sen Gupta goes on to say:

> "This makes it clear that India becomes a party to all conventions and International organisations of which India, before the Partition, was a member, for instance, the United Nations, the Berne Convention on Copyright and various labour and other conventions under the League of Nations, now United Nations. But with regard to treaties, the provision in paragraph 4 of the Schedule to the Order does not make the position clear at all."

Then, he adds :

> "But with regard to other foreign countries, India had the advantage of Extradition treaties by the British Government with those countries. The question whether these treaties continue or not is not at all free from ambiguity. Questions arise whether India is a party to such treaties within the meaning of paragraph 4 where the treaties were concluded not with India specifically but with Britain on behalf of the entire British Empire. Secondly, if the treaty exists, whether the advantage of it or the obligations under it have passed to India or to Pakistan also remains obscure."

I have made this rather lengthened quotation, because I discovered that India under the British dispensation had entered into or had agreed to certain international conventions which have a bearing upon the law of extradition and particularly in regard to the definition of political offence. I am sure the hon. Law Minister will agree with me that the definition of political offence is a very important matter in regard to extradition, because fugitive criminals are extradited from one country to the other, but if it is a political offence under which a fugitive person is charged, then, naturally, no question of extradition ought to arise, particularly, in a country like ours. I should refer to this matter in some detail a little later. But I find—I am quoting from *Oppenheim's International Law (Lawterpacht's Sixth Edition of* 1947—that at page 649 of this book, it is found that :

> "At Geneva in November, 1937, there was a convention which was signed by 23 States who had undertaken to treat as criminal offences acts of terrorism including conspiracy, incitement and participation in such acts, and in some cases to grant extradition for such offences.".

Now, political terrorism was sought by this convention to be brought under the definition of ordinary crimes so that anybody against whom ostensibly a case of political terrorism could be set out would be extraditable. Apart from India, and this is what Oppenheim's book says, no member of the British Commonwealth of nations signed this convention, but India signed it because India in those days was a country which as a member of the British Empire wanted to pose before the world a certain definition of political offence, that is to say, political terrorism or whatever can come under the wide definition of political terrorism would not have the immunity which political offences are given as far as the extradition law is concerned.

We all know about the famous case of Savarkar and we know how bravely he had jumped off the ship at Marseilles and he had swum across to the soil of France; we know also how the French police possibly acting in connivance with the British authorities on board the ship caught hold of Savarkar, and he was surrendered to the British authorities on board the P&O ship in which he was travelling. We know all that. That was a complete violation of international law. It was such a violation of international law that France actually had to submit a petition that this should not have been done and that Savarkar should be returned to France but then the Hague Court of those days held that he could not be returned, and an error had been made, there was no doubt about it that he was a political offender, and, therefore, he should not have been extradited; but once an error had been committed, it could not be rectified. That is a very famous decision on the Savarkar case which is generally mentioned in every standard book on international law, and we are very well aware of it. But in our extradition law there is a special

provision that we can offer asylum to those who are suffering under political obloquy or under some kind of political charge, and that is why it is very necessary that we have a definite understanding that this kind of convention to which India had made herself a party in the pre-Independence days is no longer valid at all.

I referred to this matter only because Dr. Sen Gupta himself has pointed out in his note appended to the report of the Law Commission that these are matters which have got to be very carefully gone into, and, therefore, it is something to which Government ought to give its very careful attention.

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I can only say this that all attempts, from the point of view of international law to define a political offence have not yet succeeded; that is to say, there are three schools of thought; one which says that a political motive or a political purpose would exonerate, and, therefore, that something done, whether violent or non-violent, even a murder which is committed for a political objective ought to be exonerated, another view is that it ought not to be exonerated; and a third view tries to go in between and it suggests that the merits of the matter have got to be examined. But every attempt so far made to define a political offence for purposes of extradition which would be unanimously acceptable has failed, and international conventions in that regard have not yet been possible because of this difference, insofar as international jurists are concerned.

Therefore, I feel that as far as we are concerned, we have got to take very great care that he do not do anything which suggests that we do not offer political asylum. England, for instance, has a very good record in spite of her having an empire and all that, as far as offering political asylum is concerned, it has a very fine record. And in a book like this, namely Oppenheim's book, for instance, I find that the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic had an article in their Constitution; it is a quotation in French, which says that—

> "All foreigners persecuted for political activity or for religious conviction would have the right of asylum."

Now, every reputable country agrees on the right of asylum to be given to political offenders, and I wish that our Government does not take any step which can even remotely be interpreted to mean that we are not treating political offenders with the very greatest care, as far as extradition is concerned.

Then, again, in clause 4 of the Bill, it has been said, of course, that fugitive criminals shall not be surrendered or returned to a foreign State or Commonwealth country, if the offence in respect of which the surrender is

sought is of a political character and then it goes on to explain it. But I find some difficulty, because there is a chapter called chapter III which relates to the Commonwealth countries, and there is a very distinct difference between this Chapter and the rest of the Bill.

There is, in the First Schedule, a list of the Commonwealth countries with which we have our extradition arrangements, and in the Third Schedule, the extradition offences in relation to Commonwealth countries to which Chapter III applies are enumerated.

Now, I do not know why in this enumeration of extraditable offences in relation to Commonwealth countries I find reason being mentioned. Piracy is first, and then it is treason. Every definition of a political offence insofar as definition has been attempted, says that treason, sedition and that sort of thing should certainly come under the definition of a political offence.

I was looking up the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences where it is said that there is no generally accepted definition of a political offence, but obviously it includes more than treason, sedition and the like, since these offences are not included in the treaty lists of extraditable crimes. Now in the list of extraditable crimes insofar as the Commonwealth countries are concerned, we include 'treason'. I do not understand why Commonwealth countries include, for instance, Pakistan, Malaya, Singapore and so on. It may very well be that somebody in Pakistan is hauled up for treason and he runs away to this country. Now, are we going to interpret the provisions in this Bill in such a way that because Pakistan is a Commonwealth country and because treason is an extraditable offence, as we have put down in the Third Schedule, therefore, the fugitive from Pakistan who has been accused of treason ought to be given over to Pakistan or to Malaya or to some other country? This is a provision which is a very dangerous one. That is why I feel that we have to give a great deal more attention to this kind of measure than we have done so far. This kind of thing is supposed to be too technical, too difficult, for the likes of us to deal with and we therefore leave the matter to the discretion of Government and the omniscience which Government has. Naturally we have confidence that Government in this kind of matter will move with proper circumspection and look into these things. I find that there are certain things in this Bill which require very much more careful consideration than we have been able to give so far.

Then again I have noticed from Oppenheim's book on International Law in the section on Extradition—my hon. Friend, the Law Minister, knows a great deal about this kind of thing—that there are certain countries, especially on the Continent of Europe, which have a provision in their extradition law to the effect that as far as their own nationals are concerned, they do not

extradite them; they do not send them over to the other country if they have committed some crime elsewhere. They are punished in the country of their origin. They do not surrender their own nationals. England surrenders her own nationals. The United States surrenders her own nationals. Now, they have a certain tradition and a certain way of looking at things. We may have a great deal of affinity with them as far as British jurisprudence is concerned. It may be following the British practice, therefore, that we are thinking of surrendering our own nationals. But the Continent of Europe, the majority of countries on the Continent of Europe, have a provision in their extradition law saying that they do not surrender their own nationals, but they try to do their duty by punishing the nationals concerned for whatever crime they may have committed. For the purpose, they get the evidence from the other side. They have that kind of reciprocal arrangement.

We have to think very hard about this kind of thing. In the present posture of affairs, is it very necessary for us to follow the British practice insofar as the extradition of our nationals is concerned?

Then again, I find that as far as the forms regarding requests for extradition are concerned, general international law insists that the forms should be rather carefully worded and rigid formalities should be properly observed. Now, we have also laid down that the request has to come through the Embassy or other representation of the country concerned. But there is a saving clause, that there may be 'other arrangements', apart from the request to be formally and properly conveyed through the Embassies or similar organizations. There is a provision in our Bill here which says that other arrangements might also be arrived at with other countries and those arrangements might be the methods of securing the extradition of our own nationals. Reciprocally, we might have the same advantage. But are we really getting any advantage out of this business? Should we not be rather more careful than we are at the moment?

These are the things which have got to be very carefully gone into. I cannot understand why Government had to bring forward this Bill to be passed this very Session. If we have waited so long, we might as well wait till the next Session.

Then I find a particular differentiation between Commonwealth countries and other countries. After all, there is no very special reason why our extradition procedure and even the principles of our extradition law should be rather different in the case of Commonwealth countries whereas they are more rigid as far as other countries are concerned. If we really consider certain principles to be correct, let us apply those principles to all countries without any discrimination, whichever country comes and wishes to have reciprocal relationship with us—of course that goes without saying.

Therefore, I feel that all these matters have to be taken very carefully into consideration. To recapitulate, I would insist that Government pays more attention to Dr. Sen Gupta's Note to the Fifth Report of the Law Commission of India. I say that the expression 'extradition treaty' should be defined a great deal more carefully than it has been. I wish a very clear enunciation of what the position is in regard to those conventions and other understandings which India had arrived at with other countries before we were independent, and I say that in regard to the definition of political offences, we have got to be a great deal more careful, specially in regard to the inclusion of 'treason' in the Third Schedule—which means that if Commonwealth countries want people accused of treason—may be wrongly—we have to surrender them, we have to give over our own nationals to their custody.

There are certain other things also which have to be gone into. This is a technical matter which, I feel, has to be examined with some circumspection. But somehow Government seems to be in a hurry. I do wish the Government holds its hands and there is a reference of this matter to some kind of consultative process. I do not suggest that a Select Committee of this House is the best thing. May be for elicitation of opinion, Government can circulate it. But at least I suggest that Government should not proceed in a hurry. There are certain misgivings in my mind which are by no means clarified when I find the Bill as it is and when I heard what the Law Minister said when moving the Motion for consideration of this Bill.

CHINA'S AGGRESSION AND PROCLAMATION OF EMERGENCY*

...In the unavoidable absence of the leader of our Group, who is indisposed, it has devolved on me to speak on behalf of our party on the Resolutions placed before the House by the Prime Minister and I would begin by saying that we are offering unqualified support to the Resolutions which he has placed before the House.

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I feel that the greater the determination in our country for defeating the menace which threatens to overtake us, the greater should be a display of collective responsibility as far as discussions in this House are concerned. I beg of this House to give an example to the country in trying to understand the gravity of the situation with which we are confronted today.

The Prime Minister has tried to place the events of today in the perspective of world history and he has made certain observations which are not observations which can be dismissed just like that and which, therefore, should be received in that receptive mood which the country has a right to expect of our Parliament. As far as we are concerned, it may be that we take a certain amount of time in exercising whatever grey matter Providence has given us; but once we come to a decision, we proclaim it unreservedly without any kind of qualification and here are two Resolutions to which we can give absolutely categorical support.

I say this because, I need not repeat, but it is a fact which smites us in the eye so to say, that we live at a time much more grim than we have ever faced since our Independence. The Prime Minister has told us, and it does not need his telling because his whole life is witness to that, that our country has tried to pursue the ways of peace, our people are conditioned to peace, our Government has tried to preach the evangel of peace to all the world, sometimes at the cost of being misunderstood, and yet, on account of what the Prime Minister said the other day, was a quirk of destiny, on account of a quirk of destiny, we are confronted with aggression by our neighbour China, which has openly violated our borders and invaded our territory. This is a

* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 November 1962. [Participating in the discussion on Motion re: China's Aggression and Proclamation of Emergency, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 26 November and 22 December 1959 and 16 February 1966 on a similar subject].

situation which can only be answered by determination—determination to unite in defence of our motherland and this, whatever differences we may have in certain regards, is a categorical imperative. That is why on behalf of our party, in the highest forum of our country, we reiterate our resolve and we join hands with all who are behind the Prime Minister and we give support to the policies that he is pursuing at this juncture of our history.

Before I proceed, I must also be permitted to pay my tribute to the heroism of our magnificient soldiers who have already, fighting against heavy odds, shown something of the glory of our people's character. Let us salute the memory of those who have given their lives for our country. Let us even more assure the fighters at the front that those of us who are at the rear are determined not to fail them. We are members of one another, the front and the rear and together we shall succeed in our efforts.

I recall how we have discussed this question previously in this House and on many occasions, I remember, I have tried to think aloud in order to discover if there was any sense in the kind of thing which was being done by China on our border. We have been trying to find out what possibly could have been the motives; what madness has seized the People's Government of China today, I do not know. I cannot even hope to be able to fathom. What we have discovered, however, is that our country's patriotic pride has been hurt and our people's sentiments have not been respected. Nothing in the world can justify armed invasion of the type which China, according to the reports presented to us by the Prime Minister, has perpetrated on our borders. No ideological or other kind of sophistry, no jugglery of geographical or political claims on China's part can justify this invasion. They have hurt us and they have hurt us in a manner which would go against the interests of the people not only of these two countries but the people of all the world. Therefore, at the moment, the only thing which we can do is to be determined to be ready for the worst. We are determined to face whatever is happening. But, at the same time as we get ready for the worst. I would like to say this that we still have a hope that the world's conscience will be roused in a strong and effective enough manner in regard to this matter. Full scale war between two countries which comprise more than a third of humanity is something which cannot even be contemplated without a shudder to the deepest roots of our understanding. That is a kind of perspective which threatens to open. That is why our country's Government even now lays this stress on peace, peace with honour : never at the cost of honour. That stress is always there. That stress is being put by the Prime Minister even today. That is why we can say that while we proclaim to all the world our determination that we shall not stomach the kind of thing which has been perpetrated on our borders, while we shall say that we shall resist to the uttermost and while we shall say that we will defend the sacred soil of our

motherland, while we say that between the rear and the front, we shall forge a kind of unity which shall be the true test and the proclamation of the glory of Indian character, at the same time, we keep on our stress on peace and we keep on with hope—a hope that over and over again may come to disillusionment, but even so, that hope is the stuff of something without which humanity cannot endure. Here is our country and here is our Prime Minister who has always unreservedly expressed that hope. We do hope that something will happen, something will be done, something which will reflect the reactions of the people and the determination of our people not to stomach humiliation.

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I come now to the policy which the Prime Minister is to pursue. I have a feeling that here in this Parliament, it is necessary for us to say and to proclaim to all the world how our people stand united behind the policies of the Prime Minister. We happen to have a Prime Minister who has the trust and affection of his people. We happen to have a Prime Minister whom we can trust without any kind of reservation. He can be trusted to do the right thing. I know certain people would object to that. But, at least at this moment of crisis, something like national conscience should assert itself. We can leave it to the Prime Minister to conduct the day to day operations and bring about whatever kind of change in the structure of organization of things is found to be necessary. And that is why I, on behalf of our party, would say that the way the Prime Minister has proceeded has our complete support.... The dateline which is given namely 8 September 1962 as the dateline which could be observed by either side in order that necessary withdrawals might take place and then negotiations would happen, is a dateline which we certainly support with all our enthusiasm.

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The Prime Minister has very correctly laid emphasis on the necessity of increase in production, industrial as well as agricultural, in order that our efforts can be successfully prosecuted. Regarding production, as far as we are concerned, we have given the undertaking that we can deliver the goods. The working people of this country will certainly deliver the goods. The working people of this country realize the gravity of the situation. The working people on their side will never repudiate their responsibilities. But, at the same time, it is very necessary that the other people who queer the pitch, the profiteers, the hoarders, the black-marketeers, and the big money interests who have the run of the land also are brought to a frame of mind and of action where it will be possible for the working people whether in the fields or in the factories, to work to the maximum amount possible. Therefore, on

our behalf, we are ready; we have already in our resolution said openly that we are ready to help in every possible way in the increase of production. We are ready for all kinds of understandings which would be necessary in order to achieve that increase in production, but we have to be sure that Government exercises its influence over big money interests and over the hoarders and profiteers and blackmarketeers, and sees that after all, they are not able to damage the interests of this country at this most crucial situation.

The price-line, for example, has got to be held, and it is so important that things are done, and people are reassured that the price-line is really and truly going to be held.

The Committee headed by Professor Mahalanobis, for instance, is working still there, and we hope that its work will be expedited quickly enough so that certain policies can be formulated again as rapidly as that is ever possible.

On behalf of the working people, therefore, there might be a very clear assurance given to Government that every co-operation would be forth-coming for the increase of production. But that is only contingent upon a proper understanding of the situation. That is contingent upon the Government's exercising its influence over big money interests and seeing that they do not go astray and that they do not damage the interests of the country.

Already, some very important people have talked about the inequality of sacrifice which is happening in this country even in the face of the present crisis. That inequality of sacrifice has got to be eliminated. War is a testing time for the people's character. As far as the working people are concerned, they are the salt of the earth. They bear the burden of life. They are ready to do their share, but on the other hand, there are other interests, the anti-social interests, who have got to be looked after, whose conduct has got to be regulated, and those exactly are the people who are trying in subtle and not so subtle ways to bring about changes in the structure, to bring about a change even in the policy of non-alignment, which in spite of every difficulty, in spite of the present set of incidents, the invasion of this country and that sort of thing, is still cherished by the Government of this day.

That was why I was very glad to notice that the prime Minister reiterated his Resolution that whatever happens, this country would be pursuing its policy of non-alignment. I said that attacks are being made in subtle ways and in not so subtle ways also, on the policy of non-alignment. Efforts are being made to see that we break away from it. I am not going into any detail over it. But I am sure that the country will agree that we cannot be at the mercy of any one camp. We can not be involved in full scale cold war policies, whichever camp might be responsible at a particular moment of time for fanning it up. And non-alignment is something which has not dropped from

the skies; non-alignment is not something which has been thought out by the Prime Minister. Non-alignment is an ideal which has gripped us, because it has been implicit in the best aspects of our history. Non-alignment has been implicit in the way in which we conducted our struggle for freedom. Non-alignment has been implicit in the way in which after freedom we have been trying to build our country. Non-alignment is implicit in the way in which we are planning for a socialist society.

Panchsheel is a word which might be mocked at by certain people. It might be easy and fashionable to do so. But, whatever China might have done in regard to Panchsheel, Panchsheel is something which is redolent of the very spirit of Indian history at its best. Panchsheel is something which will cure the world's ills. This is the principle on the basis of which our people have fought in the past and they are fighting in the present. Therefore, I feel that our country adheres essentially and truly to the policy of non-alignment, but it has the job which is now forced upon her, that is, the job of defending the country.

I have noticed with regret and a certain amount of perturbation the report that a substantial number of members of our party have been arrested, presumably in pursuance of the present operations. I say I am very sorry about this, and I am very deeply perturbed also about it, but I want in this House to tell Government that I do not understand what the idea is. If there are suggestions that the Communist Party does not mean what it says, well, after all, history will give you the answer. Our behaviour will be the answer. There is the Resolution which we have passed, the Resolution which we have passed at our National Council. Copies of this Resolution would be available to whoever wants it, and they have been published openly in the press. There, we arrive at these decisions after a whole lot of discussion. It may be that some of you might object to the kind of prolonged discussion we have over things. We believe in discussion before decision. We believe in exercising whatever grey matter we have got, but after doing that, we come to certain decisions, and whatever you say, we are a disciplined lot; the members of our party, everyone of them is bound by them unless he chooses to walk out. Everyone is bound by the discipline of this Resolution, and in letter and in spirit, they would observe this resolution.

If, in spite of that we are pushed out of things, I cannot stop Government doing so. I am not asking to be included in a Committee of this or a Committee of that; I hate the idea of it; that is not the point at all. The point is that here is a call by the Prime Minister himself in the most stirring manner for the unity of the whole country. Behind that call, we are all trying to mobilise our people, and yet we discover the phenomena of certain steps being taken against us. I cannot stop Government going on and taking whatever steps it

chooses to take, but here are our cards. We put them on the table. We do not shilly-shally about things. We do not hide things. Whatever we have to say, we say that straightway. And here are the *bona fides* of the determination which we have made; here is a formulation which in letter and in spirit, it is our job, however, Government's behaviour might be, to pursue, and to bring into some kind of action. Therefore, I feel that this sort of thing which is happening at this particular moment is entirely undesirable, and that is why I have expressed my perturbation over it.

On this occasion, as you said earlier, it is necessary for us to keep a sense of balance and of proportion, and to behave with dignity, with the kind of effective dignity which would give something like a declaration to the world of the real solidity of our determination.

Therefore, I appeal to the House, let no discordant voices be raised; if there are matters of detail on which the critics of Government and its military and political direction lay a great deal of importance, let those matters of detail be conveyed to the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and their colleagues. Let them not be shouted about, not only in the market-place but also in Parliament. Let not such details, the noising about of which would not help anybody, least of all, ourselves, be raised here; let not that be done in this House. In this House, at any rate, let us discuss matters of principle; where details amount to something, where principle; where principles are yet to be evolved, surely, we are discussing that sort of thing. But let not matters of military and political detail, which had better be conveyed to Government, be noised about in this House which I fear sometimes, judging from the kind of scene which we have noticed this morning already. As you have said, let us conduct ourselves so that the country may move as one man and the world outside will learn a lesson.

We are meeting at a time of very great crisis and these testing periods really bring about an examination of our character. We recall only when crisis overtakes us how deeply attached. We are to the land of our birth. We belong, all of us, to this emerald country and it is only when a crisis of the sort which has overtaken us today takes place that we realize how dearly and deeply we love this land, how we love every blade of Indian grass. That is the sort of feeling which comes to us when this kind of crisis overtakes us in the manner in which it has done on this occasion. Let that love of our country lead to the fulfilling of our deepest ideals and our deepest desires. Let us soar—at least let us try to—soar above all petty calculations. We can do nothing better than do our duty, and that duty is patient. If we do our duty and leave the rest to whatever happens in the future, that would be the finest way of showing how the Indian character can repel attacks made upon it, humiliations sought to be imposed upon it. And surely if we behave in that fashion in conformity

with the finest traditions of our country, then we shall not only repel whatever danger has appeared to overtake us today, but we shall also lay down soundly and truly the foundations of a really good life to be built on the soil of our hoary land.

SHEDDING THE SHACKLES OF COMMONWEALTH*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it was a delight a little while ago to listen to our ardent Congress colleague, Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad, flagellating the historic hypocrisy of the British ruling class and the present Labour Prime Minister. Mr. Wilson, though he puts on the sheep's skin of British Socialism which is a shadow of something that never was, is still equally representative of his predecessors of the British ruling class. Shri Azad brought a whiff of fresh air into the discussion in this House. But I was really a little perturbed when I heard my very able friend, Shri Alvares, who made, I fear, a somewhat funereal opening, as far as this discussion was concerned.

Here is a discussion which we needed very badly. The Prime Minister has made a statement the other day, a dignified, restrained but powerful statement. But it needs to be spelt out so that the country's stand, the stand of Parliament behind the Prime Minister, can be properly stressed.

Sir, our people have been roused in unity, as never before, by this latest perfidious aggression form Pakistan. Our heroic armed forces on land and air have compelled Pakistan, however unwillingly, to agree to cessation of hostilities. President Ayub still seems to be letting out bellicose yells but perhaps he too has learnt a lesson. If aggression again comes from Pakistan, or from her ally China, or if there is an attack on our interests or on our integrity by Pakistan's wily patrons from the West with their CENTO, SEATO and other vile instruments of international banditry; this country, let there be no mistake about it, will meet their challenge and meet the situation squarely.

And we say this with confidence because we can recall with profit the combination which was arrayed against us till the other day—Pakistan, and of course China, and even the Western allies of Pakistan, all united in their objective of putting pressure on India in order that we may accept Pakistan's blackmailing conditions for peace. But the Indian fighting man and his valour proved superior to the sophisticated machines from imperialist countries. Our Jawans performed what can be called literal massacre of the Patton tanks, the much-vaunted Patton tanks, on which Pakistan depended to give us a telling blow. This reminds me what a pity it is that the United States, whose hands are soiled with Indian blood, could persuade our Government

* *L.S. Deb.*, 24 September 1965. [Participating in the discussion on the issue of Cease-fire between India and Pakistan and India quitting Commonwealth, he also spoke on similar and allied subjects on 12 October 1965 and 16 and 22 February 1966].

to withdraw from public exhibition the Patton tanks which Delhi citizens were thronging to see. I am told that the Defence Ministry spokesman had announced in the beginning that the Patton tanks would be exhibited not only in Delhi but in many other places in the country. But, for some mysterious reason, the tank has been taken away and even the papers do not report the fact of a tank having been on exhibition for a short while and then withdrawn from public show.

The reasons for such conduct can be guessed and discussed but I am leaving it to the Government to say something in this regard.

This will help to tell ourselves, to remind the country that on this occasion all communities have combined, joined hands together. In 1947-48 when Pakistan had committed aggression against Kashmir, the first Indian martyr to get Param Vir Chakra was Brigadier Usman. And on this occasion Hawaldar Abdul Hamid Khan has been given the Param Vir Chakra. I am reminded of what I heard sometime ago, and I quoted it the other day in this House and I am only repeating it, that the Muslim in India belongs to this country, and on behalf of a Muslim it was said once in my hearing and it stuck to my memory that when a Hindu dies his body is burnt and the ashes are thrown into the river to be carried, God knows where but when a Muslim dies he wants 6' x 3' of Indian earth. He belongs to this country in life as well as death. The Muslim in India, the Muslim in Kashmir and the Muslim in other parts of the country have shown that they belong to this country in life as well as in death.

Our people have shown courage. One of our colleagues, whom I do not see here, had shown characteristically stole courage. His only child was martyred during this war and he comes to Parliament and performs his duties like every other Member, Shri Hari Pada Chatterjee. These are deeds which will be written with a sun beam on the scrolls of Indian history and nothing will ever efface the memory of this kind of thing.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, she has committed what I am constrained to call certain barbarous deeds. Bombing by Pakistan has taken place even after the cease-fire was in operation. Napalm bombs secured from the United States, the source of all recent international abomination, have been used on Indian civilians by Pakistan. Attack on non-combatant passenger plane which was carrying Balwant Rai Mehtaji, that was mounted by Pakistan. Bombs on hospitals and places of worship have been rained with impunity by Pakistan. Apart from the treacherous aggression which the United Nations has not thought fit to single out to condemn, all these things have been done by Pakistan and we should tell the world about it. The world do not know many things, which is why perhaps many of our friends even do not understand

what we are about. We should make a special effort in order to be able to tell the world how Pakistan has been behaving politically, militarily, ethically, in every human sense, how the rulers of Pakistan have been behaving in this most egregious fashion and yet their patrons in the UK and the United States are standing by them in a way which is so very patent.

But there is another Pakistan, not merely the Pakistan which is represented by Ayubshahi. My hon. Friend, the Minister of Defence, made a very statesmanlike statement the other day refusing to extend the fighting to East Pakistan in spite of Pakistan having bombed Barrackpore near Calcutta and certain other places in West Bengal and Assam. That was a very statesmanlike statement.

We have to remember also that the people in Pakistan, the overwhelming majority of Muslims in East Pakistan, also behaved wonderfully. President Ayub was shouting: "Islam is in danger". That was the historic war cry of *jehad*. Yet, in East Pakistan there was communal peace; and, even more, there was open disapproval of the war with India. On the other side, far to the west, in Pakhtoonistan also the *jehad* trick did not work. There the movement is led by an indomitable hero of our united freedom movement, Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Let the Government of my country extend our hand of friendship to these elements in Pakistan. They would come to the surface; they are bound to come to the surface, for a military dictatorship like that of President Ayub can take anything but they can never take a military defeat. They are heading for disaster. This is only the beginning of the end of the kind of Ayubshahi which is searing in such ugly fashion the history of our sub-continent. To that end the energies of our Government in the proper diplomatic fashion has got to be directed.

Meanwhile, of course, the image of Ayub-led Pakistan shines brightly in the eyes of its powerful and persistent patrons from the West, the UK and the United States. I have said this before in this House and I repeat it that the United kingdom has never yet forgiven us our freedom. They did not mind Pakistan being nominally independent. India has many faults. Our Government, has made many mistakes and has many weaknesses. But India, whoever sits on the Treasury Benches, unlike present-day Pakistan, will never consent to be put in anybody's pocket, be it the UK or the USA or anybody else. That is why, knowing very well that India has a tradition to live up to, India has some principles in conformity with which her 5,000 years' life has so far been constructed, that India will never be in anybody's pocket, the Indian freedom is a phenomenon which has never been forgiven in the West and that is why we find the UK behaving in the egregious way it has been.

Ever since 1947, ever since Imperialism extracted from us the incalculable price of partition before it transferred power, Kashmir has been sought to be exploited against us. Kashmir in our classical texts is *bhooswarga*, a "heaven on earth"; but that has been sought to be turned into hell. If you look up the history, which much too sordid, of the UK-US combine in regard to Kashmir ever since 1947-48—the role of Mountbatten, of General Auchinleck, of a United States Brigadier called Haight and others—it is a dirty and dismal story whose hangover persists. That is why today we have the problem in the shape that it faces us.

The UK has shown—my hon. friend, Bhagwat Jha Azad showed in beautifully simple and lucid terms—egregious, shameless partisanship. Mr. Wilson has shown—he had the temerity, I want to say, to show—a shabby attitude towards our High Commissioner. He puts on the cloak of British socialism. That is why he behaves like this. If he has an idea, like the *burra sahibs* of old whose mantle he has inherited, that he can order India about, let our Parliament tell him that Mr. Wilson can put that in his pipe and smoke it.

The wonderful aid that comes from the UK and the USA, that wonderful aid they were going to stop; they had suspended that aid because we had committed a crime, because we were trying to defend ourselves against aggression. The UK and the USA behaved in this particular fashion. This is the unstrung aid which they give us! We had begged the US for some F-104 fighter planes, but we were told that our pilots were not good enough for such sophisticated stuff. We begged for a submarine, but we were told that though we had a many thousand mile coastline, we did not need a Navy at all. And, all the time Pakistan got those F-104 planes, Patton tanks, submarines and, God knows what other enormity. These countries, supposed to be our benefactors, were thought to be assisting us without strings; but it needed the searing experience of the last few weeks for us to learn that even their economic aid for whatever it is worth was not without strings, that in order to punish us for our effrontery in wishing to defend our honour and our integrity as an independent country, we were to be penalized most drastically. No wonder that there is today a powerful clamour in all patriotic circles that we should no longer remain a member of that mockery and make-believe, the Commonwealth of Nations. With men like Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere we can be genuinely friendly without having to go to St. James and do a lot of bowing and scraping to princes and queens and performing all the other ceremonial functions which are necessitated by these Commonwealth Conferences and that kind of thing. This is an issue which has been before the country for many years and after what has happened it becomes imperative

that we quit the Commonwealth. I need not say more after what Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad has said.

I am glad also that Shri Azad referred to the role of the press in the United Kingdom and the United States and the role of the British Broadcasting Corporation which talked about the Kashmir events as a "people's revolt" against India. We have noticed also the sanctimonious hypocrisy of papers like the London *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and such professional progressive periodicals like the *New Statesman and Nation*. We have seen also the American magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek*. I defy any Member of Parliament to go to our Library, a few paces away, look up the available issues of *Time* and *Newsweek*, and his blood would boil to see the kind of thing that is written there. Our Jawans fighting at the front, some of them, read this kind of magazine—they look so slick and so good to the eye and that sort of thing; they have all kinds of saucy things to present to the reader—but they have felt like tearing up these things and throwing them away. We also feel that way.

We are a very patient and a very polite people. These pressmen from the powerful western countries have the run of the land. They sit there and elsewhere as if they own our country and send despatches that are lies, and are immoral. I wish something is done so that in the name of free reporting such enormities are not allowed to be perpetrated. I think, the Speaker of this House has certain rights in this regard and he can see to it that our galleries are kept clean of those people who report in the wrongest possible manner only because of certain ulterior political motives.

The Security Council Resolution is before us. It has a number of defects which, I am sure, the Prime Minister will take steps to rectify. It suffers from the initial sin of not having done its duty of condemning Pakistan as the aggressor in this case. India and Pakistan, the victim of aggression and the aggressor, have been almost equated. As far as the Resolution goes, infiltration is not a matter which is mentioned but we are in danger because of the pressure of infiltration which took place and which process our Defence Minister has not yet been able entirely to eliminate and wipe out from our land.

There is a reference to the 5th August line. The Prime Minister has said in his letter of September 14—I am quoting his words—

> "...when consequent upon ceasefire becoming effective, further details are considered, we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open for further infiltrations or prevent us from dealing with the infiltrations that have taken place."

This is something to which I wish to pin down the Prime Minister in a very friendly fashion so that he gives us a renewed assurance that he stands by this categoric assurance. He has told us and the world that the Kashmir issue is not going to be allowed to be re-opened. We are not going to have a settlement with Pakistan over Kashmir with a number of busy-bodies about us from the United Nations of the kind which the United Nations has supplied previously. We shall have our own settlement and that is why the Prime Minister is ready to meet in Tashkent in order to have a settlement with Pakistan. We can settle it ourselves. That is why we can meet in Tashkent or in any other place, even in Tinbuctoo, whatever the place might be—we are ready to meet Pakistan—and discuss the matter and come to a settlement. Pakistan has been shown that militarily it cannot get Kashmir. Pakistan has got to have a settlement in a civilized manner. That settlement cannot come through the instrumentality of the United Nations as it is, at present, constituted, and that is why we shall have a settlement on our own as far as our two countries are concerned.

It is also necessary for us to intensify our diplomatic fence. We have to reach out to the people of Pakistan and explain the origin of India's crossing into the plains of West Punjab and our intentions as to the future. We have to explain to people in Pakistan and in other countries the solid secular democratic policy which we have been trying to pursue. Occasionally, there have been some deviations. In West Bengal, I have heard of some indiscriminate arrests of Muslims and that sort of a thing. Suspicion is always a very uncertain quantity and I do hope that on account of mere suspicion, Muslims are not made to feel as if they are unwanted. They have shown by their conduct, by and large, that they stand by the country as much as anybody else.

We have also to tell the world about it and that is why, in spite of what my friend Shri Deo said here. I am very glad that Shri Krishna Menon has been sent to Cairo in order to convey whatever points the Prime Minister wanted him to convey to President Nasser. We have also to tell the United Nations and other forces that it is not merely the legal case in regard to Kashmir which is important. The United Nations is not a legal body however much we present legal arguments in regard to our position about Kashmir. The total picture is more important. Our stand for decency versus dictatorship and all the concomitant evils which Ayubshahi represents has to be made clear.

Again we cannot spurn our friend like the Indian Government sometimes seems to do. There is the German Democratic Republic which was the first among the western countries in Europe to support us against China. But even today we treat the G.D.R. rather shabbily.

Then, again the final settlement between India and Pakistan which we want—the Prime Minister said the other day that ultimately there has got to be a friendly settlement between our two countries—has to be a solution acceptable to both and it is good from that point of view we have accepted the good offices of the Soviet Union. The role of the U.S.S.R. has been something which, I think, we can all applaud, and the Prime Minister himself did so, but I am sorry that Shri Alvares made a rather graceless reference to this matter as he bracketed quite unwarrantedly, the Soviet attitude along with the attitude of certain other powers. The Soviet Union have given us aid. They have promised us more. In times of crisis, they were the only friends whom we had among the great powers. They have a principled stand. That is why we can rely upon whatever help they can give. But let me also say at the same time that we cannot expect our chestnuts to be pulled out of the fire by some other States. The lesson we have to learn is the lesson of self-reliance. The Soviet Union is our friend no doubt, but we shall rely on ourselves. We shall continue to be alert and always prepared. We should build and strengthen our defence industry. Our Bangalore-manufactured gnats have beaten the celebrated sabre jets and we should remember Jawaharlal Nehru, and why not?—even Shri Krishna Menon and Shri K.D. Malaviya for the contribution they made towards the setting up of the defence industry.

In the rear which is most important, there has to be a check on the blackguard elements which would come up; communalist chauvinism has got to be checked, and profiteers and hoarders who even in this critical time try to do some damage in regard to our food situation have to be checked and the monopolists who gloat over it when war comes and shelve any attempt to give some satisfaction to their working people have also to be checked. Production has got to be kept at a very high level of efficiency. On the production front our fight should continue, while so long it was on the battle-front. The Indians who toil in fields and factories, the Indian workers, who are the salt of the Indian earth, must be first and foremost in our thoughts. Let us re-forge our links with our own people. If we do that, if we satisfy the aspirations of our people, who are not asking for the moon, who only want a decent way of living, if we satisfy our own people and keep in check the blackguardly elements, communal and economic, who are disturbing the atmosphere, then and then alone shall we gather the strength and say, as the Prime Minister has said, "come the world against us, our people shall win".

Sir, even though it is not for us to pull the Government's chestnuts out of the fire, I would supplement basically what Mr. Daji had tried to say. In law, the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir is part of the Indian Union, but as a matter of fact, certain areas in Jammu and Kashmir are, according to India, in the illegal occupation of Pakistan or of people acting as proxies on behalf of Pakistan. Our stand has always been to secure a settlement of this matter and to restore to ourselves effective sovereignty which is today nominal sovereignty over certain areas of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's purpose, on the other hand, has been somewhat different, with the result that last year Pakistan made an effort by armed force, by infiltration as well as by military attack, to consolidate its hold either by proxy or directly on certain parts of Jammu and Kashmir. We repelled that effort of Pakistan.

Two sovereign States—India and Pakistan—met together through their representatives and came to an understanding in relation to what ought to be done about the settlement of outstanding issues, among which necessarily is the question of Jammu and Kashmir. At that meeting, it was decided that Pakistan would not intervene in our affairs and we shall also not intervene in Pakistani affairs and all the outstanding questions would be settled by mutual discussion. We do not know what is going to be decided, but if after mutual discussion to which both countries have agreed, it is decided that certain portions of Jammu and Kashmir may have to be detached—Heaven forbid that kind of thing happening—but suppose it is decided like that, then and then alone would it be time for the Government to come before this House with whatever constitutional amendment or legalistic device which might be necessary. At this moment what we are dealing with is to endorse or not to endorse the declaration which has been issued by the Government of this country along with the Government of Pakistan. Our Government has performed a sovereign act. Whether in performing that act, it went against the wishes of the people whom we represent here—that is the question which we are discussing. As Mr. Daji pointed out, at a later stage, this legalistic matter might come up for discussion, but not at this point. We are certainly entitled at this point of time to approve or not to approve of the declaration.

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* *L.S. Deb., 16 and 21 February 1966.* [Participating in the discussion on the Tashkent Declaration, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 24 September 1965 and 12 October 1965 on a similar subject].

Sir, I want to say something in regard to the procedure. I am really flabbergasted. A question comes up, a point of order is brought up by the leader of one of the recognised parties in this House. There is an array of ministers on the other side, very senior ministers led by the Prime Minister herself, the Home Minister and other Ministers—Shri Chavan had left. They heard the points made. Some of us here, laymen, took part in the discussion and possibly did not make entirely irrelevant remarks. We expect of Government to have the elementary capability to have reserves of membership present in this House to answer points which are raised particularly by way of points of order. It is almost impossible for me to function in this House and take part in the discussion on a motion for consideration of a matter of international importance and of the greatest national importance at the same time, when the whole thing hangs fire, when the Damocles' sword of legality is over there and no decision is made. The decision is not made because you are not assisted by the representatives of the Government. Ineptitude, Sir, is the word. I have got a bad taste in my mouth over the food debate yesterday, and today a very important international discussion is spoilt by the incapacity of the Government to give its opinion on a legal point. I do not blame the Law Minister. He was not here. He was not informed properly about what is on the agenda. The Law Minister is not asked to be here by his leader when this sort of a very important subject is under discussion. We are used in this House to Law Minister after Law Minister never being present when the Government's case in regard to legal points comes up. This has happened again. We are told we shall get the benefit of his advice tomorrow. I refuse to participate in the debate today if the discussion on the motion for consideration continues when this Damocles' sword of legality hangs over it. This is not a frivolous matter. We are discussing this matter with all earnestness and we want this matter to be decided. You, Sir, are there in the Chair, and you are eminently capable of giving a decision in regard to this matter. If you feel you cannot give it, then, of course, we can adjourn the House and we can have the discussion after the whole matter is decided. Until that is done, I for one would not participate in this discussion.

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A little while ago I was constrained to say that, since yesterday's discussion on Kerala, on the mounting failures of Government, specially of the Food Ministry, we have a very sour taste in our mouth and after the exhibition, a little while ago, of incompetence on the Government benches, I feel it difficult to muster sufficient enthusiasm in supporting the Government, but the Tashkent Declaration is in a very different street and the spirit of Tashkent has brought, as it were, a wave of fresh air and exhilaration into the sordid atmosphere which so often weighs us down. I feel that, in regard to the

Tashkent Declaration, we can, in spite of our very serious criticisms of Government in so many other regards, offer our full support.

I have no doubt that India is in honour bound and also out of a sense of self-respect and duty, to redeem the pledge to peace and to consolidation and concord between India and Pakistan which the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri had given. He gave that pledge in the fabled city of Tashkent almost, as it were, with the last breath of his being, and it is upto India to honour that great pledge.

Some discordant voices, of course, have been raised which is why the Tashkent spirit, which my friend, the hon. Minister tried to explain ardently, requires to be understood and cherished.

In spite of the recent unhappy confrontation with Pakistan, the basic objectives of peace and amity between our two countries, as embodied in the Declaration of Tashkent, must, on no account, be allowed to be distorted. Nothing can be more welcome to India than what is indeed the core of that document, namely, the renunciation by both the countries of recourse to force for the settlement of our mutual disputes. Even during August-September, 1965, this country did no more than give a fair but stern notice to Pakistan that any attempt to secure alteration of our borders by bullying methods and by recourse to force, would just not be tolerated. Even in the worst days of that encounter, India had made it clear that she craved not an inch of Pakistani soil, that she wished neither harm nor humiliation to Pakistan, that she would not, unless absolutely compelled to do so, extend the war in the direction of East Pakistan (Bangladesh). We have, in spite of our own share of chauvinists in this country, preferred the ways of dignity and restraint, even in the face of provocation, and to us, therefore, the Tashkent stress on the renunciation of force is a highly prized achievement which this House should unconditionally support.

It was no more than appropriate that Tashkent was the venue of the discussion, and that the meeting was sponsored by the Soviet Union. Perhaps without the courageous initiative and the truly indefatigable labours of Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister, the successful outcome of the meeting would have been impossible. To him personally and to the Soviet Union, this country has the liveliest sense of gratitude. They have stood by us as principled friends in a manner that, as Lal Bahadur Shastri said in this House during the last session, this country will never be able to forget. If friendship is tested by adversity, the Soviet friendship for India has proved itself a many splendoured thing, and we got an illustration of it when, speaking in Delhi, Mr. Kosygin repeated, "India is our friend and brother".

Renunciation of force for settlement of disputes is a victory of peace of goodwill and of neighbourliness which, commonsense and decency require, should prevail in the relationship between our two countries. It was right for India also—I agree with my friend, the hon. Minister—to agree to a mutual withdrawal of armed personnel since Pakistan had consented not only to withdraw all armed personnel but also to respect, after withdrawals, the cease-fire terms, and there was the undertaking of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The stipulation that, in order to resolve all disputes, representatives of the two Governments would meet whenever necessary at different levels, either the topmost level or any lower level, is a further indication that we are determined on one thing. If the Tashkent Declaration has any serious content, it is this that the two countries are determined on our own and without the intervention of mischief-minded busy bodies from United Nations or elsewhere. We are determined on our own to liquidate acrimony and to live as instinct and interest dictate—we should live with good-neighbourliness and understanding .

This is entirely in keeping with the country's decision that we follow an independent policy in foreign affairs. In its worry over food and in its fear of not being in the good books of the United States of America, for example, the Government seems sometimes to forget that basic fact, but that is our national decision—a policy of peace and non-alignment—and if, heaven forbid, the Tashkent concord is disrupted or even encumbers serious difficulties in implementation, then the new imperialist power-political game, of which India has been the victim, will surely be resumed. I say this because there are certain things that, in this connection, we cannot just afford to forget.

The United Kingdom, as we have seen over and over again, seems unreconciled to Indian freedom and hopes for Pakistan, being somehow comparatively a safe and malleable customer, as capable of being used even in the way she had intended—Britain had intended—at the time of Partition. Maulana Azad has left it on record that the objective of Britain was potentially to use Pakistan as a British base against India. The hangover of this continues in the minds of the British ruling class. That is why Britain has not become reconciled to the fact of Indian freedom and the determination of India to go ahead in her own way.

As far as the United States of America is concerned, she reckons her presence in our part of the globe as a sheer power-political necessity which, perhaps, according to the United States' calculations, Pakistan and not India will sub-serve. Of course, it was our failure to effectively combine in the days of freedom struggle, which had compelled us to pay the price in 1947, however reluctantly we had to pay the price of Partition.

The U.K. and the U.S.A., in particular, continue to try to queer the pitch for our two countries to move ahead in peace and in co-operation and to develop our economies and independent policies, untrammelled by traditional big power interests in this part of the world. The malevolent and deliberately mischievous attitude of the United Kingdom and the United States of America in matters relative to Indo-Pakistan differences is part of the price which we continue to pay for the original sin which we committed—the original sin of Partition—in 1947.

If we delve into a little history we could see how in 1953-54 the U.S.A. was unable to get India to deviate from her policy of non-alignment, but with their openly proclaimed desire of getting "Asians to fight Asians"—that was a solgan put forth by a very distinguished American President—they wanted to control the strategic areas by a kind of proxy. Expert witnesses before the United States Congressional investigations have testified how at a cost of only 10 dollars per head, a rifle could be placed in the hands of a Pakistani soldier, while the comparable cost in the case of an American soldier to be sent to that area would be over 5,000 dollars. I remember having quoted this document from out of the U.S. Congressional investigation proceedings, because in those days, as members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association of that kind of organisation we used to get these reports, and perhaps because I had quoted this out of the U.S. Congressional investigation proceedings, we no longer get such reports distributed by the agencies responsible, who used to give us in those days not only the Journal of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association but also the Congressional investigations in the United States. I have quoted in this House, I remember very distinctly, in 1953 how they had said, or a very important military expert had said that in Pakistan and nearby areas you could put a rifle in the hands of the native soldier at a cost of 10 dollars while to send an American soldier and do the job would cost on an average 5,000 dollars each time.

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India declined to offer of walking into the net which America was offering us in the military alliance, but Pakistan swallowed the bait, and the U.S.-Pak military pact was concluded in 1954; then, a virtual time-bomb was planted in our sub-continent whose explosion we saw last year.

This country has seen how all assurances regarding the non-user by Pakistan of United States military assistance against India have been a fake, and this country has seen how aid from certain Powers has been use against us as a weapon, no less a weapon of blackmail in order to cow us into submission. It is a chapter shameful for us and sordid on all accounts, which one would like to forget, but it is very difficult to do so.

It is this bad old context out of which the Tashkent Declaration helps us to steer clear. I do not know if I can get this into the cranium of our Ministers over their who seem to function in a small way, who do not seem to understand the global significance of certain things, who do not realise how certain things happened because of certain Power-political complexes operating in our part of the world. It is out of that bad old context, the context of the US-Pak military pact which was, as I said a little earlier, a time-bomb planted in our part of the world, it is out of that bad old context, that we have to steer clear, and that is what the Tashkent Declaration declares to all the world. If we have differences, we can settle them by discussions among ourselves, not by recourse to arms, not by fighting each other, not by going on bended knees to the United Nations or to our patrons in one country or the other, but by discussions which we hold on our own, uninhibited discussion helped by friends, if friends are genuine friends, sincere well-wishers of ours, if they do not intervene in order to make us follow their way. That is the lesson of Tashkent. That is something which has got to be drilled into the minds of those who are ruling this country. This is not a matter of pragmatically and practically taking a decision, of living from hand to mouth and of merely settling some problems because the crop up just like that. It is not in that spirit that you can understand the Tashkent Declaration. If you cannot understand the basic essence of it, then it would be merely another document in the list of documents which circulate in the archives of the Foreign Ministry.

The Tashkent Declaration has been welcomed all over the world. My hon. friend here said that except for China, every other country has welcomed it; and particularly countries like the German Democratic Republic; have given it a very special welcome, because the Tashkent Declaration seems to give to them an instrumentality for the kind of problem which separates the two Germany's which want to come together but on a basis which is acceptable and honourable to both.

We have also to remember that in our own country, whatever some of our friends here might say, the Tashkent Declaration has been welcomed in those border States which have had to bear the brunt of the August-September fighting. In the Punjab it has been welcomed. I have seen reports in the press—I do not know what the Jan Sangh spokesman in this House would say, but I have seen reports in the press—that the Jan Sangh in the Punjab has welcomed the Tashkent Declaration. I know that in Rajasthan it is welcomed. I know that Bengal and Assam, for Bengal particularly I can speak from personal experience, welcome it, because in East Pakistan we have got a wonderful pocket of sensibility and decency which one day would perhaps light the torch which would illumine the whole of Pakistan, and we do not want to have inimical relations developing between our two countries. And

above all, Kashmir and her Government led by Mr. Sadiq have welcomed this Tashkent Declaration. Now, we should know what is what, and we should trust the people on the spot, those who fought when fighting was necessary and gave of their blood and their treasure and faced every conceivable risk; they are coming forward to support this idea. And a word of praise for Mr. Sadiq and his Government and the people of Kashmir would perhaps be very necessary; though we have repeated it ever so often, perhaps it is rightful to repeat it. They have all welcomed the idea of Tashkent because this gives us an instrumentality for solving our problems.

I know that the question is raised of Haji Pir Pass, and Tithwal and Kargil areas which we occupied for some tactical considerations, which we are now agreeing to withdraw from, and there is some objection to that. I do not understand it. If Pakistan does not mean business, if Pakistan does not wish to observe the Tashkent Declaration—I have no such suspicion up to now—if Pakistan wants mischief, she can do it; she can continue this kind of thing; if infiltrators come, they can come in all kinds of ways, not only through the Haji Pir Pass put through many other passes as well. But here we have got a comprehensive Declaration that they are not going to have that kind of thing at all and that infiltration and that sort of thing which really amounts to intervention in our affairs by recourse to force is not going to be practised at all. That is the solemn word pledged at an international meeting in a document, attested by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union himself, by the President of Pakistan and signed also by the Prime Minister of India. In that case I do not see why any objection can arise and any dangers of a risk accruing to India might be thought of because we are agreeing to withdraw as we should withdraw in terms of the Declaration from certain areas like Haji Pir Pass.

I would then say, as my hon. friend Shri P.K. Deo had said, that it is necessary for our Government to take further initiative in this matter and to consolidate the gains of Tashkent. It is not a matter of our having come to some kind of an agreement so that there is no fighting between our two countries; but if tension continues, if mentally we continue to be almost at war, then naturally the whole position would be vitiated and jeopardised. Therefore, it is necessary that Government take serious steps to consolidate the bonds of amity between our two countries. Such things as exchanges of students, of writers, of journalists, of teachers, of cultural delegations and that sort of thing, even parliamentary delegations, and sports teams between our two countries can now be undertaken with real gusto and with real fervour; that kind of thing should certainly be undertaken. Economically, he has suggested steps which should surely be taken. After all, the economy of these two countries is inter dependent. The Bengali's of West Bengal wants fish from East Bengal and the East Bengali wants all kinds of things, such as

consumer goods, from West Bengal. The economy of our two countries—I need not dilate on it at this point of time—is so inter dependent that whatever we can do by way of arriving at something like a customs union is most terribly important. But what I do not understand is that we have so many of these exchanges of cultural delegations and students and teachers and so on and so forth with a many other countries, but even in the best of times with Pakistan somehow this exchange has not occurred to the extent that was necessary and this is something which we fail to understand.

In Bengal we know that today in East Pakistan there is such a tremendous feeling for the Bengali language and literature, and for Rabindranath Tagore; in fact, not he alone but other writers of a lesser caliber are also cherished; their works are read with avidity in East Bengal. In Dacca, the Tagore celebrations are held on a scale which could hardly be conceived of in a distant area. In West Bengal a poet like Nazrul Islam is looked upon as a national figure. Of course, we have all known of great figures like Iqbal who wrote:

हिन्दी हैं हम वतन हैं हिन्दुस्तान हमारा।

He could write that at one point of time; may be later it changed over to something else. But there is some something basic in us that makes us realise that while we may be two different states we may have to continue, unfortunately, separately as two different states for a good length of time—we do belong to the same stock, we do have so many features of affinity that we can easily build upon them. We can build that confederation of minds and hearts. Confederation is talked about by some of our friends here sometimes, but I cannot understand the methodology of their projected achievement of confederation through continuation of fighting or that kind of thing. What is necessary is a confederation of minds and hearts. That is something of a task to which the Government as a whole should lend its hand after Tashkent.

In article VIII of the Tashkent Declaration, there is a reference to one matter. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan 'also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people.' They will 'continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees and evictions/illegal immigrations'. A little while ago I think I saw Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad who belongs to Assam, who knows something about the problem of immigration. Perhaps there should be some kind of understanding between our two countries that for a certain length of time we do not push out these supposed immigrants, we follow a policy of a more generous nature and later we come to a state of things where the minorities on either side are treated so well, that there may be no further exodus and there would be no danger in regard to immigration.

I want to say this over and over again, in spite of appearing to stress one point, that Pakistan, the partition of our country, has meant something like a heartbreak for many of us. In Bengal it is so difficult to conceive of the area watered by the billowy-bosomed *Padma* and its myriad tributaries, which is the venue of so many of the stories of Rabindranath Tagore, for example, as not part of Bengal. The other day I looked up a verse by the Urdu poet Mir who wrote at one time:

दिल ढहा के जो काबा बनाया तो क्या किया।

"What if you have built even the house of God on the ruins of the human heart?" We have got our freedom. The two countries are independent states. We surely have a great deal to be feeling exhilarated over that sort of thing. But the heart has broken because something has snapped between these two countries not being able to continue in a friendly posture. I do not see why we cannot do something about it. In regard to that, I would say that even today in this country under the direction of this Government, people continue to be in jail because of a remote suspicion of their having at some time some sort of sympathy with Pakistan. Our colleague, whom we miss in this House, Shri Badrudduja is not here just as Shri Gopalan is not here—has been detained for a long time without trial. Till my dying day, I am not going to believe that Shri Badrudduja or Shri Gopalan are people who can be traitors to their country. But Shri Badrudduja was held up in jail and is not released even now. Why this kind of thing happens after Tashkent is something which I cannot understand.

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My submission to the Government, therefore, is that it lends reality to the spirit of Tashkent and follows up what the Tashkent Declaration calls upon us to do. We have to follow policies which would bring about reconciliation inside the country. If I was a Muslim, it was perhaps very likely, some of our kith and kin being in Pakistan, that in the days of war and fighting what was happening over there as well as here might not have evoked particularly jingoistic, chauvinistic, feelings in some of us. It is important for us to realise that we are human beings first and citizens of one state or the other next. It is only perhaps in times of tension, in times of great excitement that this happens. Perhaps this is part of human nature. But we recollect ourselves; Tashkent has given us an opportunity to recollect ourselves.

There is one matter to which I wish to refer with which I shall conclude my speech, and that is in relation to China. My hon. friend, Shri Das—he is not here—referred to China. One of the points he sought to make was that China is an incorrigible enemy and, therefore, we have to got together with

Pakistan and whoever else it may be and try to see that China is more or less liquidated—if we can do so.

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The Parliament Secretariat has supplied us with this very prettily-printed pamphlet containing the Prime Minister's broadcast to the nation. I find a very fine statement here. It is:

> "We seek to maintain the friendliest relations with our neighbours and to resolve any disputes peacefully. The Tashkent Declaration is an expression of these sentiments. We shall implement it fully in letter and spirit".

A very fine statement; in letter and in spirit, we shall fulfil the Tashkent Declaration and we seek to maintain the friendliest relations with our neighbours and to resolve all disputes peacefully. The dispute with China also is a dispute with a neighbour and it has to be resolved peacefully. I know that I would be told that China is perverse. I yield to nobody in saying,—and I have openly expressed my views in this matter—that I have also found many of China's actions in relation to India to be particularly perverse, which I cannot understand. But there is no reason why we should not take the initiative in this matter; there is no reason why, if other countries are not there to help, we on our part do not keep the point that we want to settle these matters by peaceful methods alive. It is necessary for us to keep that matter alive all the time. If we are really and truly committed to peace, it implies that we have optimism for the future and the conviction that if there are clouds in the horizon, the clouds are sure to break.

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If there is no hope for the future, as some people think, then perhaps we would not mind the present going up in flames. But we have hopes for the future. We have hope for China. Surely onefourth of the human race lives in that country. The People's Republic of China represents a great force, whether we like it or not, and we have to come to terms with the world as it is.

Therefore, I say that in spite of the grievous provocation which we continue to receive from China—we heard a report about it this morning—I say that we should have two things in mind as our aim at the same time, our determination to defend our integrity and our determination also to pursue the paths of peace in order to have a settlement. And here is a statement of the Prime Minister which fortifies my conviction that the Government's policy in this regard is that it is serious about Tashkent and all it implies, that it wants to settle with all neighbouring countries, whichever is the country with whom we happen to have a dispute, in a peaceful manner.

Let us, therefore, not be helpless victims of whatever situation is created either by China or by the Anglo-American neo-imperialist seum who operate in the United Nations and elsewhere in various disguises in world politics today. The wages of India-Pakistan hostility may be the death of all the hopes of Indian achievement. This is a challenge to us. These hopes today have soared to heights. We do have the conviction that those hopes would be fulfilled if only the Government pursues truly and sincerely the implications of the Tashkent Declaration.

WEST ASIA SITUATION : ON SUPPORTING THE ARAB FRATERNITY*

It is necessary for us also to express ourselves because certain things have been, said, and to put the record straight our point of view has to be presented. I am very glad that the Government of India has persisted in its efforts and that in the implementation of the resolution regarding the ceasefire, there is a further decision, as far as the operative part of the ceasefire is concerned, to secure the withdrawal of forces to the line that was held on 4 June. I say this because, the categorical imperatives of India's foreign policy demand our defending the Arab world in its hour of danger and I am happy if, as pointed out by my friend from the other side, we behaved as the 14th Arab State it is a good job if the Arab World thinks of us as their own brethren in their time of need. I am ashamed to see, Sir, in this House that the temporary triumph won by the Israelite forces which was propped up by the bayonets and aircraft carriers of the USA and the U.K. with which the U.A.R. has broken off relations....

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I am pointing out the fact that in a country which swears by the name of Gandhiji, the temporary military triumph as it appears to be of Israel is leading some to the Members of Parliament to suggest that we change our basic foreign policy, that we recognised Israel, that we send our ambassador there while the fact of the matter is, as the Government has already said in a staement, that Israel is the creation of imperialist interest and it is in the interest of our own country that in the Middle-East. ...

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...Suggestions have been made that we change the basis of our foreign policy, that we recognise Israel, that we cease to be friend the Arab countries. That is something of a trap into which I hope and trust the Government will not fall. I say this because it is a fact of history that in the Middle-east, strategically the most valuable area in the world—these are not my words but the words of the American ex-President, Eisenhower—it is the historic role of imperialism to control that part of the world and if in fighting the menace of imperialist control of the most strategically valuable part of the world the Arab people for the time being suffer a great deal, our sympathies

* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 June 1967. [Participating in the discussion on Motion re: West Asia Situation, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 25 May 1967 on a similar subject].

go out to the Arabs. I have been ashamed to hear that even where our own people have died, some of our Members have hesitated to condemn those who openly and aggressively took steps in order to bring about the massacre of so many of our people, and they are trying to put the Government on the carpet, while the Government have said before, that it was on account of the fact that the Arabs trusted us; they did not trust the Canadians, and we were told to remain last of all, and our brave, gallant men in the United Nations expeditionary force remained there, and our people went there, but these people talk....

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Every day of my present parliamentary life, this is the kind of thing they say; they say all kinds of things, these people whose propinquity in this House I detest....

Therefore, we are happy that the Government is sticking to its position. I hope it does stick to this position in a principled manner, and I am happy that the Government is trying to persuade the Security Council to see to it that operatively speaking, fourth line is adhered to when the ceasefire is implemented. I am hoping that the basic factors of our foreign policy are adhered to by the Government. We are not going to be intimidated and bamboozled by the fact of the temporary Israeli triumph which has been the result of the aircraft carriers of the United States and the American-trained aeroplane pilots who have come from all over the world in order to fight with the Israeli force.

These are the things which I wish to say. I would not normally have said this, because I have a sense of parliamentary propriety and I have a sense of the gravity of the international situation; but since many things have been said from here to there, other things have also to be said in order to put the record straight.

PLEA FOR A PRINCIPLED FOREIGN POLICY*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Ministry of External Affairs Demands for Grants would require a second look by the House because the total some Rs. 33 crore, showing an increase of nearly Rs. 9 crore from the previous year, an increase largely on account of (devaluation), the noose we wore round our neck on U.S. advice. We notice also a high proportion of allowances and discretionary expenditure to the pay of officers, which is to the extent of Rs. 46 lakh and Rs. 163 lakh respectively, to Rs. 35 lakh in their Secretariat, and it is much larger in the Embassies, which is to the extent of Rs. 193 lakh and Rs. 206 lakh, to Rs. 39 lakh. It requires some explaining, particularly when our country, is so short of funds.

We have, among our foreign representations, such organisations as the High Commission in London, and we have yet to meet anybody, any Indian in the U.K., who has a good word to say about the High Commission. The officials there, who grovel when a Minister of sorts appears on the scene, ignored or tried to patronize artists like Balasaraswati and Ali Akbar Khan. The memory still rankles, in regard to the mannerisms pursued by the people in our High Commission in London.

It is notable also that the moral authority, which ought to emanate from principled pursuit of policy, is entirely absent so far as the Ministry of External Affairs is concerned. So, we discover a Reita Faria snooking her thumb at Shri Chagla and going of entertaining the Neo-Fascist American soldiery in Vietnam, and also Zubin Mehta, whom our President has decorated, extending his allegiance from western music to western political policies and jubilantly taking part in Tel Aviv demonstrations which were held in order to celebrate the victory of Israel, which had brutally attacked and killed Indians in the United Nations Expeditionary Force.

I must, however, have a good word for the Government's West Asia policy, which quite understandably, has come under fire from the distinguished representatives of Reaction, with a big 'R'. If I attempt, even remotely, to answer some of the fairy tales which they have so cleverly tried to convey,

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 15 July 1967. [Participating in the debate on the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of External Affairs for 1967-68, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 23 March 1954, 28 March 1956, 1 April 1965, 22 April and 26 April 1966, 4 April 1968, 7 April and 8 April 1970, 25 April 1972, 25 April 1973, 15 April 1975 and 4 July 1976 on Demands for Grants for the Ministry of External Affairs].

I shall be diverting my time. I must say that the Government has played an honourable role in consistently opposing Israeli aggression and upholding the cause of Arab people. The Arab people, who live in the world's most strategic area, the cross-roads of Asia, Europe and Africa, were fighting for freedom from the yoke of imperialism, who, lured by oil which gears their power machine, want to keep them in varieties of subjection.

Who would not have lively sympathy for the Jewish people who have suffered throughout the Centuries massive agony and anguish in spite of the tremendous talent which they possess. But nobody in the know of world events, unless they choose to shut their eyes like some of my hon. friends there, can believe that Israel is a sort of innocent, little lamb set among big bad wolves. Israel is, on the contrary, the American Trojan horse planted in the Arab world—the superbly armed enclave of international Zionism, perennial pistol aimed straight at the heart of Arab freedom.

I am told, I read somewhere in some reputable journal, that there is an insolent inscription at the main gate of Israel's Parliament, Knesset, which says:

"Out State extends from the Euphrates to the Nile."

It is an irony of history that exactly like the Hitler fascists, at whose hands the Jews have suffered the most unspeakably horrid tortures, the overweening Israeli aggressors, aided and abetted by the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany, in particular, are spouting notorious Nazi shibboleths of geopolitics, of *lebensraum*, of a 'new order' and vital 'frontiers' in the Middle East.

We have just heard something about the Israeli treatment of Palestinian refugees, which has been infamous. Their behaviour towards the forcibly driven out population of Gaza, Jerusalem and other areas and also against non-combatant civilians generally is a cruel disgrace. Like the soil of Vietnam, the soil of the land of the Arab peoples has also been drenched with napalm and terrible crimes against the civilian population have been and are being perpetrated.

We hear of Western Powers having a guilt complex about the persecution of Jews and so befriending Israel. If they really felt guilty, and since they are concerned only with European Jewry,—and they do not care for Indian Jews who went and found out what their experience was in that part of the world—if they care only for European Jewry who dominate Israel, why did they not carve out a slice from Nazi Germany after the victory over them and set it up as a Jewish State? No, their intention has been and still is to use international Zionism as a weapon of imperialism.

So, the recent ugly happenings are all part of a single imperialist plot whose monstrous face we face from the Mekong river to the Sinai desert.

I am glad we played our role in the UN, but the resolution sponsored by non-aligned countries failed to get the required two-thirds majority, for the very obvious reason that the United States bent on protecting her clients opposed the proposition. The simple resolution had asked no more than that Israel should relinquish territorial gains secured through aggression. Apart from the fact that this is an undisguised attempt to legitimise aggressive, United States has indicated by her attitude in the United Nations and also elsewhere in the past that at no time is she going to give up a cold war advantage. My friends of the Jan Sangh and others should better take note of it in regard to our relations with Pakistan.

We have seen in the United Nations under the leadership of the United States a brutal display of realpolitik, and if all nations go about in this particular fashion, then good-bye to peace and to hopes of the future of humanity.

India's stand on this issue has been basically correct, although from time to time on account of the fear that she may be rapped over the knuckles in regard to American aid, she has muted her criticism of the US and British positions. We have a habit, it seems of taking firm positions and then watering it down stage by stage. We have to avoid it if we want to maintain our image as a really effective country. Immediate healthy reactions are toned down when the effect on aid programmes is recalled. And ludicrous as it may seem, even Pakistan has managed to get almost as much kudos in the United Nations as India has got. In regard to this aid, we have got this Bell report. The slogan in this country should have been and should be at the present moment 'To hell with Bell' and all that sort of thing, if aid-givers try to dominate our policy. But, of course, we get frightened and we get cold feet and that is why in the United Nations and elsewhere, we sometimes fail to keep up to the posture that we ought to keep up. We must resist unprincipled compromises. The issue must be isolated as one of Israeli vacation of aggression. All other questions are secondary and can be taken up separately later on.

With the effrontery that comes naturally to itself, United States imperialists pretend to advice us to make up with Pakistan. My hon. friend Shri Bal Raj Madhok should note that the prime reason for our bad relations with Pakistan is not that Pakistan is wicked and we are innocent and dove-like and pure and all that. He himself comes from West Pakistan and the people there are of the same sort as he is, and he is a very good man as we know. It is not because Pakistan is wicked and we are absolutely on top of the tree, the prime reason for our bad relations with Pakistan is the American boosting by American arms to brow-beat India out of non-alignment.

We shall settle our problems bilaterally, not because we are told to do it by Bell or whoever it might be. To these wolves who put on sheep's clothing from time to time in order to bamboozle us, we should know what to do. But unfortunately, my friend Shri Chagla—I am glad he has come back; I did not want to say anything behind his back—has from time to time, particularly recently, begun to specialize in making *faux pas*. I was astonished the day before yesterday when he allowed himself to be hectored and bamboozled by strident voices in certain parts of the House, and in regard to an area where he himself said there were disputes which were pending. Of course, Pakistan had done something wrong which we are trying to resist. He was asked by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri: 'Would you throw the Pakistanis out?' I am quoting his statement reported on 14 July, 'Yes, Sir', replied Shri Chagla, 'if that becomes necessary'. He should throw the Pakistanis out! I do not know. Shri Chagla should remember Tashkent. Shri Chagla has been, and is, a great lawyer. In international life as well as in personal relationships, if you come for equity, you must come with very clean hands. Don't in the House of Parliament talk in this fashion. It is not done; it should not be done. It gives a completely wrong impression of the policy of our country abroad. We all have a responsibility in regard to this kind of thing. Does he not remember the unfortunate remarks Pandit Nehru was goaded into making in Colombo in August or September, 1962 which reverberated everywhere? Wherever you go, you are confronted with that statement. It was praised out of the mouth of Jawaharlal Nehru. And here in this House is Shri Chagla, in answer to an interjection, talking in this fashion.

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...Therefore, I say, in regard to Pakistan, let us not imagine that we are going to have eternal enmity with Pakistan or with China or any other country on this planet for that matter. It cannot be so. Particularly, in regard to Pakistan, if what the President says from time to time, what the Prime Minister says from time to time and what Shri Chagla also says from time to time, is seriously meant, it is important that we go on taking initiatives for an understanding. Our people need it; our people wish it. They want trade; they want cultural relations. I come from a part of India which is next door to East Pakistan (Bangladesh), where we speak the same language and we want to come nearer to each other. Talk is heard in this House about a possible confederation. It is very much in the future, in the remote future. But here and now we do not take initiatives.

In regard to Kashmir, we merely go on saying that we would not discuss it. For how long are you going to keep up face before the world? Why don't you release Sheikh Abdullah? Why don't we do it at this point of time? What was the initiative which Jawaharlal Nehru had in mind before he did? Or are

his successors so puny that they merely jump about in pathetic bravado, knowing very well that they cannot pursue in action what their words seem to purport, overtaken by events and unable to steer their way out of stress and strain? It is a very serious matter. This kind of thing happens over and over again.

Again I found Shri Chagla yesterday—and very rightly Shri Masani as well as Shri Madhok gloated over it; if I were in their place, I would also have gloated over it—here in this House speaking on behalf of Government in a manner which suggested that the country accepted the position in regard to Tibet, in regard to 'Chinese imperial exploitation of Tibet' or 'something like that which was mooted in the resolution before the House. When he spoke, he talked about 'cultural genocide'. I do not want to go into detail. But Tibet is not an 'out of this world' unified monolithic theocracy devoted to the pursuit of *nirvana*. Tibet is very much part of world class and clan society in the last stages of decay, riven by sharp conflict, addicted to barbarous punishments and saturated with superstition, corruption, blood feuds and factional maneuvers in which more than one mundane imperialist power took an active part. And there a revolution comes; a change takes place. But in regard to Tibet, he talks about 'cultural genocide'!

He talks glibly—I will put him on the mat—about the "containment of China". Jawaharlal Nehru never used that kind of expression. He deliberately would say: I shy away from that kind of thing. It is an expression coined by perhaps a former friend of Shri Chagla, because he was ambassador in Washington, Mr. Kennen who formulated this word-containment of China Shri Chagla perhaps shares the American obsessive fear of communism and is reconciled to the idea of America appointing itself as the custodian of the world. But of course things do not happen in that kind of way. And so what do we do? We take brave postures. We do not take the country into confidence, even this Parliament, in regard to the nuclear non-proliferation business. Even now we do not quite know what the Government has in mind. We know China has gone ahead and has got the hydrogen bomb and God knows what other enormity and similar powers of destruction. Peace hangs today on the balance of terror in the world. It is made somewhat more precarious by the latest Chinese performance.

I would like to say one thing. However, we may view China and her recent ways—we have condemned here, one and all of us, admiration for this achievement has to be there as today we are still playing fifth fiddle to western technology. In China things are happening which suggest almost some kind of anarchy over there. But they have done this kind of thing which after all is a very big technological achievement. We have a right to be indignant. Indignation, impatience and even impetuosity is understandable

when such incidents take place as it did in relation to the contact between India and China. On either side much steam has been let off and some of the doings on our side were not particularly creditable either and they are made worse by our propensity towards a pose of moral superiority. It is a problem of a statesmanship and Shri Chagla must try to rise to the height of the occasion and the opportunity which he has got as the Minister of External Affairs of this country. Will it be right to proceed on the assumption that China and for that matter Pakistan also will continue for ever and ever to be actuated by external malice towards India? China has other and much greater worries. Her present stance is wicked, it is mischievous, it is anti-Soviet and to that extent it is upsetting the cause of our fighting against imperialism. Shri Surendra Pal Singh who is having apprenticeship in foreign affairs is laughing, for heaven knows what reason. If he is serious about India's West Asia policy—I have my doubts about it and I have doubts about so many of the crowd over there if he is serious about West Asia policy, he should know who is trying to put up a fight for freedom and fight against imperialism. It is the Soviets who are leading that fight all over the world. That is being diverted and distorted by certain things which China is doing, by Chinese postures, by Chinese perversities which are taking the attention of the people away from serious anti-imperialist tasks. These things have got to be remembered. Whatever our feelings in regard to China, we ought to know that her present stance is aimed primarily at the world's richest and most powerful country, the United States. It makes no bones about its intentions towards China. It is significant that the United States and its friends would want the Arabs to recognise Israel but the United States refuses to recognise the existence of China, recognises instead Taiwan, Taiwan which has been a part of China for many hundreds of years before Columbus discovered the continent of America.

Let us not raise unrealistic expectations in regard to what we can do about the bomb. We have neither the money nor the power; it is neither practicable nor desirable for us to join this ugly competition. We are signatories to the Moscow Treaty. Let us hope the Minister would tell us that we are working for nuclear free zones—not anything like the umbrella which can be a very doubtful proposition but nuclear free zones—and ultimately for nuclear and other kinds of disarmament. I am not sure if we should sign on the dotted line if there is any particular hurry in regard to the non-proliferation treaty. We should retain our independent right to a course of conduct of our own. But we should not go in for this kind of insensible competition for having the deterrent weapon in our hand. This augmentation of weapon means nothing but the death of civilisation.

Now, admittedly, a *modus vivendi* with China is to be worked for. If we give it up and get under one or the other umbrella and indulge in heroic

words which we cannot translate into action, it will be a tragedy. Patience is called for; the stakes are very high, and it would not do to play into the hands of the certain people who have their own mischievous motivations.

Now, I refer to the problem of our Himalayan neighbours, and of the people who are our own in the submontane regions. Do we know, for instance, what is going on inside Sikkim? I read a cryptic American comment; "we have two enclaves—one in Sikkim and the other in Morocco."

And I hear in the international tourist year which we are encouraging, there are hordes of Americans going there. And inside Sikkim, the political tangle is there. The Government should know more about it than I do, of course. But we here about it. We never get this tangle straightened out. The whole thing is there; it is the link up: NEFA, Nagaland the Mizos and the hill people are there. Our friend Shri Swell wrote an article lately where he has tried to say something important. The whole thing is linked up, but the Government's approach is *ad hoc*; first, there is force and then there is an attempt at persuasion. Neither force does the trick nor persuasion. Then the Government is in the soup and everytime something is said: they gitter and dodder, mumble and tumble, and then ultimately nothing happens, and nothing brings out a clear elucidation of the Government's position.

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I am expressing a point of view which hardly gets represented. All over our earth we see today the evidence of the arrogance and folly of seeking to impose a Pax Americana upon a world which does not want it and does not accept it. In Korea, in Vietnam, against Cambodia, whose friendship we seem to spurn these days, the American interventionists diabolically carry on their activities. Our Minister's soft heart cries out at the sorrows of Tibet, that the people are suffering. Naturally, our sympathies are roused, and I could respect that sorrow, however, even more if he had ever diplomatically expressed himself, even as U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, has done regarding the American barbarity in Vietnam, barbarity which in volume and character is the most horrific record in human history. The bombing of North Vietnam has been on a scale which is much larger than in World War II, and there has been the uttermost refinement of cruelty in such things like the use of napalm, poison gas and anti -personnel fragmentation bombs and cutting of dykes and poisoning of the waters. Defying all that, the people of Vietnam are fighting. It is an epic story which can hardly be described. Let the Government do something tangible: Let it tell the United States permanently to stop bombing of North Vietnam and refrain from other acts of war—that is the expression used in an important North Vietnam statement—"other acts of war". And let this be done unequivocally before 20 July when the Geneva agreement anniversary is to be celebrated. In the

meantime, do not put a ban on the democratic Vietnamese publicity while you allow Chester Bowles to have the run of the place as far as our country is concerned.

Why do we not fully recognise the GDR? Why is it that when West Germany is a friend of South Africa and of Rhodesia with which Britain has formed such a wonderful link, we do not recognise GDR? Why don't we have a Consul-General in the GDR? Why can't our trade representative in Berlin have same kind of status even as the GDR representative has got in this country? Then, why don't we have a full-fledged embassy in Mongolia? It won't be liked by China. Go ahead with it. Mongolia is a friendly country. Why don't you have a full-fledged embassy there? When Shrimati Indira Gandhi was there in 1965, she promised that it would be done in a few month's time.

Now, I will just conclude by referring to one more matter. A few months ago, at Poona—I think it is your home town—one of our mentionable diplomats, Shri A.B. Pant, had spoken about our foreign policy and he said that in the Middle East, people look upon India as a sick elephant; he added that we have ceased to be an elephant and we are getting rid of our sickness. I do not like the idea of being called an elephant, noble as that creature is.

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I do not want to be flabby that way. I do not want to be tamed by the power, who lure us by their "aid" and make us perform all kinds of tricks at their dictate. I want India to have a straight, clean, strong, principled foreign policy. Even though I agree with Government entirely in so far as their West Asia policy is concerned, I do discover in Government's policy so many lacunae, so many shortcomings, so many deficiencies and so many hesitancies, and in the Minister's personal conduct in this House in regard to certain pronouncements so many doubtful and dangerous things that I have to issue a stern note of warning and I do hope Government will give us some satisfaction.

RECOGNITION OF GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC*

Last time, I read out my resolution, which is to the effect that this House is of opinion that the Government of India should accord immediately full diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic. I hope to be able to secure some positive response from the Government in regard to the proposition I am putting forward and I expect that there should be some positive response on point of principle as well as for reasons of practicality. On both these counts, there is no reason why we should not fully recognise the German Democratic Republic without any further delay. In my view, already delay has been unconscionable and unworthy of our country.

There is, as a matter of fact, some kind of *de facto* recognition for quite some time as far as India and GDR are concerned and there is a large number of friendly exchanges between our two countries. We have had officials trade agreements since 1954 and up to 1964, trade increased tenfold to Rs. 240 million. GDR, as a friendly country, was the first among the different countries to introduce rupee payment in its trade with India, thus helping us in our foreign exchange difficulties. In November, 1963, we had a shipping agreement. In February, 1964, we had a cultural agreement.

The late Prime Minister of GDR Otto Grotowohl visited India. The President of the GDR Parliament has been to this country twice. Ministers and other personalities including the GDR Foreign Minister Otto Winzer have visited this country.

I particularly wanted to say, Sir, if you do not mind, that you have been among those dignitaries in our country who have been very hospitable to some of these visitors, like the Foreign Minister, Otto Winzer who was here only the other day.

As early as 22 and 23 August, 1961 Jawaharlal Nehru said in Parliament some very important things in relation to the position as between India and GDR. He wanted the country to take note of the fact of the existence of the two Germanys. He stressed that there should be a clear acceptance of the post-war frontier, specially the Oder-Niesse frontier with Poland, thereby demarcating this country away from the attitude taken by the Federal Republic

*L.S. *Deb.*, 3 May 1968 [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 19 April 1968 on a similar subject].

of Germany. Jawaharlal Nehru also stressed the danger of militarism and of nuclear armament of West Germany and he spoke in regard to the utmost importance of a peaceful settlement through negotiations. These ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru were reiterated by Lal Bahadur Shastri at the conclusion of his Soviet visit in May 1965. If the Prime Minister was here, she would have recalled that at the conclusion of her visit to the USSR in 1966, she had repeated those same principles in regard to the two Germanys.

In spite of this reiteration of this policy and principle for more than 7 years now, the negative stage of things persists. The Government of India does not recognize the GDR diplomatically. The Government of India does not even have consular relations with that country. The Government of India has not even a trade representative in Berlin on a normal Governmental level.

There are no official Government agreements with GDR and the Government of India confines itself to exchange of letters only. Sir, very irritating things happen. For instance, Government of India does not recognise GDR passports but issues its visas on special sheets of paper. Government of India does not permit its Minister to go. My friend Shri Bhagat if he wants to go would not be able to go in response to official invitations which are always there. But GDR ministers when they come they see the Prime Minister, they see you, Sir, and other dignitaries but everything is unofficial, they are not official calls.

If we had a truly non-aligned independent foreign policy it means that we treat the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic equally and recognise the reality of the two German States. If we had a really independent foreign policy it would have involved that we do not give preferential treatment, internationally speaking, to the Federal Republic and discriminate against GDR. If we had an independent foreign policy it would have meant automatically that we reject, what is called, the Hallstein Doctrine, that scare-crow which frightens nobody today but a doctrine which implies interference in the internal affairs of other States. If we had an independent foreign policy we would not be bowing down to West German blackmail which is being practised with impunity for so many years.

In common with GDR we have so many things—the idea of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, the idea of the peaceful settlement of disputes, the idea of co-operation with and support to all States. On the contrary, with the Federal Republic of Germany we have nothing in common. I am not asking for severance of diplomatic relations with that country. It is on the map, it is there and it has to be recognised. But if there is a question of affinity, economic, moral or whatever else it might be, with the

Federal Republic of Germany, we have nothing whatever in common. It is a militarist and fascist State. President Luebke has been accused of having been a war criminal and even American experts have come forward to give evidence in that regard. I was myself in Buchenwald Concentration Camp and I saw there material relative to the involvement of Chancellor Kiesinger in regard to action which dubbed him as war criminal. There is no doubt about it. That is why when I returned from Germany last year in November. I was ashamed to see the portrait of that man, that unfamiliar portrait adorning the road from Palam airport. I do not understand what has happened to the country of Jawaharlal Nehru who when the Nazis took over Vienna could not even rest when he went to the Himalayan resort of Khali because he heard "the tread of barbarian feets" in the lovely streets of Vienna. I wonder what has happened to the country of Jawaharlal Nehru where Kiesinger can be acclaimed as a guest to be welcomed so wonderfully.

There is an axis, Shri Bhagat ought to know, of the West German State, with Lisbon and Pretoria and Salisbury—of course, London and Washington need not be mentioned. They are using it to influence our policy. That is why they are making us discriminate against the GDR. Why are we afraid? The GDR has made good. It had got a very difficult inheritance but it has made a very big success of its job so much so that the *Guardian*, the liberal English newspaper wrote on 26 September 1967.

> "for a state which, as far as the West is concerned, does not exist, the GDR is doing right well. In fact it is no exaggeration to characterise its economic progress as the East German economic miracle. East Germany is working and flourishing. It would be harmful to us to overlook this market."

This is what the British say. Why do we treat this country the fifth industrial state in Europe and the eighth in the world, a country which has a socialist constitution only recently ratified by an overwhelming popular vote, a country run by a national front including different parties with which you, Sir, are familiar, in this way? My friend, Shri Madhu Limaye is here. He has seen the working of how that coalition performs its jobs. It is a country where there is some kind of co-existence also between the private sector and the public sector in a fashion which should be an eye-opener to honest capitalist elements in this country if there are any.

But with that country we do not seem to have any truck. We are afraid. Government is in fear and trembling, because Bonn would penalise them. My submission is that this fear is absolutely foolish; it is not only an injury to our pride, to our self-respect as a country, but it is a foolish and practically an utterly insane idea that Bonn can penalise us.

I will give you the example of Yugoslavia, which establish full diplomatic relations with GDR in 1957. The Bonn Republic demonstratively broke off

diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, to punish Yugoslavia. Bonn had to eat the humble pie when the facts of life ruled out such impudence. Let us not imagine that they can do this dirty trick on us because we happen to be truckling down to them from time to time. If Yugoslavia is too distant, let us take the case of Burma. In 1960 Burma exchange Consulates-General with GDR. West Germany protested for the time being but in Rangoon, in 1962, two years afterwards, West Germany raised her representation to the status of an Embassy in Burma. They had to eat the humble pie. In February 1964 Ceylon* exchanged Consulates-General with GDR. Bonn threatened for the time being stoppage of all aid. Ceylon stood firm. Ceylon showed that moral calibre which we do not dare show. Ceylon stood firm and rejected the Bonn demand saying that this sort of thing should not be done at all. Threats did not work with Ceylon. But, in our case, threats appear still to be working, which is rather shameful. We should eliminate it.

All the Socialist countries have full-scale embassies in GDR. A country like UAR or Combodia have special representation with diplomatic status. In Cairo the GDR has a Government Commissioner who has got the powers of an Ambassador Plenipotentiary. Consulates-General were exchanged between GDR and Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Iran, Syria, Tanzania and Yemen. Official trade representations are there in Algeria, Brazil, Finland, Guinea, Lebanon, Morocco, Sudan and Urugway. Mali has also joined it last year. Then, there are Trade Missions and so on and so forth from many other countries. We do not have anything; nothing at all and perhaps they are thinking of some footling little thing which might be more of an irritant than anything else.

GDR has her trade representation in New Delhi. We do not reciprocate even that gesture. We do not have a trade representation in Berlin. Even UK, France, Sweden, Belgium and Netherlands have found it necessary to have representation of their chamber of foreign trade. But we have, of course, nothing of that sort and I do not know what the Government has in mind.

Bonn is still trying its blackmail against some countries like Switzerland, Sweden and India. Against this we have got to fight. Because, the idea is quite clear. What they have in mind is quite clear from what appeared in a Big Money paper in the Federal Republic of Germany, one of the Springer Trust papers. The Springer Publication Unit have published dastardly articles against which the students in Berlin are demonstrating, led by a youngman called Dutschki, and the whole of Berlin is in flames. One of these papers, *Die Walt*, reported the ruling party's foreign policy idea in these words :

> "Bonn could not renounce the use of diplomatic and economic deterrents in the future when countries of the third world might try to use the Belgrade example as an alibi for also exchanging Ambassadors with East Berlin."

*Now known as Sri Lanka

Even Switzerland is sought to be portrayed as a Communist country, if it dares to have diplomatic exchange with GDR. Against this, a newspaper of Zurich, *Volksrecht* wrote something which I quote:

> "In recognizing foreign governments Switzerland has always based itself on the question as to whether they really exercise territorial rights over the territory of their state. Furthermore, it makes constant efforts, because of its policy of neutrality, to extend its relations universally. Nobody can dispute that the Government of the GDR really exercises government power on its territory. This means that the prerequisites for recognition are present."

But in spite of that they are being threatened by Bonn as long as they are in a position to threaten.

India is the biggest Afro-Asian country. India is a country which professes non-alignment as a matter of principle which, she says, she cherishes. But our practice as regards relations with the GDR are at the lowest level in the group of non-aligned Afro-Asian countries.

They talk about improving the image of India abroad. Where? In which country, if in Afro-Asian countries there is an impression that India is so beholden to the mighty dollar? God knows what has happened to the self-respect of India that she treats a country in this discriminating fashion.

And the reason is quite obvious. It is fear of Bonn. Then, surely, all the brave talk about national integration and appearing before the world outside as an integrated country and all the rest of it would make not much sense. That is why one has to behave in foreign policy matters at least, where India had a better tradition in the past, differently. In foreign policy matters at least India should behave differently.

Why must we act out of fear? I have said it often in this House that if Gandhiji taught us anything, it was not non-violence which nobody really and truly is able to practise in real life but he taught us *abhaya*, fearlessness of whoever might stand up against us. If we have right on our side, we need not be afraid. But this Government is afraid. They are pusillanimous; they shake in their shoes and appear as if in fear and trembling because the might dollar is there. Therefore with the dollar-supported Mark doing some damage, we behave as they told us to behave.

The Federal Republic of Germany is extracting a price from us. They are giving "aid" to us and they make a lot of song and dance about the Bonn

"aid" to this country. The annual trade turnover is roughly of Rs. 1,000 million and involves a heavy deficit for us, to the extent of Rs. 700 million to Rs. 800 million a year. They have collaboration agreements which are so much liked by most members of the Cabinet which lead to all sorts of things like the Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed incident and that sort of absurdity. They have these collaboration agreements and economic influence is deliberately used to obstruct normalising of relations with the USSR. The correct attitude is shown by Yugoslavia, Burma and Ceylon, who have made the Bonn Republic capitulate and swallow the Hallstein nonsense. But we have not tried to do anything in that regard.

In spite of our economic contact with the two Germanies, we have a very adverse balance of trade with the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1961-62 the adverse balance amounted to Rs. 97,53,00,000; in 1965-66 the adverse balance rose to Rs. 1,18,74,00,000 and from June 1966 to February 1967 the adverse balance was Rs. 94,71,00,000.

On the contrary, the balance of trade with the GDR is favourable as far as we are concerned. In 1962-63 it was Rs. 57 lakh in our favour; in 1964-65 it was Rs. 4 crore in our favour; in 1965-66 it was Rs. 69 lakh in our favour and from June 1966 to February 1967 it was Rs. 7 lakh in our favour.

India is a principal overseas trade partner of the GDR. India was the biggest exhibitor at the Leipzing Fair. We have had a new long-term trade and payments agreement extended to 1968 as a result of an agreement signed in Berlin in November 1967. The GDR, in spite of being a highly advanced industrial country, is ready and willing and is showing its readiness by action to buy all sorts of things and at the present moment there is a very good possibility of our exporting railway wagons to the GDR as we are doing to the Soviet Union.

On account of all these things and so many other points which I need not expatiate, I feel that in all right-minded thinking it does not stand to reason that we discriminate between the two Germanies. As I said earlier, I am not asking for us to have no relations with West Germany, much as I dislike it. I detest the ruling group in that country which is reviving fascism in a manner which is becoming patent in everyday news. But that is no reason for me to suggest to the Government that we have no relations at diplomatic level with Bonn. That reminds me that sometime ago a leader of the Jana Sangh, Shri M.L. Sondhi—he does know a thing or two about international relations and there was a discussion held in this House on 8 December, 1967 on Dr. Kiesinger's flight over Pakistan—occupied Kashmir—was terribly annoyed and very rightfully annoyed and he referred to a book by Franz Josef Strauss, called *The Grand Design*—A European Solution to German Reunification, which

he quoted in regard to the Hallstein Doctrine, being what it is, and then he said angrily to the Prime Minister:

> "May I ask whether it is not a fact that the West Germans provide music for the Government of India and for the city of Delhi while military, diplomatic and strategic support is being promised and provided to Pakistani revanchists and *jehadists*? Does the Prime Minister now consider that the German action has the real purpose of forcing India to acquiesce in Pakistani aggression by pressurising India to accept a certain international settlement which is in the making and of which we are getting some straws in the wind? May I ask pointedly why the External Affairs Ministry did not inquire as to what are the guarantees of German neutrality on the Kashmir question? May I ask why is India tied down to Hallstein doctrine? May I ask, finally why was the Indian High Commissioner in no hurry to lodge a protest?"

The German Democratic Republic was the first foreign country to stand by India when India had trouble with China in October/November 1962. The German Democratic Republic is pursuing the really creative traditions of Germany; Germany the land of Marx and Engels; Germany, the land of the great Indologists, and a country which, after all the sufferings and agencies of two World Wars is now trying to build socialism.

I submit that my Resolutions should be accepted by Government because I want to ask: Will India fence herself away from contact with this superb new phenomenon, the socialism being built with characteristic thoroughness by the German people, the people to whom belong Marx and Engels? Are we to make friends with a Germany reborn, ready and able to build on the foundations of peace and human happiness or are we merely to hang on to the coattails of the revanchists, neo-imperialists and neo-Nazis of Bonn? That is a question which we have to answer.

Let Government come forward and say that far too long we have dallied with this question. What Jawaharlal Nehru said in August 1961 remains to be redeemed—here in 1968. I suggest that the House do accept this Resolution and Government acts accordingly.

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I am very grateful to the House for having given such very wide support to the resolution which I had brought forward. I wish I could say that I do genuinely appreciate whatever difficulties hinder the hon. Minister from coming forward more openly, as I think he ought to, to associate himself with the fairly well expressed opinion of the House, but he says he has his difficulties and I have to take him at that.

I am sorry that the seriousness of the discussion was to a certain extent vitiated by the intervention of a Member who is popular with us all and who, whenever he speaks, reminds me of what was said in Sanskrit, namely: *'Amritam baalabhahitam'* which that whatever is said by a child is nectar. We did not usually take his observations too seriously.

I do not know why he chose to deliver himself of his pet views, the result being that a mouse came out of a mountain. In the radiant light of a world where Vietnam has shown how the most powerful and prosperous country in the world cannot defeat the forces of liberty; the mouse of anti-Communism which hides its head in a hole came out only in order to disturb the proceedings of this debate.

I was asked also by some venerable members like Acharya Kripalani: 'Do you do this? What do you say in regard to the recognition of Taiwan?' Of course, I say, 'No, it is not necessary for us, it is not in conformity with principle for us to recognise Taiwan'. But in so far as the G.D.R. is concerned, I have no time to repeat what I have said earlier that on principle as well as for practical reasons we should do it. The only reason which used to hinder Jawaharlal Nehru, as far as we could understand him, was the recognition of G.D.R. at that particular point of time—which was 1961 might bedevil the waters of European politics and, therefore, we should not do anything hastily. But seven years have passed. Do we contribute to the idea of European security by recognising the Bonn Republic and not recognising G.D.R.? How do we help it? It does not help it.

That is why I say it is necessary that we do something in this regard. Besides, in view of the growing cultural, commercial and other relations between our two countries which are beneficial to us, it is most important that we do not humiliate G.D.R. virtually by refusing to recognise it.

For instance, their Ministers who come here cannot travel on the kind of passport which you carry with you when you go abroad. This is a sort of thing which should be put an end to. There is no reason why we should not recognise G.D.R. and, therefore, I feel the Government should shed its hesitations.

But my purpose in bringing this Resolution was to bring this matter under the scrutiny of the House. It is extremely gratifying that members of the House from different parts of the House have expressed themselves in favour of the Resolution for one reason or for another. Even the Minister has suggested, even though in a halting way, that he has sympathy with the idea of the Resolution, and he cannot go any farther.

I am sorry the Prime Minister is disabled, by her having gone to Bhutan or Sikkim or somewhere up in the Himalayas to be present here. If she had been here, we possibly might have got her to make a more definitive pronouncement in regard to some tentative steps which they can take. At least they can open a State Trading Corporation office in a very different way than they are doing at the present moment. He has not suggested one single concrete step which would be a step in the direction of recognition in the near future.

That is why while I am disappointed with his speech, I do not propose to press this Resolution, because I do not wish to let idea abroad that the House does not support it. The House does support it and that is why I do not press it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is, as you said, an exceptional occasion when you will perhaps permit the expression of the emotion of our people in regard to something which has happened which goes against the grain of all human decency.

Bangladesh, to which so many of us here in this House also belong, is bleeding in a thousand wounds because the people of East Bengal have risen in a kind of revolution almost without precedent in history and are now being sought to be punished by those who do not know anything but the law of the jungle.

Sir, in East Bengal, what had happened was of a great deal more significance than what the Government's statement seems to make out. In spite of the natural inhibition which must be in whatever Government is functioning in this country, I cannot understand why the wording of the statement is so lifeless and how even the evaluation of what has happened in East Bengal was so much against the true state of facts. What happened in East Bengal is something almost unprecedented in history. It was a revolution by consent. It was as a result of the ballot that a preponderant, overwhelming section of the population, in a measure which has never taken place in the history of elections, expressed themselves in favour of the autonomous rights of that province. There took place spectacles which at least a country which sweats by the name of Gandhi should salute in the manner that is called for at the present moment of time.

You know how when the *hartal* took place in Dacca and the rest of East Bengal from the Chief Justice down to the Governor's cook, everybody stopped work. The person who was appointed Military Administrator or in some such comparable position was not given his oath of office, because the Chief Justice refused. We have never seen in history an example of a united people functioning in this manner, determined to go ahead in a peaceful and truly democratic spirit in order to bring about a change in their condition, the condition which they say is one of servitude to West Pakistan.

I am not entering into the merits of the matter, but we should all listen to the *cri de coeur* the cry from the heart which comes from East Bengal, the

*L.S. *Deb.*, 27 March, 25 May and 6 December 1971. [Shri Mukerjee spoke while participating in the debate on the developments in East Bengal and allied subjects].

cry of agony. It is not the sort of agony which is weak and humiliating. Sheikh Mujibhur Rahman said, Bengalis know how to die like human beings. And, that is why they are fighting back. 70,000 troops are now engaged in the task of crushing the resistance of the people of East Bengal. In this posture of things, when in East Bengal a new precedent has taken place in the history of constitutional progress—You and the Deputy Speaker were talking about new parliamentary perspectives—I hope you and I learn a lesson from East Bengal, where a revolution by consent is sought to be brought about and that revolution by consent is thwarted by interests who are now at the beck and call of people whom we know very well. This sort of thing is happening. They want to make our country another battling ground for interests which want to fish in troubled waters. Here is East Bengal which wants autonomy. Here is East Bengal which wants an end to the oppression which has been exercised on it by certain interests in West Pakistan. Here is East Bengal which wanted autonomy for itself. It is being crushed. 70 million people are being sought to be crushed and we are here only talking about the embarrassment which might take place on account of something happening in a neighbouring country. There is not a word in the Government statement of genuine feeling in regard to people who are our own people. I speak the same language as the language which is spoken in East Bengal, not me alone, but so many of us here. And, we are ashamed that the Government of this country makes a statement which makes no reference to the blood relationship which exists between our two countries. At this rate, this Government would go ahead in such a manner that in the north-eastern parts of our country—I include in it the area where Dr. Swell is resident—things might happen which might create a different sort of history than what is being looked forward to by certain people on the other side.

I wish, therefore, Government takes a more understanding view of the situation. I wish Government says, this kind of genocide against 70 million people will not be permitted. I wish Government to announce here that they would go to the United Nations or whatever other forum their Constitution might provide. Let them tell us that they are going to those forums in order to put up the case of the people of East Bengal, and we shall do so because they and we are one. We are one people. Mujibur Rahman has said so many grand things about the normalisation of relations and restoration of friendship between India and Pakistan. He did not want the demoralisation of Pakistan; he wanted only the trade and other friendly relations between our two countries should be resumed. The blackguards in that part of the country, the perfidious people who conduct negotiations in Dacca and then form the safety of Karachi declare martial law, those perfidious people are now going to do something which, as I said earlier, goes against the grain of all human decency.

I was not prepared that so soon after the election, which has given them so much of exuberance and exhilaration, they would forget even to express in a kind of humane manner, in a kind of reasonable democratic manner, the sympathy of this country for the people of East Bengal. I am very disappointed with the statement. I have no hesitation in saying I am very disappointed with the statement. If what Shri Swaran Singh has said is the last word on this subject this Government is making a terrible mistake. I hope the Prime Minister chooses—I do not know her choosing—I hope she chooses at the end of whatever discussion we have had so far, to say something to supplement the statement of Sardar Swaran Singh, and say something more concrete, say something about what India is doing or not doing in the international forum about the genocide and the bloody blackguardery which has been practised by the ruling junta in order to demolish democracy and everything that is human and decent in our country and in our sub-continent.

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Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for two months now, the Macabre tragedy which this House unanimously deplored is going on in Bangladesh. Except for the atom bomb, every other hitherto-used weapon of annihilation has been used ruthlessly against a virtually unarmed people under orders of a ghastly bunch of crazy power-seekers in Islamabad.

I know that sentiment and gush is insipid in the last analysis and does not lead to results. But there is no denying that our emotions have been deeply touched in regard to what has happened, and we are only waiting now to see what tangible steps our country takes in order to meet this menace to Bangladesh.

So many atrocities of an order have taken place which is almost unimaginable. But the people have resisted heroically. Except for embattled Vietnam I do not think there has been any other instance of an unequal and harrowing contest in history like the one that is going on in Bangladesh.

I think this House is certain that the inevitable corollary and the natural complement of our resolution has been the recognition of Bangladesh, not merely as an emotional gesture but as a mechanism for the implementation of whatever assistance and support materially we want to convey to them. Why then this delay in recognition.

Why this pathetic persistence in copy book diplomacy of the Anglo-mandarins of South Block? Why the silence—preternatural silence, shall I say,—of this owlishwise Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, who has not yet opened his lips to say a word in regard to Bangladesh.

The Prime Minister told us yesterday I am quoting her words—"We have sought to awaken the conscience of the world." She said some very good

thing for which I compliment her. But I do wish that our Foreign Office had sought properly to awaken the conscience of the world. I know world conscience is a very hard nut to crack, but even so, we have not done our duty. On a proper occasion, I think this House will have to evaluate what our Foreign Service has done or has done in this regard. For instance, our Ambassador at the United Nations has tried to do a job of work, but our Embassy in Washington has been guilty of default of a sort which has got to be looked into by the Government of the day.

Several million refugees have already streamed into India and more are coming. Famine, epidemics and other concomitant evils are too likely to break out and filter into our country. We can neither tolerate this genocide nor can we permit Bangladesh to be besieged and starved and beaten into submission. If in the middle thirties, Jawaharlal Nehru could rush up to Spain to help the Republicans fight for their Government, when Britain and France were screeching about non-intervention, if an international brigade could be formed to go and assist the fighters in Spain, are we today supinely to watch the annihilation of Bangladesh by infinitely superior brute force? Is not recognition the first essential step for enabling the Bangladesh Government to buy arms abroad and strengthen itself through propaganda and other means? But we have not done so.

If International assistance is to be sent for relief of the evacuees, and it must be, India will be the main theatre of operation. Islamabad tries to seal off even purely humanitarian assistance to Bangladesh. But with the world organisations and even the contemplative Secretary-General of the United Nations at last awaking out of his coma, this will not be very easy. However, the doling out of charity and compassionate assistance to refugees is not the main thing. It has to be done and will be done to the extent of our capacity. Even if we have to stretch our capacity to breaking point, we will have to do it. But the main thing is, as the Prime Minister said yesterday, to create conditions for their return to Bangladesh and not to remain in unmanageable conditions, a great deal worse off than the Palestinian refugees, who are there as a permanent factor. Are we going to have these refugees and evacuees as a permanent feature of the Indian scene? We cannot do so and a political solution is imperative. The die having been cast as far as Bangladesh is concerned, recognition of Bangladesh is an absolute pre-condition of activity for such settlement. I know Government may justify its approach-cold feet-by harping on the requirements of protocol and the legal continuity of international relations, as they say in juridic terms. All countries are normally expected to respect the legal continuity of international relations, but have we not unanimously declared in Parliament that in Bangladesh, it is not a *bona fide* contest between the parent state and belligerent insurgents? By utterly *mala fide* action against a whole people, a nearly unanimous democratic

demand for autonomy has been metamorphosed into a call for a sovereign Bangladesh. The new Republic has the right to recognition from us first of all, who are their blood brethren. From all other civilised countries they have the right to recognition and to a variety of civilised human assistance which they require in order to be free in their own country.

International law did not prevent France, monarchical France, pre-revolutionary France, recognising the United States in 1778, when Britain, which was fighting its American colonies, did not recognise them till 1783. The United States in 1837 did not hesitate to recognise Texas, which was a part of Mexico. Mexico jumped about it but nothing happened. The United States did not hesitate to recognise Panama straightaway when Columbia used to be there on the scene and was very angry about it. The United States and so many other governments did not hesitate to recognise in 1943, De Gaulle's Liberation Committee, even though they had no footing in France and they were operating from North Africa. So many instances could be given.

I would be told, and I know it is a fact, that India is not in the same position like the United States or the other big powers. But in the days when our foreign policy had some lustre and spirit about it, we did not hesitate to champion Indonesia's independence and sovereign status right from the time of our independence or even before 1947. Though Holland was the legal owner of the empire in the East, and Indonesia was part of it, when Holland breaking an agreement, conducted a war against Indonesia, till November 1949 India championed Indonesia's independent status which raised our status also. In the Bandung Conference of 1955 Jawaharlal Nehru was the leading figure. But later we climbed down in the Indo-China matter and our behaviour was not so striking. Again, in 1958, when the FLN, the Liberation Movement of Algeria, started their Provisional Government with headquarters in Cairo, and many countries recognised that Government, India Offered them facilities for opening an office in Connaught Circus but India did not give full recognition, which was why in the heart of Algeria a sore was planted which possibly has not healed yet. It was not till after France got defeated in 1962 that we recognised Algeria.

So, this is the kind of behaviour which we have shown, though in regard to Indonesia too our conduct was so much better. We delay offering our hand of friendship and fellowship. About Bangladesh, which has won her right today first by democratic elections and secondly, by a popular mass revolutionary action. Delay will hurt, hurt both our countries, and help the neo-Fascist regime that keeps West Pakistan in its grip.

We do not wish ill to Pakistan, whatever the maniac propaganda of Islamabad may say. It is not India's responsibility that Bangladesh has broken

away from Pakistan. India's interest and desire has always been to have a friendly Pakistan. A massive national revolution has taken place, however, in East Bengal to which I doubt not that two of the grand features of Islamic thought, the equality of man and the sense of social discipline, have made a contribution...

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...I was saying that the concept of equality of man and the concept of social discipline which are characteristic of Islam have made their contribution to the development of a movement which has succeeded in implementing to the point that is possible the maximum aspect of democracy. This is a fact which has to be conveyed to the Islamic countries which are today keeping mum not knowing what has happened in East Bengal. This is a matter where India, with her knowledge of things, can help and this is a matter where, if we have diplomatic relations with Bangladesh, they would be enabled to conduct their propaganda in other countries, as well as they could do a great many things in regard to collecting their arms, weapons and other assistance from other countries.

Are we to be in fear and trembling before Pakistan all the time merely because we do not want to do something when other countries are not recognising Bangladesh? This is something which has led us to behaviour which has got to be condemned without any equivocation.

We gave super VIP treatment to a minion of Yahya Khan who came to Calcutta as the so-called Deputy High Commissioner at a point of time—in a series of answers to questions yesterday Government acknowledged it—when our Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca was interned altogether, when the wife of our High Commissioner in Karachi or Islamabad had been ill-treated. We sent a protest note on 10 April and nothing more has been heard about it. On the basis of reciprocity—reciprocity, my foot!—this kind of super-VIP treatment was given to this person in Calcutta.

My hon. friend, Dr. Ranen Sen, tells me that when the Pak Army entered our territory, absolutely without justification, on the border of the 24-Parganas District, no effort was made to chase them out of the picture. Our border security officers shook hands with the officers of the Pak Army in the Akhaura-Agartala sector. They had no business to be there. We found our Army behaving with them in that fashion. As my hon. friend has told us a little while ago, our people show cowardice. When they send shells into our territory, we show the white flag. There are so many instances of the Pak Army entering our territory and this kind of thing and they are not even being pursued.

All this is happening because we are allowing ourselves to be blackmailed by Pakistan. They hijack a plane; they do all sorts of dirty things to it; they

go to the ICAO, make all sorts of allegations against India and they try to put us in the wrong. What India does or what India's wonderful External Affairs Ministry does is to behave in a fashion which makes our face look absolutely silly before the world.

Therefore, are we to truckle down to Pakistan merely because of her powerful friends abroad and the appearance of atrophy at least for the time being of the world's conscience? If we do, we shall not only be letting down the martyred masses of Bangladesh but will appear before the world as a country which, while holding a sixth of the population of mankind, as someone recently said, has neither the guts nor the credibility which should go with that position.

Our interest is to have a friendly neighbour. We want to have a friendly country on the east. Can we spurn the hand of friendship? If Bangladesh wins without further adequate help from us, Bangladesh will be alienated. If Bangladesh loses on account of our not having given adequate assistance to her, Bangladesh will remain terribly embittered. Are we going to face this alternative? We have to have a friendly territory on our side. Here in Pakistan democratically a wonderful movement of Indo-Pak friendship was growing. We have to do all we can in order to help them.

I know that the Prime Minister has a difficult job. I do not contest that. She has said some good things. Let us see her acting accordingly. She had said only yesterday referring to the big powers:—

> "if they fail.....then the suppression of human rights, the uprooting of people, and the continued homelessness of vast numbers of human beings will threaten peace."

She has also said:—

> "If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security and the preservation and development of the structure of our social and economic life."

We do not propose to take on Pakistan. We do not throw challenges here and there, but a job of work is before us. The task is imposed upon us. We have got to face this job and, therefore, when Bangladesh is there, it requires to be recognised as the first essential and basic step towards the implementation of those activities of sympathy and friendship for them that we have professed so very eloquently. That is why I say, as a first step, let us go ahead and recognise Bangladesh.

There are risks, but there are risks all the time with Pakistan. If we leave the ball in the court of Pakistan all the time they go abroad and put us in the

wrong. If the world conscience is as atrophied as it is now, of course, we have to go even alone if that becomes necessary. But I find the world conscience is gradually awakening. I find, even the United Nations Secretary-General is beginning to wake up from his stupor and from his coma.

Let the Government of India show some spirit, some courage, some initiative, some regard for the practical needs of the day. And let the Foreign Office tone itself up. I am not going to be fobbed off by what Shri Khadilkar says in regard to relief conditions and all that. The Foreign Office is the guilty piece as far as the particular question is concerned, the recognition of Bangladesh which has been distorted, by many people among the minions of the Prime Minister in the Foreign Office. The recognition of Bangladesh is a must and it is the primary responsibility of the Government of India to do that.

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Words fail us on this occasion. We have been waiting for months for the time when this country would associate itself entirely with the tremendous movement for liberation which has begun in Bangladesh.

I do not know if any speech is necessary on this occasion; our hearts are full. We say it to the Prime Minister that she has done her duty at a historic moment. There is no doubt about it. We shall go ahead in this part of the world and entirely on a global basis. The struggle which is going on against that ghastly junta of military autocrats, the crazy power hungry people in Islamabad, that struggle would succeed and freedom would flourish in our part of the world, in the rest of humanity.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION: CHALLENGES AHEAD*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as I participate in this debate, I notice a strange lack of interest on the part of the treasury benches, and I do not understand how it is that when a vital resolution of this sort is being discussed and the time for discussion is prolonged because of a desire on the part of the majority of this House—I do not understand how, even in those circumstances those Ministers who are directly concerned with this matter are not present. I miss, Sir, in particular the very deceptively cherubic presence of the Finance Minister because, I hope, at any rate.....

I do not wish to bandy compliments across the floor of this House, or, I would perhaps have been persuaded to say that he is a very good substitute. In any case, I am sorry that Government does not appear to be as interested in this matter as they ought to have been. But one very important purpose has been served in that the attention of the country has been focussed not only on the existence of this problem of unemployment which is so acute that everybody knows all about it, but on the utter ineptitude of the Government of the day which, Sir, had to wait for this resolution to be given notice of before it came forward with an amendment, somewhat surreptitiously, I should say, suggesting that there should be an amendment of the Five Year Plan which was tomtommed so ardently only the other day. I do not know, Sir, if there is any such precedent in parliamentary history in any other country. The Five-Year Plan was a basic document which we discussed in this House only a year ago. The Five-Year Plan was to be amended, but Government comes forward with the first intimation of its desire to amend the Five-Year Plan only after a non-official resolution was given notice of in this House.

Now, Sir, occasionally official voices have tried to pipe in, to suggest somewhat furtively, that the unemployment problem has been exaggerated, and I think the Finance Minister also has tried, in his charming fashion, to say the same thing. But the cruel fact of the increasing misery of our people is such that we have found acknowledgment of it by the Government repeatedly, particularly in the speech of the hon. Minister for Planning that this is our problem Number One, this is our major problem. Gruel centres in Madras for migrant weavers, or the fact of unemployment of more than two

* *L.S. Deb.*, 18 December 1953. [Participating in the debate on the Resolution re: Unemployment, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 21 November and 4 December 1953 and 25 November 1970 on a similar subject].

thousand qualified medical men in West Bengal, unemployment of seamen and air pilots, of trained workers in ordnance factories and shipyards, all these things are so much a matter of common knowledge that nobody can deny the fact of the existence of this very acute malady in our body politic.

It is necessary, Sir, therefore, to try if we can, to find out certain remedies and begin to apply them. And there I say, Sir, that the atmosphere is occasionally sought to be confused by certain references to the problem of over-population. I heard my hon. friend Prof. Sharma the other day saying that the problem of population is the biggest hurdle that we have to cross. Now, Sir, increase of population in this country has not been due, as many of these writers, especially from the United States of America suggest, to some special oriental philo-progenitiveness; it is not the result of Eastern sexuality, or a heathen addition to polygamy.

Now, Sir, the percentage of growth of population in our country has been lower than in the West India's population increased three-fold between 1750 and 1941. But the population of the United Kingdom in that period increased over five times inspite of large migration. India's rate of increase today is about the same as Holland's. In 1894, Germany's birthrate was 36, compared to India's 34. Now, Sir, I have found in the *Eastern Economist* an article on 'unemployment' which says:

> "Even granting that all the married people capable of procreation take a solemn pledge today to stop having any children and abide by that pledge, which is obviously impossible, the intensity of the problem will continue for at least two decades, although it may be gradually reduced."

That, Sir, is the position. Who does not want family planning, if we can manage it? But to put the cart before the horse, to beat our breast and to worry our hearts out over this problem is not only unwise but also entirely mischievous; that would just be following certain ejaculations about Asiatic 'gooks' multiplying like rabbits. A supposedly scientific book called "Road to Survival" by a man called Vogt says: "Asiatics breed like rabbits and that is the biggest single problem in the world today".

Following this kind of Western ejaculations if we tell our people who go without food, without clothing, without shelter, that they should practice the refinements of contraception, that is a cruel joke, that is something which our people will not possibly tolerate. This is a matter which is so often forgotten and if we think that the main emphasis should be put on the problem of population, then we are putting the cart before the horse; we are not trying to tackle the problem as we ought to tackle it. We are accepting the logic of these imperialist spokesmen, who want us to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, who want us to be cannon fodder, who want us to be subjects of

their exploitation. We have to cut across that ideology; we have to come out of the grip which it has got over us and then and then alone can we solve the problems which are facing us today.

Sir, when the question of unemployment is being discussed, I think first of my own city of Calcutta where scenes are being enacted of destitution, of misery, of horror. Whoever goes to that great city can see it for himself. I find, Sir, in an official document, the Report of the Census Superintendent of West Bengal, certain statements which come to me as a revelation, which shows how at last there is beginning to dawn on certain official minds some appreciation of the real problems which confront us today. Now, I am quoting from a fortnightly, or perhaps weekly, called *West Bengal* which is published by the Government of West Bengal and sent to all Members of Parliament I presume, or at least to West Bengal Members of Parliament. It carries the date 19 November 1953. The Census Superintendent says:

> "The Permanent Settlement hangs like a millstone round the neck of this population. Agriculture has become a losing battle, a habit or way of life devoid of hope and improvement....
>
> All this is intimately bound up with land reform and the question of redistribution of land because a stage has been reached when, according to the Land Revenue Commission (1940), palliatives—a little improved seed, a little irrigation, a little extra manure or a little improvement in marketing facilities—will not improve the situation or maintain the improvement for any length of time."

My grouse against the Government is that they are exactly doing these little things, petti-fogging little things and claiming profound appreciation of their wonderful activities!

> The Census Superintendent goes on to say:
>
> "A 'shocking revelation' is that the proportion of earners to total population has been declining steadily in agricultural and total livelihoods since 1911. What is more alarming is the almost stationary proportion of the population in non-agricultural livelihoods since 1911, which indicates how the excess population, steadily squeezed out in increasing numbers from agriculture, remains unabsorbed in non-agricultural livelihoods and goes on widening the fearful gap between the total population of employable age and the population employed in earning a living."
>
> He goes on further to say:
>
> "It appears that the old urban centres of industry and commerce have rapidly decayed. The reason why the new towns have failed to enrich the

country in which they are established, have failed to bring about a satisfactory rural-urban inter-dependence, to contrive true and comprehensive points of contact between rural and urban combines, but instead have helped to perpetuate a dualistic economy, is far too obvious to make a mistake about. It is the domination of foreign capital."

Writing in *West Bengal* the Census Superintendent of that State has said that the domination of foreign capital and the land system of the country are the two main reasons which have brought about our present distress. When we, Sir, talk about domination of foreign capital, a laugh arises in certain quarters in this House. But I tell you, Sir, it is very important for us to go down and find out what exactly are the difficulties that we are facing. It is no good merely tinkering with the problem as we are going on doing all the while. That is why, Sir, I want the Government of the day to turn their attention to the really drastic and fundamental problem.

Now, Sir, as far as professional economists are concerned, academic economists who want to follow the old way of thinking and of acting, there is the opinion of Dr. Matthai, who speaking a few days ago at a Commerce Graduates' Association somewhere said that what was needed today was a very comprehensive recasting; what the Government has succeeded, however, in doing is to start, to rake up a new quarrel, so to speak, between the private sector and the public sector, to start again the hare of a new controversy which they cannot solve between the interests of large scale industry and small scale industry. We find also Government having already brought about a contradiction between the interests of the Indian producer and the Indian consumer. This you can see in the controversy over the question of things like soap, which the Indian Soap Manufacturers' Association want to be protected against the depredations of foreign capital. And then again, Sir, there is a conflict over agrarian reforms, especially in regard to the question of ceiling in regard to land holdings. I found also something that is very fantastic, which is almost impossible to believe could happen in any country in any ordered Government. I find, Sir, that Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, who is Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, said that "it is commonly felt that owing to welfare legislation labour costs have increased, with no corresponding increase, rather decrease in output, and that the diversion of surplus labour in some fields into useful directions has become impossible. This requires careful examination and remedial action". My friend Shri Giri, I am sure, has made a note of these things. It is a reflection made by the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission. I do not know, constitutionally speaking in what relation he stands to Government, and whether he has any right to go about the country making pronouncements which obvisouly differ from the views of the Cabinet or at least the majority of it, the vocal section. He goes about saying this is what is happening. He tries to placate those

interests which are also represented in the House and who come forward and say: give more concessions to the industrialists; give us greater liberty; licence to retrench workers if we choose; take away whatever concessions you have given to workers by means of recent legislation. That is the kind of thing they are saying, and this is what the Vice Chairman of the National Planning Commission, a person holding a high office, is saying. It is peculiar. It is a kind of thing to be seriously guarded against. It is a thing which flourishes only because there is no real principled approach to this point as far as the Government is concerned. If the Government knew its own mind it would not have brought about a situation where a crack-up of the entire situation is indicated.

This was again to be found when you, Sir, were actually presiding over the deliberations of the House and the Finance Minister was speaking. And he was giving figures about the number of people employed in certain places. He was almost gloating over it. He never does; at least he would never like his being described as gloating over it. He was giving certain figures, that in the textile industry employment has increased from 8,19,000 in July to 8,21,000 in August, an increase of two thousand, three thousand, four thousand and so on and so forth. There was a friend of mine sitting here who is unfortunately not there at the moment. This is God's truth, as the Finance Minister was speaking, I passed on a chit to him where I wrote, what used to be taught to English school children when they were quite young so that they could say it very quickly and their pronunciation might be very clear:

> How much wood would a wood-chuck chuck,
> If a wood-chuck could chuck wood?

They were asked to say it quickly. When the Finance Minister was saying how much employment you can get in this country if you get it in this way, this is what came to my mind, namely, "how much wood would a wood-chuck chuck, if a wood-chuck could chuck wood"? If Government could provide employment, how much employment it could provide—that was the wonderful speculation that came to my mind. That friend is not here at the moment. Otherwise he would vouch for it.

He said something also about community projects. But he did not say how much of a hoax....

Sir, I was saying about the hoax of the community projects. And these community projects are being advertised as furnishing much wider volumes of employment. I am quoting from a Bombay journal, *the Economic Weekly* (which has not the slightest suggestion of leftism) which says: How far is the rural welfare scheme going to contribute to the solution of rural employment

or add to the volume of useful employment in the villages? What are they going to do? What are the trainees in these community projects, after completing their training or apprenticeship at State expense, going to do? They will require some capital for starting business. And secondly, if they succeed, they will have to market all their products. What are their sources of finance? Where is the market for these goods? All these questions are simply brushed aside. You, Sir, asked some pertinent questions of the Finance Minister on that day. It was said that Bhakra Nagal is employing so many or the D.V.C. is employing so many. But what exactly is going to happen afterwards? Are you really laying the foundations for a sound economy so that we can develop in the right way? But of course nothing of that sort was done. I am sorry, Sir, I have a few more things to say and I would ask your indulgence for a little more allocation of time to me.

I know that as far as we are concerned there are certain long-term remedies which we have in view. And those long-term remedies naturally will not be supported by the government of this day. But, as Lord Keynes once said, in the long run we are all dead, particularly, the unemployed who will die earlier and faster. We came with certain short-term remedies, and they are roughly these. We said, allocate fifty crore of rupees as relief. This was ridiculed as dole you know, Sir, the history of unemployment insurance in England or other countries. Workers pay out of their own pocket as insurance money, they get it back in times of unemployment. And yet it is called a 'dole'. That is the kind of expression of ridicule which they use in order to put a wrong interpretation on the whole thing. We say this is relief. Give us relief. When Shri Giri brought forward that Bill in pursuance of that Ordinance regarding the ban on retrenchment in the textile mills or when the ban on retrenchment as a whole came forward, when the question of compulsion of mills to pay a certain sum of money for involuntary employment came up, we supported it. It did not go far enough, but we supported it. What is wrong in giving relief when the need for relief comes first? You might say: where is the money going to come from? There is money galore, I should say, if you know where to look.

With Krupps-Demag, the German combine, we have entered into an agreement. On the 18 of September 1953 the *Eastern Economist* wrote: "It seems incredible that the consultants' fee of Rs. 2,10,00,000 is to be paid in this case for technical knowledge on processes old, well-tried and fully available within the country." This sum of Rs, 2,10,00,000 could have been paid easily into Indian hands. We did not do it. There is the matter of privy purses for the Princes. Five crores and eighty lakhs of rupees are represented by the privy purse. There can be a cut there. There, are the Income-tax investigation results. They could be pursued properly. We could get a lot of money. There are safe deposit vaults all over the country in big trading

centres. We can lay our hands on them. In the Tata-Birla Plan it was said: There is Rs. 1,000 crore of hidden money in the country; out of that if we could get Rs. 300 crore, etc. This was said in 1944. If they could get Rs. 300 crore of hidden money in 1944, surely they ought to get Rs. 1,200 crore in 1953. But they do not do anything of that sort.

It is our responsibility. It is Government's responsibility to find out where the money gets hidden and ferret it out and use it for purposes which are necessary for the sake of the country.

Then we say: ban retrenchment altogether, ban closure. Government has moved half-heartedly, very timidly, very hesitantly, possibly because of the V.T. Krishnamacharis in their camp. Anyhow Government has moved somewhat. You should go full steam ahead if you stand for the interest of the people. Put a moratorium on all peasant debts. Sir, the Deputy Finance Minister is nodding his head approvingly. Put a moratorium on peasant debts. You will get some kind of relief as far as these people are concerned. Let there be a ceiling on monopolist profits, foreign as well as Indian, at 6.25 per cent. Go back and recall the days of 1948 and your own Industrial Policy. Then you will realise that there is nothing very foolish, nothing very lunatic in this suggestion. Why do I say this? I say this because, I find this from *Capital, Commerce, Eastern Economist* and all that kind of papers. The Bengal Coal company, run by Andrew Yule & Co., has a paid up capital of Rs. 1,20,00,000. In five years 1945-49, its net profit amounted to Rs. 3,10,00,000. Its latest annual profits were more than 50 lakh. I find there is a company called the Indian Cable Co., Ltd., run by foreigners. Its total share capital is Rs. 166.77 lakh. Its reserve fund is Rs. 50 lakh and other funds Rs. 55 lakh. In the year ending 31 March 1953, its gross profits amounted to Rs. 1,04,23,881. This is how they make their money. I see, in the year 1951, the foreign banks made a profit of Rs. 319 lakh, more than half the total profits made by all Indian Banks including the Imperial Bank, which is not an Indian Bank at all. This is the way in which foreign people are behaving and they have credited only Rs. 196 lakh of their net profits to their respective countries in 1951. Look at the reserves of the jute mills. I remember making in this House a quotation which was sought to be countered by the Finance Minister, but which he could not. An article in *Capital* in 1951 said that in a good year, in a well organised year, the jute companies could make a net profit of Rs. 50 crore. That is perhaps impossible according to the present set-up. But, this is what they say: provided things were run properly, and everything was oiled properly, they could make a profit of Rs. 50 crore. Most of them are foreigners, almost all of them, the people who have been exploiting our country, for how long, we do not know. That exactly is the situation which has been going on for long, which we cannot tolerate now.

These are some of the suggestions which were given: put a ban on repatriation of foreign companies profits. Then, of course, we shall go ahead really, truly and properly. Of course, let us have road and rail development. Let us open out areas like Rajasthan. Orissa, Madhya Bharat. You know, Sir, from the producer to the consumer, the prices increase by 25 per cent, people have told me, because of lack of transport. Government talks about increase in food production, and industrial production. But what is all this increase? Why not have more basic industries? In regard to this the Chairman of the Railway Board Shri Badhwar made a statement on the rolling stock position of Indian Railways during 1954-60 only the other day. He said: "notwithstanding the very acute shortages of material, particularly steel, and the almost complete lack of supporting industries in the country", Railways are doing well. There is shortage of steel; there is complete lack of supporting industries in this country. If this is the position go ahead with basic industries. Then naturally the possibilities of employment would increase; they would expand beyond recognition.

I see that from time to time Government says some very good things. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru the other day, said somewhere: we should be completely dependent on ourselves. But, I say this is callous cynicism in action, and a sort of sanotimonious sentimentalism in words. That is what you are doing. There is employment in plenty for those people who somehow get on the right side of certain people in authority. I have here,—I am sorry to have to ask for your indulgence for a little more time—material supplied to me by the Minister for Commerce and Industry which suggests that there is in Bombay a Director in the office of the Textile Commissioner who is not even a matriculate, who has no technical qualifications. I can give his name; the materials are all here, supplied by the Minister for Commerce and Industry. Employment is found for this sort of people. Employment is not found for the masses of our people who are really great-hearted and who are prepared to go down the pits and mines. They work there because they have to keep the wolf from the door. They are ready to go but you don't give them bread; you give them stone instead. That is why I warn the Government. This is what the *Eastern Economist* has written in a leading article; the age of impatience has begun. The age of impatience has begun today in point of space in Calcutta, which city I happen to represent in this House. The age of impatience has begun and the misery of our people is such that you can no longer play with them. Suffering is no longer the badge of our tribe. Because you are in the Chair, Sir, I am reminded of what I read in the Udyoga Parva of the Mahabharata, where the sage Samvara says:

पतिपुत्रवधादेतत् परमं दुःखमब्रवीत्।
दारिद्र्यमिति यत् प्रोक्तम् पर्यायमरणं हि तत्।

"Patiputravadhadetat paramam dukkhamabraveet
Daridryamiti yat prottam paryayamaranam hi tat."

Poverty is a degradation and a disease; is death by degress "Paryayamaranam" is something which is even worse to women than the death of the husband or son. That is the way in which our ancients looked upon poverty. They hated poverty because it brought degradation along with it. That is why I say that we should go ahead with these ideas which will inspire real activity in the cause of the people. We should have the feeling which the poet expressed, "the misery of the world is misery and will not let them rest". That is why I say that our people will not rest till the footling little pretenders to power over our people are pushed off the pedestals of oppression which they occupy so ostentatiously today.

THE HINDU MARRIAGE BILL, 1955*£

We are going very soon to put on the statute book something which has been long overdue. In spite of the hue and cry which was raised over this Bill by my friend, Shri N.C. Chatterjee, and others, this is by no means a revolutionary measure. It only seeks to remove some of the multitudinous disabilities of Hindu women and that too in a restricted sphere, namely, marriage, and within the orbit of the present economic subserviance of woman to man. Yet, as far as it goes, it is a very welcome measure, much needed as far as the interests of the country are concerned, and I congratulate the Minister in the Ministry of Law, Shri Pataskar, on the manner in which he has conducted this Bill in this House.

There are certain changes which, I feel, might very well have been incorporated in this Bill, particularly regarding the paradoxical provision about the obligation of women to pay alimony on divorce; then further there are other clauses regarding the unsavoury provision about desolution of conjugal rights; there are certain other clauses about custody of children and certain defects in the divorce clause in regard to desertion and cruelty and so on and so forth. I feel that in these regards, certain improvements could have been effected. But as far as it goes, as I have said before, we welcome this measure, and we hope that Government will take note of the failings of the people all over the country in regard to these aspects of this Bill which require to be improved upon.

A great man once said that marriage was an impediment to all great enterprises, whether of virtue or of mischief. However, the married state is to man in society the normal condition of affairs, and problems, marital as well as extra-marital, have been a perpetual headache to society since the dawn of civilisation. If like my hon. friend, Shri Nand Lal Sharma or Shri N.C. Chatterjee, we claim that in *Shrutis* and the *Smritis* we have found a solution to all these questions which have agitated man since the dawn of civilisation then I feel it only shows a pathetic blindness to the forces of life around us. That we are beginning to shed that blindness is evidenced by this Bill before the House.

In the old days, the *Smritikars* and their commentators by a judicious process of selection and interpretation of texts could mould the law, if they

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 5 May 1955.

£ 'The Bill which was aimed at providing for necessary legal framework for Hindu Marriages and allied issues, became The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955'.

so desired, to suit the needs of changing times. At present there are the courts of law, but the courts of law have not the same freedom of interpretation as the commentators, so, if the growth of the law is not to be impended, the Legislature has got to intervene. I think therefore that there is a very clear and convincing and unanswerable case that the Legislature should intervene in this kind of social legislation.

I like a whole-hogger, but I do not see my hon. friend Shri Nand Lal Sharma here; in comparison, I fear my hon. friend Shri N.C. Chatterjee is neither fish nor flesh, he eats neither, and he is a vegetarian in every sense of the term.

*** *** ***

Shri Nand Lal Sharma has taken a stand unequivocally, on the eternal verities which are enshrined in the *shrutis*. With all respect for the heritage of our ancient civilisation, I say that if we go on banking upon the eternal verities in the Vedas, for example, that is a fantastic aberration of thought. If there is inequity and wrong in the vedas or elsewhere, let us not veil it as sanctity. I do not know why these brave words are used by our people from time to time in order to hide inequity. I know, at one time the expression *'Harijan'* was coined as a synonym for untouchables; and *'Harijan'* was supposed to indicate the people of God as if you have put them in a special enclosure, so that the votaries of God may exercise their pity and their philanthropy and their pity in regard to these people. We gave them a high-sounding title. We called the poor *daridranarayan* as if they were the beloved of the Gods. The idea was that unless you had the poor with you always, your charity-mongering acrobats could not exercise their philanthropy and their occupation would be gone. We want to hide the shame of having untouchables in our society or having poverty in our society by giving high-sounding titles to those whom we have treated as untouchables and to those whom we have deprived of the necessaries of civilisation. In regard to women also, we have said all kinds of things; we have used all kinds of superlatives; we have exhausted the whole vocabulary of adjectives in order to express our veneration for women, but as far as the condition of women in our history is concerned, we have not taken note of the reality.

The other day Shri N.C. Chatterjee quoted from out of his own experience, how a child widow, an aunt of his, had said to him that it was better that the *sati* system had continued, because the life of a child widow was agony, continuing agony, and she was being burnt every day of her life. I say this has been the wail of Indian women throughout the ages. I recall that beautiful symbolism in the *Ramayana* where after repeated *agnipariksha* after repeated subjection to the ordeal of fire by Ramachandra, Sita had to say to her mother earth, that she could not tolerate that kind of thing any longer, and she

wanted to be taken back into earth by her mother. That represented the wall of Indian women. And Shri N.C. Chatterjee's experience related yesterday represented how more or less the same condition of things has continued right down to this day. But we have tried to cover it up with all kinds of sanctimonious declamations.

I say I have the greatest respect for our traditions. I have gone out of the way so many times, as you know very well, to quote from our ancient scriptures or from our ancient literature, only to show how very great is the homage which I pay to our cultural legacy. But I know there are aspects in that legacy which we have got to shed altogether. This legislation is one instance of how we are trying, haltingly but at the same time with some determination, to get rid of that incubus of the past which should no longer be allowed to dominate over us. Let us not forget how obscurantists behaved when Ram Mohan Roy and others stood to efface the shame of the practice of *sati*. I find also that Max Mullar has said how the Vedic text, was perverted in order to prove that *sati* was permitted by the Vedic scriptures. Max Mullar has said:

> "This is perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands of lives been sacrificed and a practical rebellion forced on the authority of a passage which was mangaled, mistranslated and misapplied."

The *satiwala pandits* went right up to the Privy Council in those days. And I fear there are some pedants among us here who will go to the Supreme Court to plead that some provisions of our Constitution is negated by this kind of social legislation.

We should remember also another very great man whose name, I think, has been mentioned only once during the discussion and that is Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. We know how he had to fight in order to establish the right of Hindu widows to remarry if they wanted to do so.

As a rule, however, as our Hindu Mahasabha friends choose to forget, Hindu sages had an immeasurable tolerance for human weakness and vulnerability. I could quote to you so many instances,—but they are quite unnecessary to show how this great tolerance has been a feature of Indian civilisation.

After all, Socrates was a much more significant person than Miletus who was merely a moral man; Jesus had greater goodness than the Pharisees who observed all the conventional cannons of behaviour. So, we may say that there are so many ancient precedents for it, that if love without marriage is illegal then marriage without love is also immoral. But we find that in our

ancient history, so many things happened which show—particularly in the *Mahabharata*—how our people had an amplitude of mind. There were such stories as that of Viswamitra and Menaka. Even heroes faltered and stumbled in the narrow path of conventional duty; and men very much better than most of us, who have done great things which we have never dreamt of doing, have also been the victims of common frailty. Vyasa was born of an unmarried non-Brahmin girl. Bhisma was the son of an unmarried woman. Puru was the youngest son of Sarmishta who was the princess in attendance on the queen, and therefore, not exactly the wife of the king, Yayati. And yet the sage Kanva, according to Kalidasa, when sending Sakuntala to her husband's place asks her to behave as Sarmistha did for Yayati.

These illustrate how really we wanted to have a flexible and a liberal scale of moral values, and how we wanted a code of conduct which could be adjusted to the necessities of the day, to the fact that men and women are people of passion, people of feeling, people of emotion, and they cannot always observe those conventional codes which are made so much of by the reactionaries of today.

I find also how there is a reference to this idea of tolerance in Apastamba who was a great authority on the *Grihyasutras*. There he lays down certain requirements of a girl who deserves to be married. He says it is necessary to exclude certain types of girls when you are going to choose a bride. He says it is necessary to exclude.

> "a girl who has a fine younger sister, one whose age is too near to that of the bridegroom, who has the name of a *nakshatra* or a river or a tree, or whose name end in R and L."

But, later, Sir, he himself says:

> "A wife who is pleasing to his mind and his eyes will bring happiness to him. Let him pay no attention to other things."

Such is the sage's opinion. This is how Apastamba laid down his rules. Our ancestors knew that life was no dogma; that courses of conduct could not be determined on the basis of rigidity which moralists and puritans of the sort that we have found represented in this House, want to be established.

It is necessary, therefore, that we should not make an inhuman insistence on asceticism and its glories as a *sine qua non* to rightful social behaviour. In our heroic age there was tolerance. That vanished later, in the time of the *puranas* to the detriment of the race and to the sorrow of our people.

Some Members have suggested that this kind of legislation will lead to promiscuity. I feel that promiscuity is something which cannot be changed

into something else merely by legislation. If there is promiscuity it is a disease which has to be treated by other social remedies, remedies like economic independence of women, opportunities for all to live a good life, opportunities for all to choose a real partner in life and, so on and so forth.

I have also heard some fear expressed about the results of this kind of legislation, but that has been sufficiently answered by those Members who have said: "We know our people and we know that special qualities of our women. Therefore there is no reason why we should have any misgivings in our mind regarding the working of this legislation."

I have heard also certain oblique references made to Communism and certain members have tried to suggest that Communist support to this Bill is due to the fact the Communist are supporters of social libertinism, that we want licence in social matters. In regard to this, I need not give an extended answer, but I shall quote what Lenin said in 1920 in regard to promiscuity, in regard to libertinism in sex relations. Lenin said in 1920 to a woman revolutionary leader of Germany, Clara Zetkin:

> "You know, of course, the notorious theory that in Communist society the gratification of sexual passion is as simple and commonplace an act as drinking a glass of water. Those who support it say they are Marxist. Thank you! But Marxism it is not. Things are not quite as simple as that. It is not merely something natural to us that is fulfilled in the sexual life, but also something which we have acquired through culture, however lofty or low that may be. Thirst, of course, must be satisfied. But is there a normal man in normal circumstances who would lie down in the mud and drink from a puddle? Or, say, from a tumbler, the rim of which many lips have made greasy? And the fact which is of greatest importance is the social aspect of the problem. The drinking of water is an individual act. In love, on the other hand, two beings are involved. And a third, a new life, may appear. It is just here, in this fact, that the interests of society are involved. There is the duty to the community. The revolution requires concentration, an increase of strength, both from the masses and from the individuals. It cannot tolerate such orgies as are normal to the heroes and heroines of D'Annunzio. Sexual licentiousness belongs to the bourgeois world. It is an evidence of decay. But the proletariat is a rising class. It has no need of intoxicants as narcotics or as stimulants. Self-control, self-discipline is not slavery. No, even in love it is not that."

I give you, Sir, this extended quotation to show that while Communists are not puritans, they are purists, no doubt, they do not deny life, on the contrary, they affirm it, they accept life with all its problems, with all its massive glories and shames at the same time. They want to work it in such a way that it would bring about the greatest happiness to the greatest number.

Let us, therefore, not forget the limits of law and the limits of the consequences which we can expect to ensue out of the Bill before us, particularly in the present set-up of things. When no basic attack on economic problems has yet been made we cannot expect this kind of legislation to bring us all the desired results.

Then again, marriage is psycho-physical relationship of such intimacy that law can only register its beginning and its end, but unaided by social engineering, law by itself cannot effect satisfactory continuance of marriage on the foundations that we desire. But law can check hasty divorce. It can prevent injustice in dissolution of marriage. When we have a new society shorn of the sin of avarice and all the evils that flow from it, happy and healthy homes, happy and healthy human relationships will be the norm. Till then Sir, all that we can do is to try to eliminate avoidable unhappiness and to try to minimise to the utmost the unhappiness that cannot be altogether eradicated. To that, Sir, this Bill makes some though not a very striking, contribution. Therefore, Sir, I welcome this measure and I again congratulate Shri Pataskar on the way in which he has piloted this Bill in this House.

I rise to welcome this Bill which is, on any computation, an important measure. The Hindu Code, once so widely trumpeted, comes to us in trady, sometimes, irritating, instalments. But, there is no doubt about it that this Bill, in spite of its gaping lacunae, is a sizable chunk.

I was reading with much appreciation the speech which the Minister in the Ministry of Law, Shri Pataskar, made the day before yesterday, but I find that in spite of having made what I thought, was an eminently reasonable speech—or perhaps because he made a very reasonable speech—he seems to have put his foot into the trap laid by the sophistry of my learned friend, Shri N.C. Chatterjee. I find from Shri Pataskar's speech that he showed a very welcome readiness to accept the view of the House—particularly because this measure is going to a considerably numerous Joint Committee—Shri Pataskar showed his readiness to accept the view of the House in regard to several important matters. In regard, for example, to the quantum of the daughter's share, Shri Pataskar said that it would be for the House to decide because in this Bill there is a deviation from the Report of the Select Committee of 1948 which had laid down that the daughter's share should be equal to that of the son while in this Bill the daughter is to have only half the share of the son. Shri Pataskar said that it would be for the House to decide, it would be for the Joint Committee, in the first instance, to say something about it, and then finally the House would decide. I am very happy to have noted this and I hope that in the Joint Committee Shri Pataskar's influence will be exerted in the direction of seeing to it that the daughter gets the share which was recommended for her by the 1948 Select Committee.

Now, Shri Pataskar also said in regard to this controversy between the *Dayabhaga* and the *Mitakshara* systems that in this matter also, he would be willing to be guided by the wishes of the House. I found nothing exceptionable in that statement; on the contrary, I took that as a measure of the Minister's good intentions. But I find that an attempt is sought to be made on that basis to delay the passage of this Bill. Shri N.C. Chatterjee has suggested, for example, that it would not be open to the Joint Committee to change essentially Clause V as it has come to us at the present moment. Now, Shri N.C. Chatterjee of course was careful to add that he was not going to made much of a purely

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 7 May 1955.

£ The Bill which was aimed at amending and codifying the law relating to intestate succession among Hindus, became The Hindu Succession Act, 1956.

technical point, and I am very happy that he added that proviso to his original formulation. I feel that there is nothing either in law or in reason—though I do not profess to have any standing in the region of law—I do not see that there can be any objection in law or in reason if the Joint Committee chooses to delete Sub-clause (I) of Clause 5. I feel that in regard to this point, in regard to the necessity of co-ordination between the *Dayabhaga* and the *Mitakshara* systems of law, it is necessary that the Joint Committee takes note of the view expressed in this House. In this connection, I would like also to be sure about Shri N.C. Chatterjee's position. Act on time, he appeared to me to suggest that the Bill was defective because it did not apply to the generality—as far as we can get them into the orbit of this legislation—of Hindus, and his objection seemed to me to be that the *Mitakshara* joint family also should have been incorporated in the provisions of this Bill. Of course, I knew that was not really at the back of his mind—later it became quite clear that that was not his intention at all. He did not want to see a co-ordination of the two systems as far as succession was concerned. He had only raised that point in order to put up a hurdle in the way of this legislation. Now, I would ask Shri N.C. Chatterjee, if he is serious about his desire that this Bill should apply to as large a chunk of Hindu society as possible, if he is serious about his desire—as far as I understand it—to instruct his leading colleague, Shri V.G. Deshpande, who is on the Joint Committee to see to it that this particular sub-clause is deleted and that what the Select Committee of 1948 had reported is incorporated in the provisions of the Bill as it comes back to us from the Joint Committee.

Now, in regard to this point, opinions have been expressed already and I need not amplify. We have found how many eminent judicial authorities, particularly from Madras, have pointed out unequivocally that the joint family, as it is today is a prolific source of litigation, and if there is today a kind of adaptation of the two different schools of succession, then that would be at least a step in advance. I have seen also that Shri N.C. Chatterjee pointed out at one stage of his speech that this Bill was not going to apply to the generality of Hindus—and that he seemed to regret—and he said after that that it is open to a man on account of his rights of testamentary disposition to circumvent the provisions of this Bill. Now, unless Shri N.C. Chatterjee was making a debating point, for the sake of it, I do not understand the essence of this argument. Do I take Shri Chatterjee to mean that he is against the idea of a person having the right of testamentary disposition? Is he willing and ready, here and now, in the present posture of social relations to come forward with a suggestion that a man should not have the right of testamentary disposition? I know the answer; he possibly can't have that idea in mind. The fact of the matter is that in the present context of social relations and economic relations, the right of testamentary disposition is a right which Government cannot take away even if—it is very inconceivable in the present context—even if Government is minded in that direction and therefore, has to remain

on the statute-book of the country a provision in regard to testamentary disposition, and that, necessarily, would make a kind of inroad into this kind of legislation. So it is not arguing really and essentially against the provisions of the Bill when Shri N.C. Chatterjee points out that many Hindus would try to get out of the orbit of this particular Bill if they have the right of testamentary disposition. So I feel that the points which Shri N.C. Chatterjee was making, at least in the first half of his speech, were arguments merely of a sophisticated description, arguments which partook of a certain pseudo-technical tinge and their only objective was to delay, if not to prevent, the passage of legislation of this sort.

Now, I have said that we welcome this law because it is on any computation an important measure. The introduction of the daughter as a simultaneous heir along with the son and the widow is really a matter of very great importance, and for this, not only women but all progressive and democratic sections of society have been agitating for so long. I am sure that there have been Shri N.C. Chatterjee's 'doubles' who had opposed the idea of the widow having any share in the husband's estate. So from time to time they change their arguments, they change their skin, they appear under different guises; but the basic character of reaction and obscurantism remains the same, and that is the character which, I am very sorry to have to say, Shri N.C. Chatterjee displayed earlier this morning.

Now, the Minister in the Ministry of Law—I am sorry I have to use this rather pedantic expression because of the welcome presence of my hon. friend, the Law Minister himself—Shri Pataskar had very rightly laid emphasis on the point that there are so many Members of this House, particularly from the side which Shri N.C. Chatterjee pre-eminently represents, who were trying to point out, when they were opposing the Hindu Marriage Bill, that divorce would be a matter militating against the interests of women because Hindu women did not have economic independence. They appeared to shed a lot of tears, crocodile or no, I do not know, but they did shed a lot of tears in regard to the economic dependent of women upon men. If that is so, there is no reason why they should not come forward today, as Shri Pataskar pointed out, to support the legislation which has been placed before us in this House. Actually, women have a role in society about which I need not amplify. Only the other day, the Prime Minister said that women are a greater asset to India than men are. I do not know. I do not wish to put it in exactly that kind of terms, but after all, it is undeniable that women are likely, more likely than men to suffer on account of destitution and want. And chivalry demands that they should be better provided for economically than men, if we can do that. But in our country, chivalry is perhaps confined to poetry and to fiction, and to the occasional eloquence of Shri N.C. Chatterjee when the mood takes him; but otherwise, we forget the real condition in which our

women have been living for so many ages. Whatever that may be, democracy and decency demand that women should not be treated as inferiors in the matter of inherited wealth. I need not argue this point; I need not try to formulate special reasons why today we cannot say what Manu did, that a woman does not deserve to be independent.

I found towards the end of his speech Shri N.C. Chatterjee hopped back to what is really a very important item in his scheme of thought, and that is that he is against this whole idea of succession being regulated in the manner which is suggested by this Bill, because he is, like all orthodox Hindus, a believer in the doctrine of spiritual efficacy, and he believes that allocation of property should correspond to the capability of a person, who for some mysterious reason usually happens to be a male, to perform services of spiritual efficacy to the ancestor. I have nothing to say against the doctrine of spiritual efficacy. So many hundreds of thousands of our people believe in it with devotion, and I do not wish to say anything which even remotely would injure their sentiments. But I do not understand why when we talk about things like spiritual efficacy, we should stand up for a system which seems to imply, according to the legalists of our day and also of the Medieval Indian period, that you perform an act of spiritual efficaciousness to the benefit of some ancestor of yours, because you happen to inherit a certain amount of property from that source. Inheritance of property and the performance of spiritual obligations seem to be bracketed together, and I would say that there can be nothing more unspiritual than this kind of conception particularly at a time when we are moving in a very different direction, when the whole idea of property is being changed very drastically, in spite of whatever obscurantists might say or might not say. At that time, to talk about the doctrine of spiritual efficacy, to revive the absolutely ridiculous idea that women are incapable of performing oblations which are of spiritual significance to an ancestor, or to talk in that strain is abracadabra, is so much moonshine and nonsense. That is why I say that this is another way of reaction putting on a different kind of cloak in order to rouse revivalist emotion in our country, to prevent the passage of social legislation.

Only the day before yesterday I happened to be talking quite accidentally to a very highly placed Member of this House, who is not present here at this moment. He was saying that as a very dutiful father, he had married his daughter to a very rich family, and he said there was no reason why on earth that daughter, who is very well off because of the father having behaved so dutifully and so wonderfully, should now come and try to share her patrimony. He seemed to be very much hurt. He was a very responsible Member of the ruling party in this House, but he was seriously disturbed at the idea that his daughter might get a share of her patrimony.

Today also, we heard Shri N.C. Chatterjee quoting Sir Francis Floud as having said in private conversation to somebody that what was the trouble

with Bengal's agrarian system was not the Permanent Settlement but the fragmentation of holdings. All these peculiar ways of bringing back support of a completely outmoded thing like the Permanent Settlement, well, all these methods have been practised. Fragmentation of holdings is a very bad thing. And so, Shri N.C. Chatterjee and his friends are very much worried over the fragmentation of property. Who are actually worried? Most of us have hardly any property. We are not going to inherit much of a property. If my sister shares in what little property I might or I might not get—might not get is very much more likely—I do not care a rap. It is only those who have enormous properties, who look forward to large legacies, and who try to deprive X or Y or Z, brother, or sister, or whatever it may be, who fight for their gains in law courts. That is why Shri N.C. Chatterjee knows very well our behaviour in the law courts is a standing ignominy to the character of our race, and that is why Indo-Anglican jurisprudence has produced such enormities whose results we are ruing from day to day, from year to year, and I do not know for how long we shall have to rue the results of Indo-Anglican jurisprudence. These are the things about which we are worried.

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I do feel that the objection to this Bill is coming from reactionary sections of society, is coming from those who fight for the loaves and fishes which follow the question of inheritance, and succession, and so and so forth. I wish that the House remembers something which the Prime Minister said the other day that in life's journey it is better to be lightly laden. There was a lot of truth, and there was a lot of beauty in that kind of formulation which I recommend for anxious thought for all Members of this House who are so enamoured with the idea of property that they come forward to oppose even progressive legislation of this sort.

There is one other point. We have heard from the defenders of property that property is a function of personality. Actually, Sir, the only justification of property can be that personality cannot develop unless a person has command of the wherewithal of existence, that is to say that he has control of certain property. Capitalist private property is not a function of personality; on the contrary, it drains life out of humanity. But personal property, property which you need for your own development, is something which is sacrosanct, something which is in order, and which social order will certainly ensure to the individual. I say this, because on this point there is so much confusion, there is so much of unmerited and uneducated attack on the Communists, so much slander that we are against all property as such. We are not against all property as such. We are only against those forms of property which lend themselves necessarily and inevitably to exploitation of the freedom and the

physical and emotional powers of other people. So, capitalist private property is not a function of personality. But if you give to a man his private property, the personal property of the sort which is essential to his humanity, then, it is absolutely irrational to deny it to a woman. Today all the world accepts certain canons of behaviour and in that code, woman is accepted as man's equal by the democratic and decent opinion of our country. Democracy and decency demand that we should put, as soon as we possibly can, this kind of legislation with all necessary amendments of the sort which I have, generally speaking suggested, on the statute book.

UPLIFTMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES*

...It will bear repetition that the report of 1953, was rather desultorily put up for discussion at the fag end of 1954 and was naturally not concluded. In mid-September, we are discussing the report of the last year. I say it is not good enough. It is not good enough by a very long chalk, and I support Shri Jaipal Singh's suggestion that we should have a convention that we discuss this report every budget session.

The Commissioner in his report has repeated his annual complaint that the State Governments do not furnish him with data in time so that he can incorporate them in his report. I feel also that his staff is inadequate, and the Minister should see to it that for no fault of his own the Commissioner is not disabled from discharging his onerous responsibilities.

I fear I must say that the Commissioner's reports and especially the description of his tours are somewhat uninspiring. I say this because I know that a report has got to be catalogic, it has got to be objective but I miss in his reports that sense of urgency that must be in the work, and also, what is more important, that feeling of pride in our people and especially those sections of our people whom for generations we have considered lowly and have treated in dastardly fashion.

I say this because in this year of 1955, we have celebrated, if we care to celebrate it, the centenary of the Santal insurrection of 1855, where they showed tremendous courage in their fight against the British imperialists and their Indian subsidiaries. And we know how the members of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have taken part in our freedom movement, As far as my province is concerned, in the old days, in the tenth century, when the Pal dynasty came into the picture, it was those who come under the description of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes who created that revolution. In recent years, members from Midnapore district are aware, the members of the Scheduled Castes have taken the largest share in the national movement. We ought to have pride in these people, but I am sorry we do not have that pride. We do not have a consciousness that these people are the salt of our Indian earth.

* *L.S. Deb.*, 16 September 1955. [Participating in the discussion on the Motion regarding Reports of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1953 and 1954, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 4 April 1968 on a similar subject].

I found many things in the speeches made by the former Home Minister and also by my hon. friend the Deputy Home Minister from time to time, and I have noted a kind of complacency. Dr. Katju, said many times, we have made substantial allocations for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. I have seen also that our friends from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have said, as Shri Barman said last time, that it was a drop in the ocean. I remember, Shri B.S. Murthy said last year that it is a cauldron of agony through which these people pass every day of their lives. I have seen also a Member who is sitting on the other side, Shri P.L. Kureel, getting angry last time. I remember that occasion very vividly. On the 24 December, last year, he said:

> "I would submit that the Home Minister has always tried to give evasive replies."

And he asked:

> "Do you want to see that the Scheduled Castes adopt the same attitude which the Muslims in this country adopted?"

Further, he went on to say:

> "Every Scheduled Caste representative is not as domesticated, as humble, and as silent, as you see him here. Listen to them outside the House. They are as bitter as Dr. Ambedkar. They are as bitter as I am. The bitterness has been growing into anger."

This is the kind of way in which our representatives have expressed themselves. And why have they done so? The Commissioner has been good enough, and the Home Ministry has been good enough to supply us with notes showing action taken because of certain complaints made in Parliament. I shall pick out a few items. In regard to the complaint that the progress is unsatisfactory, Government have stated: "This is a vague statement" as if Government have to make a debating point against us. Are you going to score a debating point by saying 'You are making vague allegations'?

We find further the statement:

> "All the State Governments and the Central Government are doing their best to remove the disabilities."

Again, when the question of landless Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people comes up, it is stated:

> "The State Governments are doing all they can to rehabilitate landless Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

This is ridiculous. The Commissioner himself says at page 39 of his report in regard to PEPSU Scheduled Castes:

> "It will be a very hard case for the Scheduled Castes of PEPSU, if they are to be evicted from the land on which their houses stand, or which they have been cultivating for a long time, because this land is evacuee property."

Then he goes on to say:

> "Reclaimed land should be allotted to *Harijan* tenants and to agricultural labourers who will be thrown out of employment on account of some new legislation."

This is what he says, and yet you say that all that is possible is being done as far as Government are concerned.

There are so many other things that I could point out. There is item No. 8 here, where it was said that the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people of Bihar and Orissa were prosecuted by the Forest Department officials, and put in prison, whenever they went into the forest to collect certain things they needed for their living. The answer is:

> "The matter has been brought to the attention of Government for necessary action."

We want to know what has been done. 'Necessary action' be followed! We want to know what exactly Government have done in regard to this matter.

In item No. 13, we find:

> "In the 1931 and 1941 census, as number of Scheduled Tribes were enumerated as tribals but in the census for 1951 they have not been so enumerated."

I have read the report of the Commissioner's speech at Lohardaga or somewhere, in the course of which he had said:

> "I am not going to rest till this anomaly is removed."

I have read also what the president of that assembly, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru had said. He said 'I am going to do something about it'. But I want to know what Government have done about it. Let us hear something about it. But we do not have the good fortune to hear what Government have to say about these things.

Then, there is item No. 18 which says:

"Powers given to the autonomous districts of Assam should not be subject to the overriding power of the Governor."

This was a suggestion made in Parliament. And the answer is that:

"The Governor, being the head of the State, exercises overriding authority not only with reference to the powers of the district councils but also with reference to the general administration of the State."

This is fantastic nonsense, as far as constitutional propriety is concerned. Here is a constitutional lawyer who would say that the Governor has no such overriding powers. And especially in regard to district councils, it is very important that the Governor knows how to behave. If he did so, we would not hear the kind of answers which the External Affairs Ministry gives in regard to the North East Frontier Agency.

There are so many other things. But I am sorry my time is limited. But I do hope you will give me a little more than the usual allocation. There are so many things I wish to point out which show that Government's attention is not being directed to this matter in the way in which it ought to be done.

I would refer only to a few other points in these notes. There was one allegation made in Parliament last year, and it was said:

"Money allotted for welfare work should not be given to political bodies, and propaganda for the removal of untouchability should not be left to social workers who are only professionalists, and have no love for this work."

The answer is:

"It is made clear to non-official agencies at the time of allotment that if it is found that the money allotted for welfare work is utilised for political purposes, the grant will be discontinued."

I have heard charges—and I think Shri Jaipal Singh made a charge yesterday, if I remember aright—that for political purposes, these grants are utilised. I wish Government do more about it than merely giving some categorical denials, and they do something which would really and truly disabuse the minds of people who should be in the know in regard to this particular problem.

Also, I find that there was a complaint last time in Parliament about the bad administration of the hill tribes in Andhra. Here again we find the statement that attention had been directed. We do not know what action has so far been undertaken by Government.

I find also that there was question last year that there was a temple entry law in Travancore—Cochin but that the Home Ministry should investigate as to how many untouchables were allowed to enter the temples. To this, Government say, "We cannot do all that". Why cannot you do all that? Why cannot you find out how exactly this law is being operated? Do you not know that this kind of law remains a dead letter, because of the obscurantist opposition in this country? If that is so, come forward with some statement, at least an admission of your weakness. Tell these people, you come and help us so that really and truly we can put into operation the Untouchability Offences Act or whatever other analogous legislation is there.

Now, the question of land is a crying problem. I have hardly any time to refer to it. But I find that in Andhra, lands have been given as political rewards to those who are described very euphemistically as political sufferers, and the lands taken away from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been allocated in the fashion.

The economy of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is so dismal, and we know of the challenge of the North East Frontier Agency in particular. It is so excruciating to read that almost everywhere what the people need is drinking water. We talk so big about building this society and that society and so on and so forth; and our people need drinking water; even in the year of grace 1955 their representatives have to come and say, as they used to say to. Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, "You are Kailas Nath, you are full of benevolence for the rest of humanity, for God's sake do something, and give us drinking water". We have come down to this kind of depth.

I find that agriculture-mindedness is something which it is necessary that we introduce as far as many of the tribes are concerned, as for instance, the Todas. But I am very sorry that it required the expostulations to the Prime Minister, of a Prince Peter of Greece or of Yugoslavia or of heaven knows where, to take steps for the continued existence of the Todas. I am afraid that these people are not congenitally anti-agriculture-minded. It is no good saying they don't know how to cultivate. That is why there is *'jhooming'* in Assam. They do it because they cannot do any better. What steps are being taken to make these people agriculture-minded? There is no good in merely saying that certain forest laws have got to be put into operation, that the country must not be denuded of forests by these miserable Scheduled Tribes people. Teach them how agriculture should be practised by them. Give them all the facilities. I want to find out from Government what exactly is being done in those areas of Assam and the North-East Frontier Agency where *'jhooming'* is in operation and where agriculture has got to be spread, I want to know how many mobile libraries have gone into those areas in order to teach people what should be done. I want to know how many films have been shown in

those areas in regard to these things. On the contrary, I find in Tripura—an allegation has been made in this House—that lands have been taken away from Scheduled Caste people, schools they had started on their own initiative were being shut down because Government was not coming forward with the necessary assistance.

Now, in regard to the question of reservation of jobs, it is a dismal story. Except for Saurashtra, I am told, the record of almost every Government is bad. Saurashtra has supplied the ruling party with a President, and I hope that Saurashtra supplies the ruling administration with some desire at least to see to it that the directions in regard to reservation are really and truly followed. I have got references here which show how the reservation business is almost a fake, it is just not happening. I have got figures supplied by the Commissioner as regards the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the armed forces in 1953—and 1954—I cannot quote them because I have no time. But there is no change at all, no improvement at all. Why should this happen? How is it that in our Air Force there is no commissioned officer, no flight sergeant, no sergeant as far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned? Why should it happen? Some of these Scheduled Tribesmen are among the most wonderful automobile drivers in creation. Why in our Air Force are there not officers belong to these communities?

I have figures in regard to 'Unemployment' Exchanges—they are somehow called Employment Exchanges. The number of Scheduled Castes people on the register during last year was 1,58,224, and only 24,614 were placed in employment. As regards Scheduled Tribes, out of 17,806 who applied, only 3,277 were placed in employment. Why should this happen? I know of an instance where a Scheduled Tribe student from near Shri Jaipal Singh's area got a first class degree, and he went from pillar to post, and then he took a job as a teacher in a college. You all know—my hon. friend is nodding—he knows the treatment that is given by the Education Ministry; he knows what the position of a teacher of a college is. And this chap, this young fellow, with real equipment, real brilliance, real capacity, does not get the chance of his life, which he is certainly entitled to. All these cases are there. All these things happen because we do not have that quality of sympathy and understanding, not mere superior minded benevolence towards the lowly, but real understanding, real sympathy, real fellow-feeling. We have not got that. It we had that real fellow-feeling—I know the Commissioner has done very good work with Thakkar Bapa; I know at the same time, that the headquarters of those who are operating these provisions for the tribal people are in places like Shillong or Visakhapatnam while hundreds of miles away are the tribal areas—why should this happen? I want to know from Government—I am very sorry that the Home Minister, Pandit Pant is not here; possibly there

must be some plausible reason for his absence—about this. You know very well that specially in the tribal areas there are chauvinists who want to wean them away from Indian loyalty; you know it very well. What are you going to do about it? What is your policy? You won't get the allegiance of the tribal people to the Indian Union merely by mouthing platitudes. You have to work, concretely work, and you have to really show objective recognition of their rights. Here is the States Reorganisation Commission going all over the place possibly producing a mouse—I do not know, it may produce an elephant. But anyhow, what is the Government going to do about it? Why not think of some idea of autonomy? Why can't you carefully devise a system of autonomous regions for certain tribal belts. You may say 'this is a very tall order: I can't give you an answer', but tell me that you are going to consider this matter; tell me that in certain areas of our country where these tribals live in compact areas of regions, you are going to extend certain autonomous rights. Because otherwise, they are completely at the mercy of the majority who have been so long ruling the roost, who will continue to exploit them under the mask of honeyed words, sympathy and kindness and benevolence and all the rest. This is a policy on which I want Government to make up its mind. I know that it is a very tall order....

...I remember a little over two years ago the late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee made a suggestion which was commended last year by my friend, Shri N.C. Chatterjee—it was also highly appreciated by the Commissioner in his Report—which was this. Why not have an all-parties commission which will undertake a tour of all these areas for about two months? Why not make an all-out effort? I do not believe in do-goodery. I do not really think that that kind of going from place to place will do the trick. But it is a beginning; there is no doubt about it. It is a very good gesture. Government has done nothing about it so far. The Commissioner has expressed his regret that there is no enthusiasm as far as non-officials are concerned? How could there be enthusiasm? We do not even have a Standing Committee of Members of Parliament to look into this matter. We have no provision, as far as the tribal people are concerned, for a special cadre for the tribal tracts. Why don't we have the provision of a special allowance for those of our young people who learn the tribal languages and go and live there, if they are enthusiastic about it? Why don't we have a special University for the different tribes who inhabit our country, as they have in China? I have not been there. I am told there is a special University there for the different tribes who live there. On the contrary, we find the Home Ministry treating the movement in Manipur and the movement in Tripura with a kind of callousness which should be condemned in the strongest possible terms, particularly when we are discussing this matter.

The Commissioner has regretted that in the Gandhian days we had enthusiasm; now we have not got enthusiasm. How do you whip up enthusiasm? Nobody can do it merely by moral exhortation. Why are the Christian missionaries enthusiastic? Because they have an idea. And you have to have an idea; you have to have an idea that we are going to say good-bye to all that has been done so far in regard to looking down upon the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I say, Sir, that not even the ablest apologist, would succeed in explaining away the fatalism with which the law of karma has permeated our society, and the results of that we find in the treatment of this problem. All effort at social regeneration has been baulked for centuries by the facile and pathetic hope of a life beyond death which will somehow compensate for the sorrows of this existence. And for centuries our cultural leaders have had the infernal effrontery to call a section of our fellow-human beings untouchable, some of them deemed so lowly that even their shadow would pollute the path of a bloated Brahmin. This has gone on for too many years. Now, our people have tried to compensate for it by finding a new name for them, *'Harijans'*—the people of God. If you like that designation, I won't quarrel. It is for those who are directly concerned to say what they think about it. I do not know why we should call them *Harijans* and put them in a separate category, as if God has put them in a special enclosure so that God's comfortable votaries may exercise their philanthropy and perform their charity-mongering acrobatics by patronising these people. That is an idea which I resent, which I detest and that is why I say that all our effort should be to treat these people as human beings with rights, with rights which they want to see achieved here and now. In a society where they have suffered, this is the perspective which has to be there. If we have that perspective, many of the problems will melt away like darkness dispelled by the morning sun. Therefore, all our difficulties would go if you get that kind of perspective. And I plead with the Commissioner, the Home Ministry and the House to have that kind of perspective, to have real respect for human dignity, to remind ourselves that these people whom we have put in a special category by calling them Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the salt of the Indian earth. And if we cannot look after them properly, not in a philanthropic condescending manner if we cannot look after them properly, if we cannot raise them to the level which all of us want to reach then good-bye to all our hopes regarding Indian reconstruction and the fruition of our aspirations for freedom.

COMMUNAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY*

Sir, it is a tragic irony that the fiercest communal massacre after Independence which is reminiscent of the gruesome happenings before and after August 1947 which led up to the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi has occurred in Gandhiji's Gujarat exactly on the eve of Gandhiji's birth centenary. I am glad the Home Minister has said that our very existence as a civilised society is at stake if this kind of happening is allowed to continue. The most fundamental of all rights that a citizen can have, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is in jeopardy for a large section of our own people.

Sir, Gandhiji once said—I am quoting his words:

> "If a minority in India, minority on the score of its religious profession, is made to feel small on that account, I can only say that this India is not the India of my dreams."

We are far away from the India of our dreams. We know it for a fact—it is not use trying to get away from it—that our Muslim countrymen around us do have a feeling that they are not safe, their life, their honour, their liberties, they are not safe in this country. It is no use hiding the fact. It is no use trying to say that a certain secret circular has not been issued. The fact of the matter remains that our fellow countrymen are not happy. Can we place a hand on our heart and say that it is not so? Truly, our Muslim fellow countrymen as well as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, to whom a reference was rightly made by Shri Bhandare, they are in agony, they are not happy because of so many dastardly happenings. The Gandhi Centenary has been disgraced and the Sabarmati Ashram itself has been spiritually desecrated when Gandhiji's old Muslim associate was attacked. This is the kind of thing which has happened, which we are discussing in this House at this moment.

Yesterday, I listened very carefully to what Shri Morarji Desai had to say and with an air of a padre in a sermon he spoke to us, sugar-coating his vicious shafts. But the net result made me think what a contrast this Morarji performance every time is with the speeches that are made by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, what a contrast between truth telling there and something very different in this House. We have noticed how Shri Morarji Desai has gone ahead in the manner of a communal rioter surreptitiously slipping in

* *L.S. Deb.*, 5 December 1969. [Participating in the discussion on the Motion regarding Communal Situation in the Country, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 13 December 1973, 3 June 1974 and 27 February 1975 on a similar subject].

a sort of backhand stroke with a knife. He chose to say certain things, particularly in regard to my party. He began, of course, by saying that we had no communal trouble before the British came. Now I am not quarrelling with that because I have no time to go into that. He said, again, that the minorities sometimes start the trouble, they are not blameless and the majority gets irritated. He conceded that a very few people in the minority community may do the damage. But, then, he said in Ahmedabad the slogan was heard, "Pakistan Zindabad" and all sorts of things in regard to Islam and there was no use running down Hindus, as "they are also human". That is what he said.

I do not understand what brand of Gandhism is this. Unless our Muslim fellow countrymen can be assumed to have taken up the vow of suicide; they know very well that in the India of today they cannot have a riot and get away with it. It may be that some of them are criminals. It may be that Pakistan has sent some spies to this country but all of them are not necessarily Muslims. If Pakistan wants to have spies in our country to serve their cause they would deliberately recruit Non-Muslims rather than Muslims. But I cannot for the life of me believe that the Muslim community is suicide-minded in this country, that every time the provocation is from the Muslim side to begin with. I suspect there is something more behind the game which has got to be found out and punished at the root. But that is not done and we are told about the majority community getting irritated and that sort of thing.

Now I have little time and that is why I have to summarise what I have to say. But I must refer to Shri Morarji's sly attack on us. He said a Communist went to Ahmedabad and stayed with a Muslim in whose house a bomb was discovered. Several of my colleagues in this House and in the other House went to Ahmedabad, because they thought it was their duty, and they all put up in the Circuit House and the records will show where they put up. And they went round the city in the transport provided for them by the Peace Committee, transport which had curfew passes given by the local authorities. It is an utter untruth, a complete unmitigated lie for anybody to say that any Communist went to Ahmedabad and stayed with a Muslim, who is a criminal, in whose house something was discovered in connection with the riots. It is a complete unmitigated lie which he has somehow chosen to perpetrate. I went to the service in memorial of Smt. Alva the other day and something which was read out from the scriptures stuck in my mind, and I felt like saying that in regard to Moarjibhai. 'If the light that is in thee is darkness, how great is that darkness?' This is the darkness with which we have to contend.

In Ahmedabad, the slogan was raised and everybody heard it:

गद्दार हैं मुसलमान, भेजो उनको पाकिस्तान

This is the RSS type of propaganda. We know it very well. This is the propaganda which to my shame and consternation, my friend, Shri Madhok also appears to countenance with all the strength at his disposal. I say this because Mr. Madhok has been mentioned by name in all kinds of papers in the country, big or small. For example the *Gujarat Herald*, an *Ahmedabad daily* in its issue of the 8 October, said:

> "Two days prior to the temple incident, there was an inciting speech delivered by none other than Shri Bal Raj Madhok, the Jan Sangh leader, who was threatening Ahmedabad that a Pakistani attack on Gujarat was impending and questioned the loyalty of the Muslim leaguers in the city. He even hinted that there were many Muslims in the city who were Pakistani agents and who owed allegiance to that country."

I could go on multiplying instances of newspaper reports. That is why I referred to this matter.

I shall be very happy if Shri Madhok repudiates all allegations of inciting communal discord I shall be very happy and I would like to pin him down to that averment. It is an obligation and duty which he has taken upon himself in the forum of the nation's Parliament. But when I heard him and read about his having said it, he cannot deny it, about this idea of "Indianisation" of Muslims, I felt sick when; I have read some history, and I know that Muslims in India have never been a bird of passage or of prey. The Muslim is a part of this country. The Muslim in India is part of the Indian earth. I want to repeat what once a Muslim League leader told an audience in my presence before Independence. He was asking for Pakistan, but he said he knew he belonged to this part of the country, and would remain in India—and he added "When a Hindu dies, his body is burnt and the ashes are thrown into the river to be carried by the current, God knows, where. But when a Muslim dies, he needs six feet by three of Indian soil! He belongs to this country in life as well as in death." I want my Muslim fellow-countrymen today, who do not have adequate political leadership, and who are suffering from economic adversity and who are suffering from all kinds of grievances and complaints in regard to non-participation in Government, in every department, so to speak, I want them to have that pride, and I want us all also to come forward in order to help them have that pride. I want this country's Parliament to raise its voice against this idea of Indianisation of whoever does not belong entirely to the Hindu fold. I myself was born a Hindu, and I have imbibed with my mother's milk a great deal of the culture that is basically Hindu, but I know at the same time that if there is anything worth while in Indian civilisation, it is the synthesis which has been evolved, and to that synthesis the Muslims have made a stupendous contribution. That is why when I hear such talk about Hindi-Hindu-Hindustan, I am

reminded of what happened in Germany before Hitler came to power, and his slogan was *'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer'*, that is one people, one country and one leader; in the same way, we are having this fascistic notion implanted in the minds of our people, which we have got to fight. In regard to this matter, I could go on elaborating because this idea of the synthesis which is the foundation of Indian culture and its shining quality has to be spread and it has to be supported by tangible measures of material economic emancipation which would extend to the under-dog, to the Muslim, to the Scheduled Caste and to everybody so that all of us could stand together. And I say that as a communist, I am proud of befriending the Muslim, because he is the under-dog in this country, just as I befriend the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I remember Gandhiji saying, 'If I am to be born again, in this country, I want to be born as an untouchable'. Some of us happen to have been born in some so-called higher castes of Hindusdom, but I do wish we could all identify ourselves entirely with the lowliest of the lowly and when I have my sympathy for the Muslim when I am taunted for that and Shri Morarji Desai takes recourse to stratagem and dubious tactics in order to say that communists and Muslims are together, I would say that we are with the Muslims in so far as Muslims are the under-dog and the oppressed in our country.

What happened in Gujarat was something inexplicable. Government have appointed some sort of inquiry apparatus, but it is not adequate. Something very much bigger and more comprehensive has to be done about it, because Government does not even know, and does not even tell the world the casualty figure. The casualty figure has been very credibly estimated at about 3000. It is a tremendous thing. How is it that the Home Minister had to be there in Ahmedabad and his presence had to goad the Ahmedabad administration to go ahead! How is it that Idgah Mosque and such other places were broken down to rubble in the neighbourhood of a police outpost? How is it that every report in every reputable paper suggest that Government was dragging its feet, and not doing much and saying that steps would not be taken because the majority community should let off steam and the whole thing would settle down to something like a peaceful settlement! All these things have taken place. How is it that the Gujarat Government resented members of Parliament going to Ahmedabad? How is it that when a Minister, Shri Saleem goes and becomes desperate when he sees the plight of his co-religionists, he comes under obloquy from the Gujarat Government and its friends here? How is it that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, our greatest guest at the present moment, goes to Ahmedabad and he is sought to be fobbed off with a lie, which was that all the camps were evacuated, meaning thereby that everybody has gone home? Yesterday, Shri Indulal Yajnik had told us—and he knew it because he was all the time fasting like Shri Morarji Desai but at the same time going round and not sitting somewhere that they had no where to go.

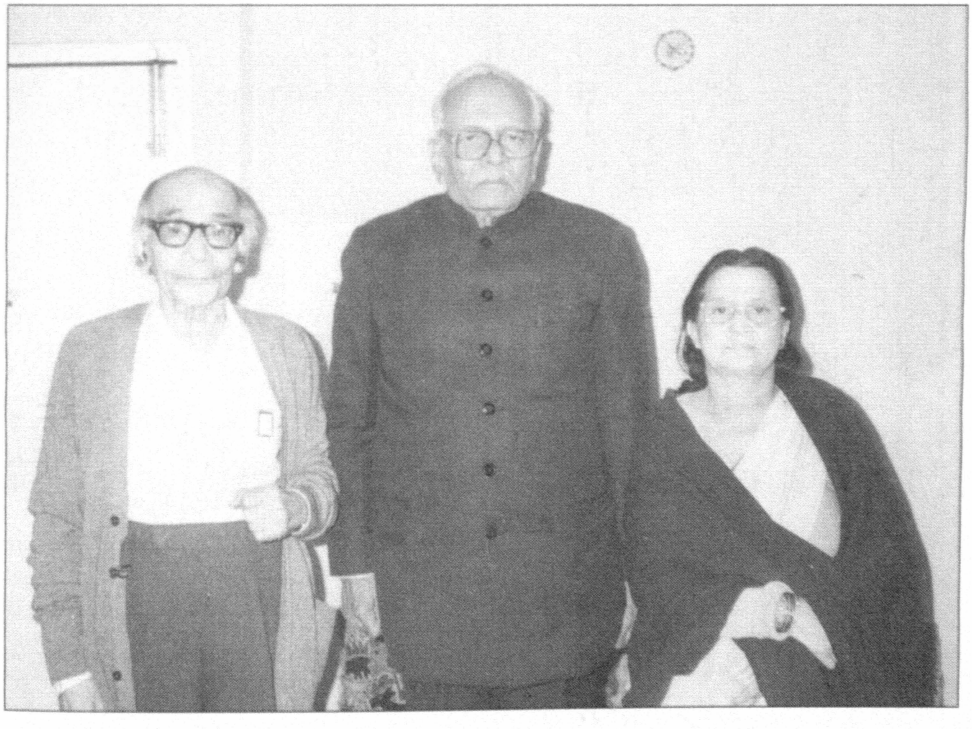
All these things are mentioned also in all the reputable newspapers. Is it not necessary, therefore, for us to have some investigation properly conducted by the Central Government with whatever agency it thinks fit, in order to pin down the guilt of the moarlly impeached Gujarat Government? The present probe is inadequate. Something has got to be done about it. The Centre must make its own assessment and act accordingly. The Centre must also make sure that rehabilitation facilities are given properly and truly. The Centre must also ensure that Muslim workers are taken back into employment. The Centre must also investigate the charge which has appeared in the newspapers that Muslim trade unionists, some of whom happen to be communists also, were butchered off in order that the position might be safe for vested interests. All these things require to be done. That is why I say that the siren song of secularism and tolerance is not something which can go on captivating our people for very much longer, or glorified gimmiks like the National Integration Council. I do not want to denigrate the National Integration Council. It might be doing an important job. But merely glorified gimmickry with the National Integration Council passing resolutions and all that would not do. Something very much more is necessary. Muslims and their problems, just as the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are ignored. Those problems have got to be tackled. Do we not remember that it was after the demoralisation which set in when the struggle was withdrawn by Mahatma Gandhi that the communal trouble arose in the 1920's from 1923 onwards? Do we not remember that Mahatma Gandhi himself went on a fast in the house of Maulana Mohammed Ali in Delhi in 1924? Do we not remember that those days, the mid-twenties were the period of political demoralisation? It is only when there is frustration, on account of political and economic degeneration, it is also only on that account, that communal troubles arise. If today, therefore, there is to be any sense in the kind of gestures which some of those people like the Prime Minister make from time to time, if there is any sense in those gestures, you have to do something in order to electrify the country, and then we shall find that the Swatantra-Sangh-Syndicate combine with which perhaps because of the 'S' being there, some of my Socialist friends are sometimes found to be together would be broken and that would be defeated and we shall go ahead in order to bring about a different dispensation in our country.

A dedicated leader

Being congratulated by supporters on his victory in the
First General Election

A spirited Communist amongst Comrades at a Party Meeting in Kerala in 1957

Being welcomed on his arrival at a Party Meeting

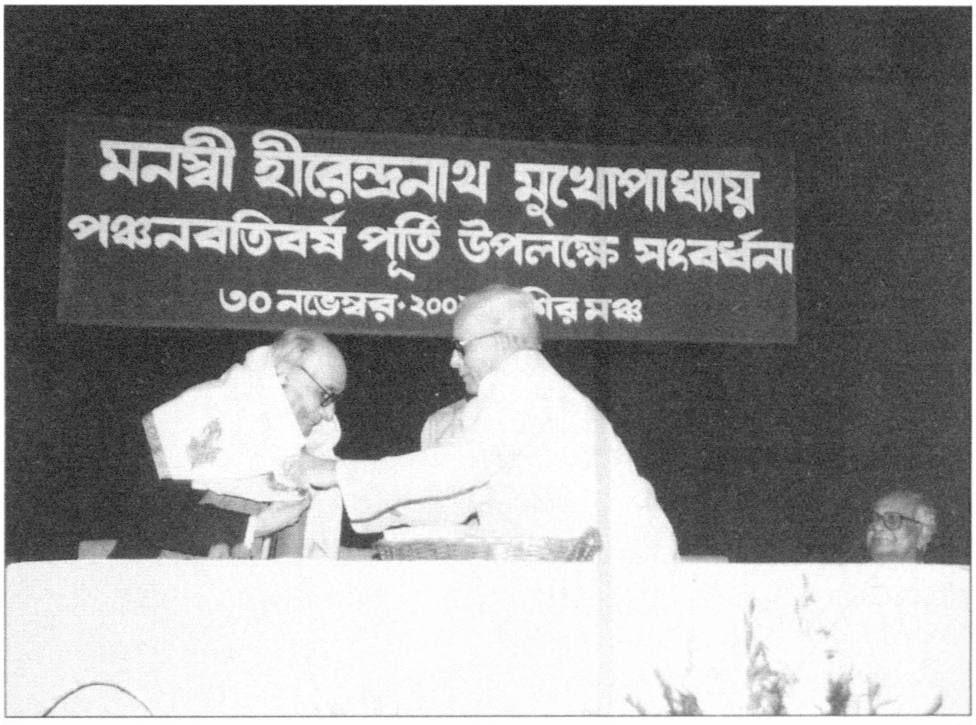


Shri and Smt. Mukerjee with Shri C. Rajeshwar Rao, General-Secretary, C.P.I. at Shri Mukerjee's residence in Kolkata in 1981

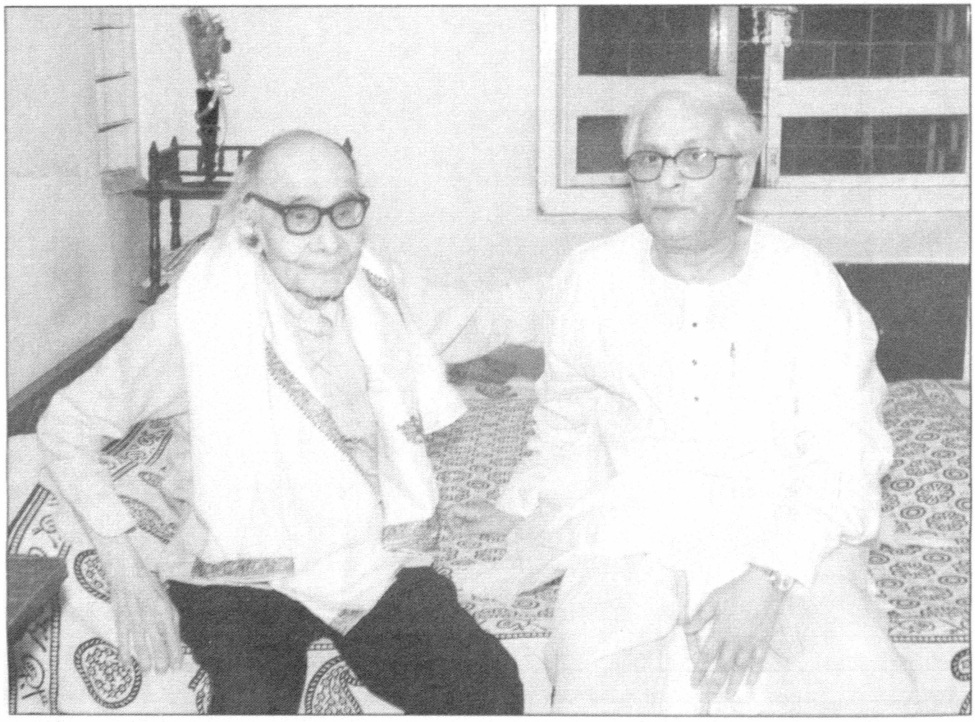
With Shri Jyoti Basu, former Chief Minister of West Bengal

With Shri Jyoti Basu, former Chief Minister of West Bengal

With Shri Jyoti Basu, former Chief Minister of West Bengal and
Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Speaker, Lok Sabha in an informal meeting



Prof. Mukerjee honoured by Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, Chief Minister of West Bengal on his Birth Anniversary



Prof. Mukerjee with Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, Chief Minister of West Bengal, when the latter called at his residence to greet him on his 96th birthday on 23 November 2003

OTHER NATIONAL ISSUES

EFFICIENT FUNCTIONING OF RAILWAYS : AN APPROACH*

We are discussing what I fear I must call a dismal budget, dispiriting alike to passengers, to railway workers and to business people, a budget of the *status quo* which is all the more melancholy when we remember that we live today in stirring times. For change is in Asia's air and perhaps we live in times which are more dynamic than any in history that has gone before.

Now, the Minister in his very disarming way has told us in the other place that he is inclined to have his doubts in regard to the possibility of our railway earnings continuing to be what he has estimated them to be for the time being, but he prefers to be an optimist, and if I may put it that way, he has decided to hold fast to the 9 crores surplus which still remains. He said he would not let it go down below that figure. I think he seems to be very thankful for small mercies and I wish him all joy as long as the going is good.

We are proud of our railways, particularly because our people have paid with their blood and treasure for every foot of railway track that has been laid in this country. From 1853 to 1949-50, we paid enormous sums by way of what was called euphemistically interest charges to British moneybags—and this was a permanent feature of our annual railway revenues. In 23 years between 1926-27 and 1949-50, we paid British capitalists the staggering sum of 677.2 crores of rupees as interest on their capital. I find this computed in the *Eastern Economist* of 1 March 1952.

The maximum capital then invested was about Rupees 839.33 crores of which about 50 crores were held by Indians. This was quite apart from salaries and pensions which were paid to British Railway officials and also quite apart from the purchases which were made of surely inflated prices from Britain in regard to our supply of railway materials. Now, this practice of paying interest charges has of course ceased since 1950, but we made a gift of a portion of our sterling balances in settlement of these so-called British claims. This is the story of our still undischarged liability of 8.58 crores of rupees to which reference was made by the Minister the other day. He cheerfully described it as no real liability at all. But there is a story to it, a story which shows the character of our railway system, a story which makes it incumbent on us to run the railway system in the patriotic interests of our people.

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* *L.S. Deb*, 25-26 February 1953. [Participating in the General Discussion on the Railway Budget, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 27 May 1952, 5-6 March 1954, 3 March 1955, 7-9 March 1956 and 18 December 1956 on similar topics].

Today our people have invested some 864 crores of rupees as their railway paid-up capital. Great-hearted workers, nearly a million of them, man this apparatus. We owe it to this country as well as to ourselves that we make a proud job of it. The Minister has said at least in Chittaranjan he has made a fine job, but I am afraid he is using words which really have no relation to reality.

The Five-Year Plan, which is our coy little essay in nation-building, in its draft outline had set the target of "a degree of operating efficiency which will compare favourably with pre-war standards". Now, the goal set is even more modest. We are told the goal is to enable the railways to handle efficiently passenger and goods traffic at around present levels. Even this target appears destined to go down the slipper slope of non-fulfilment.

The Minister said in his speech that our indigenous production can meet our normal annual requirements in regard to rails, wagons and coaches. He went on in the other place to make a commentary on it and he admitted that he cannot be expected to wipe off 15 years' arrears in five years' time. If he is not to get more than 400 crores of rupees allotted for the Plan period—which itself, I may add, is a very dubious matter—then he would need to replace at the end of the Five Year Plan period approximately 1831 coaches, 1331 locomotives and 800 wagons. I leave it to the House to imagine, with whatever delectation it can, where we stand and I shall only remind the Minister of what was said by his predecessor in this House on 22 February 1952. He said that the backlog of the arrears of replacements would be fully overtaken by the year 1954-55. Words, it seems carry very different signification when they are employed by our Ministers!

We are supposed to be conducting very big schemes for building locomotives, wagons and coaches in India. The Five Year Plan speaks of the manufacture of locomotives at Chittaranjan. But it really is little more than an assembly plant. I shall give credit to the hon. Minister at any rate for not saying what the Plan has said. He has said, very rightly, that at Chittaranjan we manufacture—manufacture of course, if we can use the world in all sorts of senses—we manufacture component parts of locomotives and we import 30 per cent, of such parts some of which are proprietary and special items which we do not ever hope to get manufactured at any possible point of time.

Now, there is a story to Chittaranjan which I am afraid I should refer to. It is our duty to remember this fundamental thing. On 23 October 1949, Mr. Eugene Black, the President of the United States-dominated World Bank, spoke about our request for a loan from the World Bank. He said: "A quarter of the locomotives in India were more than 40 years' old. Our consultant—

i.e. the Bank's consultant—it is tragic how these people should interfere in our affairs—"strongly recommended that the Bank should make a loan to help finance import of some 650 locomotives from the United States and Canada together with spare parts and boilers." This was the purpose of the Bank's first loan to India made on the 18 August for a sum of $34 million. "The Government has also put up to the Bank a scheme for a plant to build locomotives. Our consultant "—the Bank's Consultant—" came out strongly against this. He did suggest however that there was a need for centralised production of spare parts and the works which are already under construction might well be used for this purpose". So Chittaranjan was converted into an assembly plant, and as the Railway Board's report for 1950-51 shows, Chittaranjan commenced to assemble locomotives imported in knocked-down condition. In Chittaranjan, thus ignominiously launched, we find production behind schedule. By December 1952 it delivered 49 out of a total of 268 scheduled in the Five-Year Plan period. It is because its Plans and Progress department is manned by foreign technicians who put all sorts of obstacles in the way. Materials are purchased from the United Kingdom on a non-competitive basis. The pitch of production is completely queered by a very unequal contract with the Locomotive Manufacturing Company of the United Kingdom. Shri Shastri admitted on 2 June last year that the Chittaranjan production target had failed because of the delay in delivery from a U.K. firm with whom there was a technical agreement. There was another agreement with TELCO, representative of our campeador industry in this country. That is another sordid story. By an agreement in 1945, 2 crores of Rupees were paid by way of subsidy as share capital and since then, there was nothing doing. The securing of the support and cooperation of a German firm—*Krauss Maffei*—in 1950 has resulted in an ugly statement which has been referred to by the Public Accounts Committee in the report which they have submitted. They have used adjectives like 'extraordinary' and 'most unsatisfactory'. These are the pranks of profiteering interests to whom we are pandering because we have no real plan to speak of.

Then there is the Perambur coach building factory plant which, we are told, will go into production in 1955. Here there is a scandal—the scandal of the Schlierens—which has been referred to so many times in this House from every side. These foreign capitalists are unashamedly entering our country and are permitted to practise prevarication and plunder. This is a kind of thing which has happened over and over again and we find this happens at a time when our position is so bad that the late Gopalaswami Ayyangar admitted in February last year that our railway tracks are maintained to the extent of the minimum which is required for safety purposes. This is happening and we are expected to say hallelujah to the Ministry of the day!

I should say that crisis—accentuated crisis—is settling down on our Railway front. But there they sit contented, smiling away, depending on foreign interests, and these foreign interests, we know, will go to any length of banditry in order to strengthen their stranglehold upon us.

In regard to stores the figures show that they do not buy Indian. We are purchasing more and more from outside sources. In 1949-50 we purchased 19.42 crores of rupees worth and in 1951-52 we are purchasing from outside 29.32 crores of rupees worth of stores. The Railway Stores Inquiry Committee has made very caustic observations about how these stores are bought. The Committee has said that inside of 1951 on effort should be made so that 10 crores of rupees could be saved on account of stores. I find that the Minister's speech refers to a very complicated way of saving 5 crores of rupees. If the Railway Inquiry Committee could recommend in 1951 that 10 crores of rupees could be saved, I do not understand why adequate steps have not been taken in that direction. Now the Stores Inquiry Committee also calls on Government to make a contribution towards the development of new industries in the country, but it has been a cry in the wilderness. We have a no transport industry worth the name and to talk of expanding our railways and at the same time not to set up a transport industry is a piece of fraud.

It is in this context that the Minister has talked about passenger amenities. He has also said that this year he will not allow the sum set apart for passenger amenities to lapse. But we find that between 1949-52 only 7 out of a total provision of 9 crores were spent in amenities. He is an optimist, and I wish him joy in his optimism. Why does he not try to reduce passenger fares so that possibly the matter might be very much better?

In regard to regrouping, from the workers' point of view we expressed certain misgivings last year and we asked the Minister to give us some facts and not to adjourn discussion of the matter till a very indefinite future date.

In regard to the Calcutta electrification scheme, I find that the Kunzru Report had recommended that electrification was necessary and economical. And yet, in regard to the most industrialised part of our country, we do not have any kind of electrification scheme practically put into effect.

In regard to workers' living conditions, I request Shri Shastri to go, as I did, to the Sealdah division of the Eastern Railway. I asked him a question last time, and he said that over 700 derelict wagons are housing the Railway workers there. These wagons are situated in an area where accidents happen because trains are running all the time, and I can mention the case of an accident where the brother of Dwarka who was a Khalasi under-carriage foreman in Calcutta died while crossing the line. These drivers, fitters, shunters

and firemen have to pay double-type rent of Rs. 20 and live in hovels where even cattle cannot live. There are quarters built in 1943/47,A.R.P. shelters, and they are converted into workers' accommodation. There is one place in Beliaghatta where the roof over the quarters is used as a public path-way. In Chittaranjan, the Government claims to have made a fine job of it. The officers are living in splendid quarters, while the workers live in hovels. You do not treat the workers in a humane way. There is only one Trade Union which is really representative, registered three years ago. You do not recognise it. You do not allow anybody to enter not only the factory area, but the entire township. If you want to go to Chittaranjan, and you do not give notice that you are an exalted personality, you would be shown the door straightaway, you would be given a kick on your pants. That is the thing that is happening. Let M.Ps. of all parties go to Chittaranjan and find out what actually happens. Chittaranjan is named after a very great patriot who said once he wants *Swaraj*, but *"Swaraj* for the 99 per cent." The way Chittaranjan is going is something which makes me say it is a slander of a very great name. All this is happening, and all this is in keeping with the effort which the Ministry is making by abusing the rules regarding national security safeguard to punish and terrorise whomsoever it likes. Whoever has any decency, any spirit, any real human feeling, they are the people who are going to be singled out for terrorising. I claim that, completely in defiance of all decency, in defiance also of the Constitution of India, trade unions are today being manacled, and workers are told in a way to join particular unions or to get the order of the boot. This is exactly what is happening all over the place. This, Sir, is a state of things which shall not be tolerated. Decency demands that this state of things should not continue. I do not propose to go into the sheaf of documents which I have, but I have I shall one day get the opportunity of proving how the employment of these safeguarding of national security rules is utterly an abuse of the powers which can be legitimately claimed by the Ministry. I say that the Government is behaving in a footling little manner; it is formulating fantastic charges which cannot daunt the spirit of resurgence that has gripped our people, and I say again that the Railway budget, as presented before us, is a very sorry specimen, a cruel advertisement of our continuing colonial status, and an example of what I am constrained to call the chicken-heartedness which passes for planning in this country, and therefore proves, if proof was needed, that behind the occasional brass front which the Government puts on, there are tiny feet of clay which once the world finds out, we shall lose whatever respect we happen to have.

THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR-GENERAL (CONDITIONS OF SERVICE) BILL, 1953*£

I do not want to take much of the time of the House, but I want to refer to one point on which I fear the Finance Minister has not given us satisfaction. That point relates to the report of the Public Accounts Committee it was laid before the House, I think, last December—to which reference was made in several speeches in the course of the discussion this morning. This report of the Public Accounts Committee included also a statement by the Comptroller and Auditor-General recommending very strongly that there should be a change in the apparatus of the administration and that Accounts and Audit should be separated here and now. The Comptroller and Auditor-General had gone forward even to State—and I think that statement was quoted by Shri Basu—that even though a certain amount of extra expenditure might be involved in this process of very desirable exchequer control, the results would more than compensate the very small amount of expenditure which would be necessitated. The Comptroller and Auditor-General had suggested that he was prepared to work with a staff which would not be very large. And as a result of it the strain on the exchequer would not be high at all.

The Public Accounts Committee made very strongly worded comments on the position as it exists today. I also want to say in this connection that it is to my mind very undesirable that we in this House do not get these days an opportunity to discuss the reports of the Public Accounts Committee when they are presented to this House. I find—I was going through some of the old proceedings of this House—that there used to be fairly important discussions based upon the reports of the Public Accounts Committee as presented to the House. This report of the Public Accounts Committee which suggested, on the basis of the recommendation by the Comptroller and Auditor-General himself, certain basic changes in the apparatus of our audit system, has not been discussed in this House. We have not had an opportunity because the government somehow appears to try to discard a convention which was well established that the reports of the Public Accounts Committee would be laid before the House and there would be some time given for the discussion thereon. We have not had an opportunity of discussing that report but we have at any rate the most unequivocal statement on the high authority of the

* *L.S. Deb.*, 29 April 1953.

£ The Bill which was aimed to regulate certain Conditions of Service of the Comptroller and Auditor-General, became The Comptroller and Auditor-General (Conditions of Service) Act, 1953.

Comptroller Auditor-General that this process of bifurcation of audit and accounts can be done here and now.

We have heard the Finance Minister pointing out certain difficulties in the way but I am sure those difficulties are by no means insuperable. If that is so, I want from the Finance Minister a stronger and more specific statement in regard to the steps which the Government contemplate about this matter. That is the point and I want again to reiterate our demand that whenever reports of such bodies as the Public Accounts Committee, which is a Committee of this House, are placed before this House, it is the duty of the Government—a duty which Government was performing earlier but for some reason or other it is discarding today—to find some time when the House can go into the report, discuss the implications and significance of that report. If we had an opportunity in regard to the report to which a reference has been made, then surely this question of separation of audit and accounts would have been thrashed out constructively and perhaps the Finance Minister might have been in a position to make a statement very much more satisfactory than what he has made today.

THE PRESS AND REGISTRATION OF BOOKS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1952*£

The Bill which has been introduced by the hon. Minister is one of considerable importance and I am only sorry—to tell you quite frankly—that we have been caught somewhat unawares and we are not quite in a position for no fault of the Minister, perhaps, to discuss this measure that with the comprehensiveness which at least I wish we could introduce into this discussion.

I find the Minister making much of a point about his pursuing the recommendations of the Press Commission I do not mind him saying what he has said because he has, of course to a certain extent, pursued the recommendations of the Press Commission. But I feel that, quite apart from the detailed discussion in the Press Commission's Report in regard to the amendment of the Act of 1867, the general tenor of the Press Commission's Report as well as the feeling in the country has been that it is about time that we have a really comprehensive code in regard to the Press in this country and we do not have merely amending legislation, specially Bills amending Acts passed in the year of grace 1867 or so. I say this because the whole spirit of the kind of legislation which used to be adopted round about 1867 is a spirit which goes counter to the spirit of the times today, and that is why it is very necessary that there is an effort, on the basis of the findings of the Press Commission, whose Report is fairly comprehensive, to bring about a comprehensive code in regard to the Press. Therefore, I find that in this amending Bill there are some additions to the restrictions which were intended to be imposed on publication, generally speaking, and as far as I am concerned, I am not very happy about certain of the additions to the restrictive powers which Government are now taking over under the terms of this Bill. Now, I do not know why cyclostyling and printing by lithography has come to be looked askance at in the fashion which obviously Government imagine it should be done. I quite realise that for purposes of statistical computation, to which reference was made by the Minister it is essential for Government to find out what exactly is happening in the country, what publications are being put out and so on and so forth. But it so happens that in the particular context of our conditions, cyclostyled leaflets go out or sometimes things are

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 21 November 1955. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 10 and 11 March 1954 and 19 and 20 August 1955 on a similar subject].

£ The Bill was first introduced in Lok Sabha in 1952 and discussions were held in 1954 and 1955. However, the Bill lapsed with the dissolution of Lok Sabha in 1957. It was again introduced in Rajya Sabha in 1960 with the aim at further amending the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 and became The Press and Registration of Books (Amendment) Act, 1960.

lithographed and are circulated by people, and it is not always necessary, not always essential—and not always desirable either—that Government should take it into their head to have an absolutely exact inventory as to what is being published under the lithographic or cyclostyling auspices. I say this because we have in this country, if we want a democratic atmosphere to grow and develop properly, to insist on the dissemination of so many types of information under so many different auspices that it is perhaps desirable for us to be not quite so illiberal, not quite so exact, not quite so rigid as this Bill wishes us to be. And that is why I feel that the inclusion of documents which are cyclostyled, and printed by lithography is something which we should take objection to. I find also that unless the matter is clarified, it may be that some officious bureaucrat might even object to the absence of the printer's name under invitation cards and documents of that description. I feel that this kind of insistence on a rigid and absolute collection of statistical information should not be made, and we should have a more liberal provision in regard to the registration of books.

But, the more important point to which I wish to make reference is that while the Minister has followed the recommendations of the Press Commission in regard to the appointment of a Press Registrar, and in regard also to the enumeration of certain of the functions which he shall perform, the Bill makes no mention of certain other recommendations which the Press Commission had made. Now, I find that the Press Commission has given in an appendix to Volume III of its Report the particulars which it thought should be filed with the Registrar; it was suggested that news agencies also, apart from newspapers, should be called upon to file certain data about their working. Now, it is important that this particular recommendation of the Press Commission is given effect to, because, as you know, when the Report of the Press Commission was under discussion in this House, there were many allegations made--and they were not merely allegations; they were averments--from time to time which were made with all due authority and could be verified, and it seems that the profit and loss accounts and the balance sheets of these news agencies are things which should be registered and should be available for inspection by the public. I say also that in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, there is no explanation as to why these particular recommendations of the Press Commission have not been acted upon. The particulars asked for by the Press Commission are essential if the Press Registrar and his department are to discharge their duties properly. I feel, therefore, that this is a haphazard way of proceedings with the job of registration of books and papers; I feel that a certain amount of liberality should be introduced into these provisions; I feel that the context of our conditions today has got to be remembered; I feel that lithographic and cyclostyled papers should not be brought within the ambit of this legislation; I feel that there should be some safeguard against officious bureaucratism as

far as the enforcement of the rights conferred on the Press Registrar is concerned; and I feel very strongly that the omission of certain recommendations, particularly in relation to news agencies, which were made by the Press Commission is a very significant pointer. And that is why I ask the Minister, if he is so minded, to see to it that there are certain additions, certain alterations made in the draft of the Bill as he has presented to us, and if he pursues the Press Commission's recommendations in their entirety, then surely, he will have a much better warrant than he has at present to secure the support of the House for the measure that he has sponsored.

Sir, it is not because I love the sound of my own voice that I wish to have a third reading of this Bill. I have spoken too often, but I feel that this Bill is of such importance that at least a decorative conclusion to the debate ought to be the task of the hon. members of this House. We have had our differences with Government in regard to the formulations it has made in this Bill and we are rather unhappy that on one occasion we had to ask for a division in order to register our differences. But, on the whole it is a proud occasion, it is the first time since Independence that we are putting on our statute-book our first national law on merchant shipping.

There has been a keen debate, particularly in regard to the infiltration of foreign capital and it is in regard to that that I have certain misgivings. As it is known very widely and I do not need to repeat it our attitude towards foreign capital is that we should not have it in our country at all, if we can help it, and we had a feeling, particularly in view of the Shipping Resolution of 1947, that it was about time that we did away altogether with foreign capital. But in the Joint Committee, where I had the privilege of being a member, the discussion proceeded in a very co-operative atmosphere and a kind of compromise was accepted. Government came forward virtually to reiterate the 1947 Resolution and therefore, the majority of the Joint Committee agreed to the proportion of 25 : 75 as far as foreign capital was concerned.

In this connection I should say that I have to refer with great regret to a kind of lobbying which has gone on in Parliament and round about on the part, no doubt, of certain interests which we do not wish to see in this Parliament and its precincts too often. I do not say that we do not want to be educated, and very important people came representing the industry and the seamen and gave evidence before the Joint Committee—we had talks with them and all that but what I have disliked is the persistent kind of button holding of hon. members, which has gone on, for a number of weeks in order to bring about a certain change in the mental climate which was expressed in the report of the Joint Committee.

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 17 September 1958. [Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 27 April 1953 on a similar subject].

[£] The Bill which was aimed at amendment and consolidation of the law relating to Merchant Shipping, became the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1958.

Now, I am unhappy that my hon. friend, Shri Patil, for whom I have great respect—we are very different, but I know with him where we stand and I know at the same time that if he says a thing he means it—when he tells me that he considers the 25 per cent proportion of foreign capital to be a "notional" matter, I take him at his word. But at the same time when he accepted Shri Raghunath Singh's amendment, I felt that he was not giving proper form to the entire proceedings. I have a fear that when he goes to the other House, may be by that time as a result of deliberations he would realize that it is nearly—I should not say contempt—ignoring the wishes of this House.

Government can without reference to this House, by virtue only of a notification, change the proportion of foreign capital which is incorporated in the statute. This is a point on which I feel rather strongly and I do wish that the hon. Minister gives more thought to it. There is still time and may be he will come back to us again after he has been to the other House.

I am happy that the hon. Minister of Shipping has referred to the condition of Indian seamen. Though I know very well that he has not accepted certain amendments, which were put forward from this side of the House, in regard to the applicability of the Industrial Disputes Act and its principles to seamen, I am very sorry that it has not been found possible by Government to accept the idea that in regard to the hours of work of Indian seamen there should be a certain limitation put by the statute. I say this because our seamen go from country to country and they must have facilities so that they can really represent India, if not at its best at least not at its worst. I know that sometimes in foreign countries Indian seamen, who are among the cheapest and the best in the world, have to go about in such conditions, in such clothing and because of poverty, because of conditions of labour, because of almost brutalizing conditions of labour on board ship that they develop certain traits which are by no means satisfactory and which give a very bad impression of Indian life and character abroad. These Indian seamen are the salt of the earth. I know how very well they can work, how expert they are at their jobs, how valuable they are, but at the same time because of brutalizing conditions of work sometimes they give a very bad impression abroad. Now that we have a Government of our own, it is very important that seamen are provided with facilities and minimum facilities certainly include a provision of limitation in regard to hours of work and their rights as specified in the Industrial Disputes Act.

I shall finish now. We are all in a hurry. I should only say this that we have still a long way to travel before we reach our targets which are very modest indeed. The 2 million ton target was set up a long time ago. We are nowhere near it. We can only perhaps achieve 900,000 tons by the end of the

Second Five Year Plan. But, we have wonderful traditions of seamanship in our country. It was from the port of Tamralipti that *Fa-hien* went home in fifth century A.D. It was from the ports of Eastern India, of the south, and the west that Indians have gone abroad not merely for purposes of business, but for cultural conquest, for the addition of different areas of the world abutting on the Indian ocean to the kind of culture which India represented. To the beginning of the 19th century, ship-building was a flourishing industry in our country and that was strangled by the British imperialists. Therefore, with such traditions of seamanship and ship-building, surely we can build a future at least as well, at least commensurate with the past. Therefore, I feel that this is an occasion when the Lok Sabha should feel rather happy I am only sorry that there are certain lacunae in the Bill, certain serious defects which we have tried to point out but the Government have not been able to accept.

WATER PROBLEM : NEED FOR GANGA BARRAGE*

The Ganga Barrage Scheme was mooted as early as in 1853 and we know that in 1935 the Director of the Geological Survey of India, Dr. Beni Prasad, had made the statement that if steps were not taken properly and quickly, the Bhagirathi would become a sort of elongated lagoon, a dead river which would be no good at all as far as the economy of the region was concerned.

Many major points are involved which I wish the country takes greater note of, inside this House as well as outside. The principal points involved in this question of the construction of the Ganga Barrage refer to the navigable sea route from Calcutta port; the water supply of Calcutta and the entire region around it which has a population of nearly 10 million people; the drainage conditions of five of the most prosperous West Bengal districts,—prosperous if a year is normal and administration does not fail egregiously—the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Nadia, Murshidabad and 24 Parganas, and their exposure to increasing flood hazards. All these questions are involved in the construction of the Ganga Barrage, and the latest statement placed before the House agrees that there is a general consensus of opinion by experts that the solution to the problem is represented by the Ganga Barrage. The experts also appear to agree that the project will not require withdrawal of water from the Ganga during the driest part of the year and therefore the objections which might conceivably be forthcoming from our neighbour country might very well be met.

We have heard in this House and we have read in the papers about the increasing salinity of drinking water in Calcutta, and even the railways were affected because the boilers used the saline water and the engines would not work properly. This is not an unprecedented phenomenon as our experts know very well. Something like it took place round about Philadelphia on the Delaware river, and about San Francisco on the estuary of the Sacramento river, and there the water supply had to be ensured by construction of reservoirs near the river's head reaches. In this country, so far as Calcutta is concerned, hardly anything has been done on those lines.

My hon. friend, the Minister of Transport and Communications is here, and the loss to the shipping traffic in Calcutta is something which surely

*L.S. Deb., 19 November 1958. [Speaking during the discussion re: Ganga Barrage Project].

must worry him greatly. There is increase in the frequency and intensity of the bores, and especially since 1919 heavy siltation has taken place in the river Hooghly, and the Commissioners of the Calcutta Port spend fortunes in intensive dredging and costly draining works without appreciable results. The only permanent and long-term solution of which we have heard from experts so far is the Ganga Barrage and, as my hon. friend has pointed out, there have been many years of investigation ever since 1853 or something like that, and the latest is Dr. Hensen's report, about which, I do not know why, a lot of hush is maintained by my hon. friends over there.

If the Ganga Barrage is constructed at Farakka, and it is the demand of whoever knows a thing about the subject, and there is a feeder canal which will connect Bihar and U.P. with the port of Calcutta and the world outside by a channel navigable throughout the year, then it will reduce the flood hazards; it will improve the drainage of the fertile districts of Central Bengal; it will remove the salinity of water in the Bhagirathi; it will supply sweet water to greater Calcutta; it will remove navigational difficulties of the sea route from Calcutta; it will improve the depths over the bars and reduce the frequency and intensity of the "bores". But, there has been this delay, this unconscionable delay, over the Ganga Barrage which is, to put it very mildly, extremely difficult to understand.

The West Bengal Legislative Council lately passed a unanimous resolution drafted by the Chief Minister himself and there have been questions in the House—I have sheaves of them here—which refer to Government's attitude in regard to this matter, and my hon. friend, Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri has already mentioned something about it.

I feel also that my hon. friend, Shri S.K. Patil should take some more objective interest in this decision because he has lately been making some statements about a deep sea port further down the Hooghly below Diamond Harbour. I wish to submit to him and to his advisers that this does not solve the problem of Calcutta port. We know that the World Bank experts, impressed by the necessity of expanding port facilities for the rapidly expanding industrial area round Calcutta, have suggested this. It is a very good thing, but the solution they have in mind is to supplement Calcutta port and not to supplant it. You cannot send Calcutta port to the blazes and talk about a subsidiary port somewhere near Diamond Harbour. Even if it was the intention of Government just not to bother about Calcutta port, it would be physically impossible to bypass the Calcutta port and jeopardise the future if you are at all interested in the economy of our country. A port of big ocean-going steamers will increasingly become necessary with the further development of the industrial belt, and if the refinery and Assam oil production come up to expectations, the berthing of heavy tankers will have also to be provided for

among other things. Today, Shri Patil knows very well, and my hon. friend, the Minister of Shipping knows very well, even 7,000 ton ships can hardly navigate with a full load, and they have to be diverted to Vizag, but that sort of thing does not do the trick. Shri Patil himself has said from time to time that the Calcutta port was unable to utilise even 10 per cent of what was expected of it, but what is he going to do about it here and now?

Even if the World Bank proposal for building another port below Diamond harbour comes true, the problem of saving Calcutta port and developing it will remain, and the only way of doing it, as far as we can understand, is the construction of the Ganga Barrage by strengthening the flow of water in the river. Therefore, if for some reason or other, if for the reason perhaps which might weigh with the World Bank that the Ganga Barrage might cause some kind of controversy, perhaps absolutely imaginary controversy, between the riparian States of India and Pakistan, if on that ground they say, "You go ahead with the other port, we are not going to help in the matter of Calcutta port's maintenance and development", that would be a terrible disaster.

Therefore, I would tell my hon. friend, Shri S.K. Patil that his implied approval of the World Bank's scheme for the new port is all right, but it must not mean a final decision to abandon the proposal to revive the Hooghly and the Bhagirathi rivers. That is a proposal which you just are not going to be permitted to deviate from.

Therefore, I feel that this is a matter on which it is extremely important that we make up our minds. There are difficulties. There is the question of money. There is the Government note placed on the Table of the House by the Minister of Irrigation and Power, which says that Rs. 56 crores have to be spent, and it is a hell of a lot of money, and so, we have to make a lot of other investigations. That is all Mumbo-jumbo. It is no good. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri has already shown it. This question of further investigation is merely a smoke-screen put up by Government in order to hide—I do not quite know what skeletons in the cupboard of the Ministries concerned.

Then, there is the question of Pakistan. I have been informed that when the partition took place, there was a body called the Partition Council, on which some of the members of Government have taken part. There it was perfectly understood that the district of Murshidabad would go to India and the district of Khulna would go to Pakistan in spite of the communal position in the two districts being not very clear, only because India did have to have the district of Murshidabad for the construction of the barrage at Farakka. That was the understanding which was given at the Partition Council. That was the understanding which the Radcliffe Commission knew very well. And today, it is not for Pakistan to come forward and say that they would

not approve it. On the contrary, Pakistan does not stand to lose at all. Pakistan really would be saved a lot of bother as far as floods in that area is concerned, if there is a barrage at Farakka. Therefore, I say, let us go ahead with the scheme , and let us not bypass the idea by talk of a subsidiary port. Meanwhile, we have to have interim measures. What is going to happen?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri has said very rightly and Shri S.K. Patil's advisers perhaps would say the same thing, that it would take nearly ten years to complete the Farakka barrage if it is decided upon finally. In the meantime, what happens? In 1958, the Calcutta port almost became incapable of proper utilization. So, what is going to happen in regard to that? A number of suggestions have been made from time to time by people who know something about engineering, and there has been a suggestion that the course of the river might be shortened as between Murshidabad and Calcutta by several short-cuts of hair-pin bends at little expense, and the construction of the necessary canal from the headworks as well as the necessary earth-work to suit the available gradient, if the barrage would be taken up at the same time; and much fertile land could be reclaimed as a result of this attempt at training the river. You have to tame the river, according to the scientific knowledge which you have got. Therefore, here and now, between the headworks which are proposed to be somewhere in Murshidabad and Calcutta, there are areas where river training operations can be pursued, as a result of which a lot of very good fertile land could be reclaimed; and for the time being, some interim measure of improvement could take place.

We could, for the time being, also set up a Ganga River Board. There are several projects in the upper reaches, like the Chambal, or the Gandak, the Son, and the Kosi Projects.

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These other projects on the river are also there. We do not say that those projects should be stopped, but there should be some attempt at co-ordinating the effort which is being made in order to utilize the Ganga's waters as much as possible, and, therefore, we should have a Ganga River Board.

Then again, there is the question of the Rupnarain river slightly lower down from Calcutta. In regard to this river also, control and taming is extremely necessary. My hon. friend, Shri S.K. Patil stated the other day that the navigability and drainage capacity of the Hooghly is deteriorating partly on account of the deterioration of the Rupnarain; and there is committee called the Lower Damodar Investigation Committee which is of the same view. My hon. friend, Shri Hathi also made a statement where he said very clearly—and this was on 28 August 1958—in this House:

> "According to the findings of the Lower Damodar Investigation Committee, concentrated flushing doses should be occasionally released

down the rivers Damodar and Rupnarain from the reservoir behind the DVC dams in the interests of the conservancy of the river channels."

Therefore, if there is training and taming of the Rupnarain, then we shall get a lot of water coming from that side.

Then again, something perhaps has got to be done perhaps about the DVC project. May be, on account of the DVC project, there is a disproportionate emphasis on questions of hydro-electricity and flood control, and the result is that the life of the river Bhagirathi in particular, which sustains our country, is itself in danger. Now, it may be that certain modifications are necessary in the working of that DVC, so that much of the Damodar water which is now held up might be released, so that it can go into the Bhagirathi and flush out the silt which comes from the Bay of Bengal.

Then, again, there might be very serious studies, very serious expert studies, made of the continental shelf of the Bay of Bengal, to control the silt which is carried by the flood dykes into the estuary. As a matter of fact, much of the silt which comes into West Bengal should, according to normal geographical rules, have gone into Pakistan, but that does not, because the situation, I am told, of what is called the continental shelf of the Bay of Bengal near the estuary is such that the silt comes from the east, and it coagulates, so to speak, near the mouth of the Bhagirathi, and pushes itself up towards Calcutta, with the result that drainage operations have to be continued, and all kinds of other difficulties take place. Therefore, I want that there should be a serious study of the continental shelf of the Bay of Bengal, so that the estuary is not in danger.

I shall conclude by merely saying that this is not merely a problem of Calcutta. This is a problem which affects the whole of our country. I know very well that perhaps for political reasons, Calcutta is a pet aversion of the Government of India. I can testify myself that is my own hearing, knowing very well that I was listening, Dr. Roy said that his State was not in the good books of Delhi. We know it very well. But I appeal to Government: do not take this shortsighted view, do not cut your nose to spite your face, do not behave in this absolutely irrational manner. From Calcutta port goes more than half of our export trade. If you are going to earn foreign exchange, whether you like it or not, you have to keep up Calcutta port. Calcutta handles 10 million tons of cargo every year. As far as communication and other facilities are concerned, for historical and objective reasons which might be regretted in certain quarters, Calcutta has come to be the centre of the country's principal industrial belt. You cannot wish off Calcutta from the map of your country.

Therefore, since all the experts appear to agree, including the foreign experts and our own experts, that the Ganga Barrage is absolutely essential,

Government should go ahead with it, and if it is not going to go ahead with it, it should tell us what it is going to do in the meantime; and even if the Ganga Barrage is actually decided upon, Government should come forward very clearly with an interim scheme, a ten year scheme, for the development of Calcutta port, and for the maintenance of the Bhagirathi river. After all, the Bhagirathi river is a repository of all the traditions of which we are so proud in this country, and if the Bhagirathi river dies, who lives in this country? That is what is involved in this matter.

Therefore, I wish Shri S.K. Patil and my hon. friend over there to take the most serious view of the situation, and in spite of the lack of attendance in this House and obvious lack of interest on the part of so many members of this House, I wish Government does take up a really serious attitude in regard to this point and produces results which are absolutely important in the context of today.

DEVELOPMENT OF CALCUTTA METROPOLITAN AREA : AN ANALYSIS*

Mr. Deputy Speaker, last time[1] I placed this Resolution before the House not out of any parochial consideration, not merely because I have had the privilege personally of having represented Calcutta in this House since 1952, but because *"Calcutta, India's City"*. That indeed is the title of a valuable little book by our Registrar-General, Shri Ashok Mitra. *"Calcutta, India's City"*.

The national importance of Calcutta is seen from such facts as that it draws its labour force from all over the country. I am quoting from the Registrar-General's book:

> "An average of 61 per cent in all factories in 1960 and a little over 50 per cent in commercial and other non-factory establishments were non-Bengal.".

In the Calcutta region, there are more Hindi-speaking people than perhaps in any city in the Hindi world. There are more Oriya-speaking people in Calcutta than perhaps in any town in Orissa. There are people in large numbers from Punjab, Gujarat and the South, and some wags call even a part of South Calcutta to be South India.

Of course, apart from being the centre of Indian culture, of Bengali culture, Calcutta has been the home of the 19th century Indian Recovery, the cradle of that succession of giants from Rammohan Roy to Rabindranath Tagore, and the headquarters for many decades of our national movement. Damage to Calcutta, if it happens, will be damage to all of us, which it is our duty to prevent.

Founded some 275 years ago, Job Charnock's tiny trading centre has grown into a mammoth city, the hub of economic activity in Eastern India on account of its location and its hinterland, the epicentre of a whole region's prosperity, a vast region of half a million square miles inhabited by about 180 million people—including the whole of the steel, coal and mineral belts and the jute and tea growing areas. Calcutta is the natural economic and administrative centre of North-eastern India and still remains India's trade

*L.S. Deb., 9 April 1965. [He initiated the debate on the Resolution re: Development of Calcutta Metropolitan Area, earlier on 26 March 1965].

and commercial capital, though Bombay may have surpassed it recently in area, population and financial resources.

The name of Calcutta today is associated with endless problems. It has been called the 'nightmare city'. Almost everything seems wrong with it, but because of that, we cannot shut our eyes to the problems. And, as the World Bank in 1960 noted, there is no alternative to Calcutta as a port, as the heart of the economy developed on the basis of the coal-steel complex in West Bengal, Bihar and the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, apart from being the hub of India's two principal export industries.

The World Bank mission in 1960 made certain observations, to which I wish to draw the attention of the House. It said on that occasion, which is true even today:

> "The very magnitude and challenge that Calcutta presents to the conscience and political commonsense of those in authority no doubt, in part, explains the inadequacy of the response. Everybody admits that more ought to be done about it. Nobody is ready to do it."

This is what the World Bank said. I noticed also how in 1960 there was expressed a prognostication, which is perhaps valid even today, that if things are allowed to drift in the present manner, it may be that in about ten years' time, economic and social overheads would completely break down in Greater Calcutta. If that calamity takes place, then established industries would have to move out and the attendant social cost would be so great as to wipe out the country's industrial progress in the intervening period. The situation, therefore, I submit, is very serious, and this House and Government should pay very special attention to it.

Long years ago, Rudyard Kipling spoke of Calcutta having been a "chance-directed, chance-erected" city and he spoke about the inconsistencies in the Calcutta scene, how he could see there "palace, hovel, byre, poverty and pride side by side". The position has been worsening all the time. Little hopes of improvement appear from time to time, but they again prove to be illusions, and that is why I believe that the Centre has got to come into the picture in a big way. The Centre has to take the responsibility for the Calcutta region, for the development of the Calcutta Metropolitan Area as part of the Fourth Plan.

In 1959-60, some people in the United States got rather perturbed over what was happening in Calcutta because they feared that Calcutta was going Communist. In this House, Calcutta has always sent three communists to one

Congressman, and the *New York Times*, on 31 July 1961, made these observations, and I am quoting:

> "Communism has fed on this discontent of the refugees, the 900,000 other persons who sleep on the sidewalks or are jammed in hovels, the 100,000 farmers who move to Calcutta yearly from overpopulated agricultural land and the tens of thousands of educated unemployed."

If concern about Calcutta going communist could produce some beneficial results in Calcutta on account of american solicitude for Indian development, of course we would have been quite happy, but the result has been only the setting up of one organisation, not too savoury, the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation (CMPO).

It is by no means a good enough effort. It can formulate plans, but, of course, it cannot execute them. But what I feel is that it is not desirable to have planning in a very important area of our country done on the basis of findings by a foreign agency. Hordes of foreign experts, whose expertise is something that Indians also possess in plenty, are in Calcutta in CMPO. The two most tangible things that have come out of their researches refer to the question of a second bridge over the river, and the calculation in regard to traffic movements in certain parts of the city.

There is a great deal of suspicion about the working of the CMPO. We hear of many undesirable activities going on under its auspices. In three years, a score of American experts have cost us nearly Rs. 80 lakhs, and I discover that for the rent of a building and for furniture and fittings we have spent about Rs. 30 lakhs. It is not desirable to have in this country, in this very important task, foreign experts who are not indispensable, because they are not doing a job of work which cannot be done by our own people.

There are reports—how far absolutely founded on truth I cannot quite say—regarding espionage; mapping and aerial survey of our industrial locations by the CMPO goes on in a fashion which makes us rather suspicious. And we have reports about its office in Calcutta in Rawdon Street being a place where people come from Hong Kong, Japan and other areas, rather dubious people.

But the CMPO has done some good and valuable work, and of course we are ready to be grateful for it, but there is no reason to have in our country an organization like the CMPO functioning when we can do it on our own, when the Government of India with the assistance of the West Bengal Government and other indigenous agencies, can do it. Let us do our job and not leave it to this kind of foreigners. Their advice, of course, and aid, if we must have it, will be welcome, but no more than that.

Some of the things which they have suggested are so fantastic. They have given us an urban renewal plan, asking for the removal of factories and godowns from either side of the river Bhagirathi, and a highfalutin' scheme of garden cities springing up all over the place. All such talk seems almost a joke when for years we have not been able to have in Calcutta a decent road from Dum Dum airport to the city. Dum Dum is our greatest international airport. The average number of planes arriving and taking off daily, according to the figures given here in this House on 9 March in reply to Unstarred Question No. 872, is 54 in Dum Dum against 38 in Santa Cruz and 16 in Palam, but we do not get a good road, decent road coming from Dum Dum to the city.

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The Government of India has got to be in the picture for a variety of reasons, and I would try to indicate some of them.

The Centre, for instance, has allocated Rs. 6 crores for *bustee* improvement in Calcutta, but for some reason or other, the West Bengal Government has not been able to spend it. Some seven years ago the West Bengal Assembly passed legislation in regard to *bustee* improvement, but then again, out of regard for the vested interests, the Act remains inoperative.

After a long delay in meeting the water supply requirements of Calcutta, 72" pipes were laid for water supply, but there is no water because that aspect of the availability of the supply of water through these new means had not been thought of in practical terms.

A million or more refugees have come into the Calcutta region. I find from a statement by the Finance Minister of West Bengal that more than 55 lakh of non-food-producing people from other States are in West Bengal, and half of that number about 27-1/2 lakh, are in the Calcutta area. Therefore, the kind of problem which the presence of these poor people creates is a kind of problem which has got to be noted and taken care of by the Central Government.

In 1960, out of a total population of 5.6 million in the Calcutta area, the number of rate-payers was less than half a million, which means that all the civic organizations do not have anything like adequate funds to do elementary jobs. The Calcutta Corporation is a much-maligned body, and not without reason—much of the abuse the Calcutta Corporation has got was well-deserved—but its income is very small. Unlike in Bombay, it owns neither the tramway system, nor the bus system, nor the electricity company. The Calcutta Tramways Co. and the Calcutta Electricity Supply Corporation are both mammoth foreign organisations, whom we do not wish to touch. Even

today when there is a suggestion about taking them over, both the Government of India and the West Bengal Government feel very shy and chary about it.

Then again, satellite town schemes have been put down on paper under the auspices of the CMPO and other organizations, but meanwhile what is happening is that the Birlas and the Bangurs are buying up land in the city and outside, and there is no implementation of ceiling on land holdings at all or of ceiling on prices of land. All these things make it imperative for the Central Government to come into the picture and do something which will help.

The Registrar-General, Shri Ashok Mitra, has pointed out in his book *Calcutta, India's City* that in spite of its importance, Calcutta is not growing fast enough, and he adds that it seems incredible that while West Bengal's population grew by 33 per cent in the last decade, Calcutta should have grown only by 8 per cent, while in the same period Greater Bombay grew by about 39 per cent. The factors which retard the city's growth and the growth of the metropolitan area are poor transport system, inadequacy of the city's water supply and sewage system, and the extremely high land values. Sometimes it appears as if not even Chanakyapuri can hold a candle to the kind of land prices which are asked for in Calcutta.

On this question of water supply, I am glad to see that my hon. friend, Shri Bhattacharya has given notice of an amendment in order to emphasize the importance of water supply. The river along Calcutta is called the dying river. The life-line for the whole area is now a dying river, and this river, for some reason, some Anglicised reason, is called the Hooghly, but actually it is the Bhagirathi. Along most of Calcutta it is the Bhagirathi, the stream which Bhagirathi, sounding his cymbals, had brought down from high up in our country and took it right down where the Bhagirathi meets the sea.

Here is the Bhagirathi which is a dying river. About this dying river, the World Bank Mission had said in 1960 that an "early solution and recapture of the Hooghly for all purposes of the area must have emphasis. Otherwise, we may succeed in providing supplementary water facilities for a considerably reduced population." A "considerable reduced population" is the contingency which was contemplated by this World Bank Mission when it examined the water-supply problem of Calcutta and the condition of the river. In spite of that, what exactly is it that has happened? What exactly is being done? And this is linked up with the Calcutta port, which is one of the greatest ports, if not the greatest, till the other day, which is the biggest implement for earning foreign exchange for our country, through which pass 45 per cent of our exports and through which come 40 per cent of our imports. That Calcutta port is in such a bad way is talked about quite often in this House. The only

tangible thing offered so far in regard to the long-term solution of the problem of Calcutta port is the Farakka barrage. Dates have been given about the time when the Farakka barrage would be ready. I think the latest target date is 1970 or so, but one never knows if that target would be adhered to.

But the idea is to have headwater supply increased so that silt can be flushed out. The idea is that we do not continue to have to spend lots of money on intensive dredging operations which are becoming not only hyper-expensive but also very difficult, even technically speaking. Therefore, this question of headwater supply is so terribly important.

In the meanwhile, of course, the Government have done something by way of going ahead with the Haldia scheme. It is valuable, but it is a long-term measure. But in the meantime, there is inadequate financial provision for the port development of Calcutta. There is a lack of forward-looking, economic policy. There is no stress, I have noticed again and again, on river-training and narrowing certain rivers, to change the slope of the water-flow so that the rush can be heavier towards the sea. There is nothing of that sort: there is no attempt to train either the Bhagirathi or the Rupnarain or other rivers so that they could be narrowed to a certain extent, so that the slope can be improved, so that the rush of water from the upland down towards the sea could be greater and therefore the silt can be pushed back again. Over and over again in this House the question has come up, when the Transport Ministry has been in the picture. But there is no attempt to make what experts consider to be very important—no hydrological researches are made into the conditions in the continental shelf of the Bay of Bengal, so that we could prevent masses of sand rushing during flood-tide into the river.

But in order to fight the problem of salinity in the water which is available for consumption in the Calcutta region, we have to have not only the Farakka barrage—which would be ready, God knows when—but we have to have so many other things. The Farakka barrage by itself will not be adequate either to help the Calcutta port or to save the dying river, Bhagirathi, which in large part has already died in West Bengal and might die even along with those parts of Calcutta where people go on pilgrimage days in order to have a dip in the sacred waters. This is the kind of thing which is happening.

Of course, coming to Calcutta,—I am not going into the details—there is such an unparallel congestion, both pedestrian and vehicles, fast-moving as well as slow-moving in the streets. Calcutta has between 90,000 and 100,000 motor-vehicles perhaps today. But that is not the only aspect of this story. There are, thousands and thousands of rickshaws and *thelas* which are pushed by human labour. It is a very big human problem, a terrific economic job, to replace these rickshaws and *thelawalas* and to get them alternative occupation.

These poor people come from Bihar, from Orissa, from Andhra Pradesh, from Madhya Pradesh, from Uttar Pradesh, because in their own States thay can not make both ends meet and they have to come to Calcutta and even perform such humiliating labour as to carry another human being, a couple of human beings, sometimes rather too fat for anybody's delectation. This kind of thing goes on: a 100,000 motor-vehicles plus nearly 100,000 vehicles of all descriptions. There are more than 200 different varieties of licences given to vehicles in Calcutta. You have of course got the bullock-cart of all varieties and conditions. It is a terrific situation which is faced by no other city in creation.

As far as people are concerned, 300,000 people come every day to the Sealdah station, the most congested in the world, and 200,000 come every day to Howrah, and so many other people who have nowhere to go, nowhere to live except under the sun, in God's good earth, are on the pavement or on the muddy sidewalks. This is the kind of thing which goes on. This is the way in which life is presented. This is why foreign tourists consider Calcutta as a filthy sort of place, an introduction to India, which we should see does not produce the kind of wrong impression which it does at this present moment. Even today, in spite of Calcutta being so neglected, foreign tourists land in Calcutta in larger numbers than they do in Santa Cruz or in Palam; at least when they first come to India that is where they go, and this is the kind of picture which they present before us.

In regard to water supply, we have been hearing about this for years, that there is a footling little section perhaps in some department or the other of the Ministry of Health which without resources, tries to tackle this problem of water supply in Calcutta. Now, we are told that a Californian company is busy studying, at a very big fee, the drainage and water—supply problems of Calcutta. I cannot understand why this sort of thing should go on. A few good things of course take place from time-to-time. For instance, the salt lakes near Calcutta have been reclaimed by Government fairly quickly with the assistance of Yugoslavia. Perhaps the World Health Organisation and perhaps some socialist countries could be requisitioned in order to help us better, more expeditiously and without any damage to our interests regarding water supply and drainage.

Then there is the other question also: so much of the drainage of Calcutta is still primitive, and this problem of human wastes in Calcutta and other similar cities is not even sought to be tackled at all. Nobody gives thought to this kind of matter. Sometime ago, I noticed a very significant article by an Indian scientist, who wanted our urban wastes not to be neglected, but the wealth which is hidden in the human waste to be utilized for our development projects. He called it "The Project Pankajalakshmi". If we drive

from Dum Dum to Calcutta or from Santa Cruz to Mahalakshmi in Bombay, the sights and the smells are not particularly savoury, but out of Pankaj which is mud, something grows out of the mud, you get Pankaj. The lily; you get a beautiful flower; and perhaps even out of human waste we can get a great deal of very valuable economic potential. This scientist, working out the case of Calcutta has said:

> "The sewage refuse and habitation waste of its population, if properly conserved and collected,—Calcutta alone could supply every year, over Rs. 6 crores worth of rich compost, which being organic and humus-forming, is superior to chemical fertilizers. In addition, the process would also help to produce a lot of gas which would generate enough electricity to supply power and light to a whole township."

This kind of thing could be done about Bombay also. He added that modern engineering and technology have found the means of overcoming all such problems of producing wealth and power from urban waste. There is no reason why what has been done in Bangkok cannot be done in Calcutta and Bombay. Why we do not make use of our human waste, is something again which we have to bear in mind.

I plead, therefore, for a long-term plan. Many of the things which I have suggested may not be done tomorrow or the day after, they need a long-term plan. At the sametime, some short-term measures could be adopted here and now. In regard to short-term measures, a circular railway for Calcutta can be set up with the minimum possible delay. The underground railway can wait for later investigation. An underground railways should not be impossible. If in Leningrad which was built on a Marsh by Peter the Great, where the soil is a great deal more difficult than even in Calcutta, underground railways can be constructed, underground railways possibly can also be constructed in Calcutta. But that can wait, because it will take a lot of time and a great deal of investment. But the circular railway idea which has been propounded by the West Bengal Government—with all the force and funds at the disposal of the Government, and the Railway Board—is an idea which has got to be accepted as soon as ever that is possible and implemented with the least possible delay.

A second bridge over the Ganga is something which has to be undertaken here and now. In regard to this there is a UK company which is already there in the picture and is going to grab the contract for it. Surely global tenders should be called for and if possible, our own resources, our own technical talent should be utilized for this purpose. If the Howrah bridge could be constructed so many years ago under British domination, surely we can build the second bridge on the basis of our own resources.

The Calcutta Improvement Trust has certain schemes regarding the development of East Calcutta, which appear to be overwhelmed by some other high-fault in' schemes which are coming out of the brain of the CMPO. But perhaps the Calcutta Improvement Trust's schemes can be put into operation quicker with a view to assisting people's conditions of living.

Bustee improvement is a matter on which with local cooperation, Governmental agencies can do whatever they can and this should be done without the least possible delay.

Land transfers in Calcutta area, to which I have made a reference already, have to be controlled and there has to be a ceiling on land prices. Only the day before yesterday something was said about the composition of a Committee on ceiling on land prices and land holdings. In Calcutta, a lot of speculation is going on, particularly by the money-bags, some of whom I have mentioned already and they have to be stopped.

A stadium for Calcutta has to be built as soon ever as possible, because it is really a crying shame which has continued for too long a time.

For the Calcutta Corporation which has only recently had its first election on the basis of adult suffrage, provision should be made for a larger income, as in Bombay. That is why Government has to give its mind very seriously to the idea of taking over the Calcutta Tramways Company and the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation. Only the other day, Dr. K. L. Rao said in answer to a question, that the government had advised the West Bengal Government not to proceed in the matter of taking over the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, because compensation and other questions are likely to be difficult. I do not understand why this sort of thing should go on. Here is the Calcutta Tramways Company which often have most egregously not only in regard to its own employees but also in regard to the profits it takes away from the country, without making anything like ample provision for better amenities for the passengers on the trams. Here is the Electric Supply Corporation which for a very long time has been fleecing our country and we cannot do a thing about it while in the Bombay, the Bombay Corporation luckily has got revenues coming out of the bus transport system and electric supply.

Also as a short-term measure, there should be a more effective implementation of road transport schemes, which have been talked about for many years but have not been implemented. Something should be done about implementing them—not only the road from Dum Dum Airport to Calcutta, but the roads branching out of Calcutta. I remember our friend, Shri S.K. Patil, years ago, when he was Transport Minister, promised a luxury express way from Calcutta to Asansol *via* Durgapur and gave an impression,

as he always used to do about food, of its being just round the corner, and that the express way would be ready in a very short while. Since then many years have passed, much water has flowed down the Ganga, but nothing at all has happened.

I have tried to indicate something in regard to the comprehensive long term plan which is necessary in regard to Calcutta and also some short term measures which should be taken up without the least possible delay. I wish Government to apply its mind to this matter very seriously. Calcutta should be part of a national plan. I ask the Government not to leave the problems of Calcutta to dubious foreign agencies like the CMPO. Don't let us leave Calcutta to the mercies of the West Bengal Government and other organizations which have neither the resources nor the talent nor the intelligence to tackle this kind of mammoth problem. Calcutta is posing before you a problem which has got to be tackled at a national lavel. The problem of Calcutta is a national problem. Calcutta is India's city and this national problem has got to be tackled successfully. Otherwise, we shall lose an area which is economically, culturally and otherwise so very important to our country for having lost that area economically or otherwise we can never make up the leeway. That was the danger which had been highlighted in 1959-60. So often has this Calcutta matter been agitated in this House also but nothing tangible has been done. I do hope on this occasion Government comes out with a more effective and sympathetic response to the appeal I am going to make through this resolution.

This House is of opinion that a comprehensive and self-contained scheme for the development of the Calcutta Metropolitan area should find priority in the Fourth Plan.

Sir, I am grateful for the support given to my resolution by all sections of the House, and as a Bengali I am particularly thankful because the non-Bengali members who took part in the debate have been specially generous in this regard.

I am glad, in a way, that my hon. friend, the Minister, has offered more or less a sympathetic view of this matter. He is very right in saying that Calcutta poses a challenge which has no parallel perhaps in the history of urban development. But just because it is very strident challenge we have to try to face up to it and answer the challenge effectively, and my intention in bringing forward this resolution was to emphasise the very great urgency of having a really comprehensive and co-ordinated plan for Calcutta. I am afraid, I do not quite share the admiration which my hon. friend, the Minister, has about the CMPO. I have nothing against it, except certain matters which I have tried to mention, but I have seen for instance the first report which has come out, which is sent to us by the West Bengal Government and I found

nothing in it which could not have been tackled by our own Indian experts. And what I do not like is that a body of experts come, into the picture and participate in jobs where they really are not wanted. Now, I know that there are in the CMPO a large number of Indian personnel, and I learn if my facts are wrong, I am sorry—I learn that in three years about 20 American experts have had to be paid about Rs. 80 lakhs, while for the entire Indian staff the West Bengal Government had to spend about Rs. 30 lakhs; that is to say, for work of a sort which, as far as I can make out, could have been done by our own people, we have got these foreign experts. My hon. friend, the Minister was good enough to say what I had missed saying, namely, that in Bombay for the purpose of the Plan we did not depend on foreign experts; a very good thing. In the case of Calcutta also we could have done it.

I have no allergy on principle against foreign aid or having foreign experts. Where foreign experts are indispensable, we should certainly have them; where without foreign aid we cannot go ahead, we should certainly ask for it; only, it must be without strings.

But, let us try to go ahead with this Calcutta matter without undue dependence on foreign personnel. For instance, for the sake of a bridge, for the sake of traffic evaluation, we do not need to have foreign experts, and that is why my feeling is that we could proceed much better and in a more co-ordinated fashion if, without depending unnecessarily on foreign experts, we could do our own job.

And I want also to tell the Minister that I have here with me the budget speech of the West Bengal Finance Minister where he mentions fourteen items under which Rs. 101 crores are to be allotted, if their plans are supported by the Centre, for the purpose of development of the Calcutta region. As far as they go, they are quite good. But so much delay has taken place so far, so many defaults have already occurred in regard to water supply in Calcutta, the *basti* improvement policies, the building of new structures for low income groups and that sort of thing, so much time has gone that I am not in a position to place my faith in the assurance implicit in the listing of fourteen items under Rs. 101 crores.

I want also to say that the Planning Commission should have a special division in regard to this matter. And there are certain other Ministries of the Government of India involved, like the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry which looks after the Calcutta port. I tried in my speech to deal with certain matters in regard to the questions associated with the Farakka Barrage along with the river training schemes, hydrological survey and so many other things that also have to be taken into consideration. The West Bengal Government cannot do it. The West Bengal Government cannot possibly be expected to

list them in its project report to the Central Government. It is for the Central Government from here to try to see that the whole thing is put together. So, what I would like is that there is really a coordinated effort from the All-India level and, at the same time, with the co-operation of the local administration, as far as the other authorities are concerned.

So, I am glad in a way that the Minister has come forward with certain specific things, particularly with regard to the plan being ready next year. But I do wish he should be a little more positive in regard to the circular railway. I do wish he could also give us something more positive and specific about the second bridge being built as quickly as possible.

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I am glad that he has given us some specific assurance and, generally, he has offered a sympathetic approach of this problem. Therefore, since the Government is in possession of the difficulties of the situation and Government does want to do something, I can only express my hope that it is done more quickly, more efficiently. Therefore, since he has expressed his sympathy with my motion, I would like to ask for the leave of the House to withdraw my resolution.

SPORTS POLICY—EMPHASIS ON MASS PARTICIPATION*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel that as a member of the All India Council of Sports, I owe it to this House as well as to myself to participate in this debate I am very glad that our friend, Dr. Karni Singh has raised this discussion, and though I differ from him in regard to the matter of South Africa and *Apartheid*, I would not enter into an argument, and I would leave it to the Minister to answer him. But otherwise, I am in general agreement with the points that he has brought forward.

I need not stress how athletics in general are important for our life. *Nayamatma Balahinena Labhyaha*—the soul is not to be achieved by the weak. *Nayamatma Pravachenena Labhyaha*—it cannot also be achieved by mere formulations, and a few speeches in Parliament are not going to do the trick. Even so, it is very necessary to remember that encouragement to Indian sport which was largely offered by princes and other privileged people in earlier days is now no longer there. The State has hardly been able to enter into the picture and to fill the breach. As I have found out, things still go on in a ding-dong and official way. There is no acceleration in the country either about the sports programme or about its implementation.

There is the All India Council of Sports ostensibly advising the Ministry of Education. There are State Councils of Sports which have a certain area of jurisdiction. But, there is hardly any co-ordinated plan regarding play grounds for our pupils to be an essential part of all our schools and colleges. There is no co-ordinated plan, but only some accidental grant of money for the construction of utility stadia and that sort of thing. The All India Council of Sports has held at least two sports congresses, and there it was insisted that there should be a National Sports Policy with priorities properly fixed, and there was an idea stressed by many of us that mass games like football should have much more encouragement than the more exclusive games which get just as much assistance for the Government as football happens to get.

There are also our own games, indigenous inexpensive games like *kabaddi*, *kho-kho*, which do not seem to be given the kind of encouragement which we ought to give them. We find also that sports bosses in the different federations

* *L.S. Deb.*, 8 December 1970. [Participating in the Discussion on Sports Policy, Shri Mukerjee also spoke on 27 September 1955 and 12 August 1970 on a similar subject].

cling to office and the position has deteriorated so much that I do not hesitate to say that the Indian Hockey Federation has become more a police set-up than a national body. The result is, there is no attempt at finding out talent. Dr. Karni Singh was absolutely correct. There is no search for talent in different parts of our country. Where games are popular, there is no attempt to keep it up at the proper level. Today for example, there is a report that Eden Gardens in Calcutta, which has the loveliest cricket pitch in our country and is the pride of our sportsmen is falling to pieces and nothing much is being done about it. This position will not be rectified till there is a very serious effort to evolve and implement a Sports Policy.

Mass participation in sports is still a dream. As I said, not even a talent search has taken place. There is, of course, the basic problem of the poverty of our people. Shortage of protein in our food leads to blindness as far as our children are concerned. How are we going to get children who would be athletically strong enough? We may get some exceptionally few individuals like Chandgi Ram. They are exceptional people who have to fight the extraordinarily difficult conditions of life in our country. They are naturally very few and most of them are not necessarily for no fault of their own top-class sportsmen either. Therefore, it is very important that a Sports Policy discussion necessitates, involves, implies essentially a discussion of basic economic policies. I remember in 1959 when I had raised a discussion of Sports, Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, who was in the Chair, said, how can we have good sportsmen because our people do not have enough food to eat? How are we going to substitute for lack of food by merely a lot of training? And, we do not give them a lot of training either. We do not try to do the best we can in our present day circumstances. We shall not be able to achieve world standards which a country like ours should achieve, unless we tackle first things first, like ensuring a better life for our people and a sense of belonging, so that when our teams go abroad, they have a mission of their own to accomplish. They are ambassadors of India in foreign lands. That sense of belonging does not happen to be with our people. That sense of belonging to one great country with a mission to fulfil is not there. That is why we have to do something.

We need not bother much about international competition. A country like the Soviet Union, which today enjoys a near monopoly of gold medals and competes with the United States, which is top in the world, that country for many long years was in hybernation. It was trying to collect its strength. And, when it came out, it came out in all glory and with all majesty. We need not bother too much about too many of international competitions. We need not spend our precious foreign exchange by participating in every footling little thing anywhere in the world. Let us concentrate on certain things. Let us make sure of mass participation in sports. Let us make sure that our

children in schools and colleges get opportunities for athletic excellence. Let us make sure that in our towns and cities utility stadiums and bigger stadiums are there. Let us make sure, if at all we can with the kind of Government we have, that the people of our country have a better deal, better food and better living conditions, that they do not suffer from malnutrition, that we do not hear of the kind of thing which takes place in our country—poverty and the rest of it. That is the basic answer to the problem. Without that, everything would be *pravachan.*

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः

You cannot merely by formulating certain remedies secure the achievement of the soul.

I am grateful you have given me this opportunity at an early stage to the Bill which has been placed before the House. This country is today perhaps the largest producer of cinematographic films in the world and, as Mr. Pandey has said, about a million workers are involved in the different processes of production. This industry is at least in certain categories flourishing most remarkably and that is witnessed by the fact that the top run of the film ladder in so far as the successful stars of the film world are concerned, receive enormous sums of money, almost always under the table by way of black money, and that kind of allegation is very often made known to the House by way of answers which the Government has given to questions put forward in Parliament.

I am not going into that matter, but I am concerned with the condition in which this large body of workers are now condemned to live. In the different departments of production, exhibition and distribution of films, the workers who are employed are in a very handicapped position. If the Government is true to its proclamations about the desire for seeing a more just society, it should have no hesitation in accepting the principle of this Bill and come forward with its own version of legislation which it considers necessary to safeguard the interest of the workers in the production, distribution and exhibition sections of the film industry.

I say these workers are in an extremely handicapped position because they work in a large number of small establishments and, except for a few, in these small establishments something like a feudal relationship still exists, with the result that the trade union movement finds it very difficult to go ahead in this particular sphere. I myself have been associated for nearly 26 years with the Bengal Motion Picture Employees Union. I know for a fact how it is very difficult to organize these people into a successful corporated body in order to fight the employers because in many of the smaller establishments—the relationship is still continuing on something like the feudal foundation. In spite of that in many centres unions of these workers have come into existence and they have had to carry on a very strenous fight.

There have been instances where the employers take recourse to the most nefarious methods. I know in West Bengal, the Government itself had

* *L.S. Deb.*, 14 April 1972.

£ The Bill (a Private Member's Bill), which was aimed at providing a Machinery for fixation of wages and improvement of working conditions of workers in the Film Industry, was negatived.

appointed a minimum wages committee for film industry workers which produced a report and for the time being the employers had agreed to accept this. On further consideration they went to the High Court and secured an injunction by that kind of action, by taking recourse to certain processes of law which are still in operation, they prevent the workers enjoying even the fruits of the settlement made by the highest authority, when the State Government itself had appointed a minimum wages committee and it gave its report, but the report was rendered infructuous by recourse to law which unfortunately can still be taken by employers who went to the High Court, got an injunction and got everything stopped.

I know for a fact how in many cases in the smaller cinema house the employers are in a position of advantage because the workers are very few in number and sometimes find it difficult to combine. They are distributed all over the place—I mean cinema houses in the city as well as in the country side. To have a powerful organisation it is necessary to have at least one place where a large number of workers are employed. These workers suffer because they are distributed all over the place.

I know in the production side of the industry, again, hardly anything in the nature of trade union rights are recognized. In Bombay, Calcutta and Madras production of films is now a fairly prosperous undertaking but the workers are almost without any kind of safeguard whatever.

In the distribution section, we have offices which do not employ normally a very large number of people and since they are small establishments, workers find it difficult to combine effectively in order to fight the employer.

In the exhibition section, it is only in the city cinema houses that a fairly large union can operate and they find themselves confronting the kind of position to which I have referred on the part of the employers, namely, they go to court and put forward every imaginable obstacle because the law does not give these people the protection that should be given to them.

It is necessary, therefore, to have very special legislation in regard to the film industry employees because in many cases they work in numbers which do not come within the ambit of the normal labour relations. In some places the number of workers who are employed is less than even 25. Something has to be done to protect these workers because, otherwise they are completely at the mercy of the employer. I need not labour this point. Facts must be known to the Labour Ministry.

The position of the film industry is well known. It makes enormous profits. The distribution sector, the production sector and the exhibition sector are interlinked; in many cases many of the employers invest their money in

the three sectors and they try to monopolise whatever profit can be extracted from the different sectors of the industry.

Therefore, it is absolutely clear that the film industry workers in exhibition, distribution and production sectors require special safeguards, and for that purpose the labour legislation has to have its ambit extended. Therefore, I feel that the Government should come forward with an assurance that this matter is receiving their urgent attention and they should accept the principle of the Bill. I need not go into detail over the clauses as moved by Shri Samanta and Shri Pandey. But I should like an assurance from the Government that something is going to be done in the very near future to give special protection to the people in the three different sectors of this industry. I support the Bill.

Actually the wild animals, if they could speak up would speak of denizens of city in a manner which would not be relished by many of us. Let us take the words as they are conventionally used. Wild life protection, surely, should imply protection of the tribal population, surely should imply protection of such historic relics as Ranthambore Fort which is very near Sawai Madhopur Sanctuary. They are doing nothing of that sort but on the contrary, the human denizens of the forest are being treated in a very shabby manner. Of course, we are interested, as far as this legislation is concerned, in the protection of what is conventionally called Wild life, and from that angle I would like to know, particularly, some details about what exactly is happening.

We talk so much about the necessity of protecting Wild life. But actually what is the position? In regard to lions which have been described as our national animal, if between 1880 and 1900 there was only a dozen lions in Gir, and there are 300 now, why can we not make sure that our lion population increases to an optimum point? I would like to know if the Minister can tell us what happened to the lions which were let loose in the Uttar Pradesh Forest near Chandra Prabha river. I think, in Uttar Pradesh, there were seven lions in 1964. The number was expected to rise to eleven. They may have vanished; for all I hear from the paper reports, they have vanished. But Government should tell us what exactly has happened. Even in regard to Gir—at one time there were very few but now we have got at least 300 or so—we should know a good deal more.

I find also, before he died, Jim Corbett made a complaint that the National Park or whatever it is named after him, was allotted originally 180 sq. miles but 55 sq. miles were taken out of the allocation; and Jim felt it very badly. I would like to know if the Minister happens to know anything about it, if the original allocation of land to this Corbett National Park was 180 sq. miles and if 55 sq. miles were taken out of that and if something is now going to be done in regard to it.

I would like to know, for instance, also about white tigers of Rewa. I have seen in this book, which is generally accepted as authoritative—E.P. Gee's. The Wild Life of India a description of Rewa; there is a palace-cum-fort called

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 21 August 1972.

£ [The Bill which was aimed at making provision for the protection of wild animals and birds, became 'The Wildlife Protection Act, 1972'].

Govindgarh in Rewa where white tigers were kept and it is a very marvellous place. I would like to know, now that the princes are de-recognised and denuded of their ill-gotten privileges—if I can put it that way that is happening, if Government is going to take charge of a place like Govindgarh Palace because, according to the description given by Mr. Gee in this book, it is a wonderful place which should be kept, the place where white tigers could be reared, and later on we could send them out to the different parts of the country.

I would like to know what are the schemes, if any, in regard to Sunderban areas of West Bengal, the original home of the so-called Royal Bengal tiger and what has happened to schemes we hear from time-to-time about national parks and sanctuaries near about that place, in Frasergay or some such other township in that area.

Sometime ago, I think, it was my impression that Dr. Karan Singh's Ministry did some publicity about a bird sanctuary in the Salt Lakes near Calcutta, but it seems now the Salt Lakes are going to be utilized for other purposes, for the construction of some ramshackle houses, and the result is that the whole idea of a bird sanctuary in that kind of place near the heart of the big city, is dropped. Something has been done to it. But we hear nothing at all about that sort of thing, we find in this legislation a number of steps in regard to dealing with the malpractices of the trade as well as of poachers and other people. Now, I do not know if the Government is taking any steps to have possession, almost immediately, of every head, skin, horn, etc. that may be in show-rooms or sales-rooms or emporia all over the country, so that you can strike the evil at the root—now you are giving a long notice to people who are carrying on nefarious activities in regard to our wildlife so long—but I do not see any indication of that. On the contrary, as Mr. Deb has pointed out, the Government is rather soft to companies which deal in this business but are rather harsh on the denizens of the jungle.

I would like also to find whether the Government has any schemes about better provisioning in our forests so that the rangers and others are equipped with transmitters so that whenever they get any information and that has to be sent quickly, they can send the information in as quick time as possible. I do not know what steps the Government are taking in order to take charge of the entire trade of taxi-dermy and that sort of thing. There are places in Calcutta, near the New Market in Calcutta, there is a miniature zoo sort of place where animals and birds are kept in impossible conditions and they are sold out to foreigners. You can get anything. Even a tiger cub is available at a few hours' notice if you want to have it. What is the Government going to do about that sort of thing? Are we making an appeal, for example, to many of those old houses belonging to the aristocracy where there are valuable

trophies, antelopes, skins and that sort of thing? Are the Government thinking of getting hold of those things and keeping them at a place where the public can have access? Otherwise, what is the point of our talking about wild life and that sort of thing?

Are we going to associate with governmental activity on the regulation of wild life many of these people who are sometimes described as—I do not like the very word *'gentlemen Shikaries'*? Many of them have a genuine love for wild life. Many of them who come forward, many of them who have done a great deal of shooting in their life and who prefer now to do photography—are we going to utilize the services of these people? Mr. Gee, who is now unfortunately dead was a foreigner. There are many people in our own country, many people in Rajasthan and other areas who have been very good *Shikaris*, very good shots and they can come forward with the camera rather than with the rifle in order to help the wild life.

My grouse has been that if this Bill had been truly and carefully considered and if this Bill had gone through a Committee, the Committee could have asked for information in regard to the present-day conditions of wild life. The Committee could have found out ways and means of improving wild life in our country. The Committee could also at the same time have brought about a fool proof legislation in regard to the preservation of wild life. But what the Government does is to merely send us a 42-page Bill for discussion and the Government goes to the Business Advisory Committee and says, 'We would like to have it passed in this session'. The Government prevents a member of its own Party from even moving a motion for reference to a Select Committee so that some sort of discussion can take place. The Government says, 'Take it or leave it'. This is very wrong. It is a good objective. No doubt about it. It is an objective which even Ashoka sought 2,500 years ago, but a good objective can never be achieved by this kind of a wrong thing. The Government has not taken Parliament into confidence. In regard to this kind of legislation, there is no harm if there was a little delay by a fortnight or so and this matter referred to a Select Committee. Even now, if the Government wishes, this matter can be referred to a Select Committee. We can waive the Rules. The Minister can move a motion for reference to the Select Committee. The Committee may report within a week's time and we can have the legislation. It would be a great deal better and after having heard Mr. Deb who lives in Tripura, I know how very close he is to the jungles and he belongs to the people who are part of the soil in that region of our country, after having heard him, I am more than ever convinced that this Bill has been hastily drafted, provocatively presented to Parliament, carelessly sought to be passed into legislation and defective in its substance. Therefore, I plead with whatever strength I have at my command, that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee with special instructions to report before the

end of the session. It would otherwise be merely playing ducks and drakes with the problem which is very serious. It is extremely serious to those of us here who want our wild life to be preserved in the best manner possible and we are not getting the kind of satisfaction which we want by this Bill. I therefore appeal to you and through you to the House that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee even at this late stage.

HOMAGES PAID BY PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

Sir, here was a person with whom I had my fundamental differences. Personally, we have been friends. If you will allow a personal reference, for three generations our families have been friends. But that did not prevent my attacking Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's ideas and ideologies, and policies and principles much more sharply than anybody on the Treasury Benches had the gumption to do. I have done that. But that is no reason for me to keep quiet today. That is why I say that the Government of this country has, for some peculiar reason, come to certain extraordinary impressions about the Opposition. I know it. I know that that is the reason why so many things that have been said here are treated in a completely cavalier fashion by members of the Treasury Benches, and that is why they have developed an indifference towards their critics. It is that kind of sentiment which led them to give him medical treatment of a sort which has been so sharply criticised by other medical experts. I know Doctors differ. I am not going to say, Sir, that the medical gentlemen who treated Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee did it all negligently and deliberately. But there are certain charges of inefficiency regarding the medical treatment. Those charges of inefficiency have been seconded and supported by the Home Minister in the speech which he has made today.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was arrested and put in jail—and that is not the kind of thing which we are in a position to do—but as far as the facts of the death are concerned, as far as the allegations regarding the negligence or inefficiency or both are concerned, there must be an investigation. If you do not have that investigation, you are setting up a precedent, this Government would be setting up a very very bad precedent and that would be a most disastrous infraction of the rights of the citizens of India.

Acharya Narendra Deva**

Permit me to associate myself and the Party I represent in the Lok Sabha with the sentiments of deep sorrow which have already been expressed by

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 18 September 1953. [Spoke while participating in the discussion on the Detention and Death of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee].

** *L.S. Deb.*, 20 February 1956.

the Home Minister. Some of us have been in the Congress Socialist Party, of which Acharya Narendra Deva was a founder and leader, but that, I think, is the least part of the story. Acharya Narendra Deva was one of those participants in our national movement whose names have become something of a legend and that happened not because of any very spectacular and obtrusive qualities but because of sheer character. He had erudition and that peculiar integration of spirit which make for real personality, and that is why he had a position in the country which hardly anybody else can fill in the present context. I feel also that he had another quality which is characteristic of the culture of our country, and that was the quality of detachment. And that is why we have found him never in the vortex of power politics. He was in political life, but not quite of it, and that was perhaps why there was lent to his character a certain quality of dignity and graciousness which we miss very often in our political life.

I wish to associate myself and my Party again with the expressions of condolence which have fallen from the lips of the Home Minister.

G.V. Mavalankar*

May, I, Sir, on behalf of my party in this House, add my voice to that of the Prime Minister in expressing our profound grief at the passing away of Shri Mavalankar?

This session a cruel fatality seems to be dogging us, and we are having blow upon blow, overwhelming in its impact and creating national problems of replacement which I fear cannot be easily solved.

As far as our Speaker was concerned, even this morning we read the bulletin in the papers and we hoped that he would recover, but that was not to be.

Speaking as a member of the Opposition, I think I may say categorically that to most of us it is a real, cruel blow and it is inconceivable that we shall come to this House and not see him in the Chair, not see his smile, his gracious bearing, his dignity and the shine of his personality. I remember the Prime Minister perhaps in the first session of this Parliament saying that it was almost inconceivable to think of anybody else in the Chair of this House. We had our differences with Shri Mavalankar, but as far as our personal relationships were concerned, there was never a trace of bitterness and we had occasion to find out ever so often that he had a passion which very few people have—at least I have met nobody else who had that passion in his *measure—and that was a passion to see parliamentary forms worked in this*

*L.S. *Deb.*, 27 February 1956.

country in a manner which would be in conformity with our political traditions, and to that passion he gave all the talent that he possessed—and talent he possessed in plenty as everybody who knew him would testify. That is why I feel that he was a person whose like we shall not easily see again and our sorrow is deep and genuine, and I wish you, on behalf of our party particularly and on behalf of everybody in this House, to convey to the members of Shri Mavalankar's family how deeply distressed we are at his passing away at this juncture of our national life.

Jawaharlal Nehru*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the Communist Party in Parliament and on my own behalf, I join in trying to express our sorrow which is truly inexpressible at the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Death, the necessary end, will come when it will come. Yet the void that has descended upon us will never be filled. This Parliament and our country is a bleak and desolate place today without Jawaharlalji and the loss of so many of us who loved him dearly cannot bear speaking about. I fear it will take some time to collect ourselves.

I need not refer to the story of his life. His magnificent role in the fight for our freedom when he was the idol of India's youth, his unique grip on world perspectives which made him realise the link between our fight and the fight of oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, his dedication to secularism and democracy and people's well-being which drew him strongly towards socialism, economic planning and world peace;—all this and more, is a matter of record, an open book which was his life, and in which, whatever our differences, was in India have all gloried.

A very human and fallible but invariably noble and incessantly active life has come to an end. He was too often lonely but no man in politics has perhaps ever been so beloved. India had clasped him to her heart where his place for all time in secure.

There have been and are formidable figures in world politics, most of them perhaps big in bulk rather than in essence. Jawaharlal was different and of a finer grain. He had charity in the sense in which St. Paul spoke about it to the Corinthians. Even more, he had the quality of compassion which the *Buddha* had taught us and these are qualities which we hardly see in any other personality that we can think of.

He was the architect of free India, if any single man can be called so. He achieved many positive things for his country and for the world. But his

*L.S. *Deb.*, 29 May 1964.

tenure of unchallenged power has not been a mere success story. He leaves crucial tasks and difficult problems unsolved. But he has fought, as no man has fought in his time, for sensibility and neighbourliness at home and abroad, qualities without which our distracted world cannot go ahead, qualities which I hope we shall always cherish.

Who but a Jawaharlal could say indelible things with a beautiful simplicity that none else can match? Who but he could say, as he did some time back, regarding the twin evils of poverty and war, that the tears of mankind today could fill the seven oceans? Who but Jawaharlal carried in his mind and heart that sense of ache which made him, as a true Indian should be, the world's kin—*Vasudhaiva kutumbakam.*

Work was the only worship he carried for, and he has died, as he wished to, in harness, unto the last. He has gone, but life flows on, and his spirit calls on us to shed mere sentiment and sloth. Let all people of good-will join to give effect to the best in his legacy—the struggle for a new India, rid of the blight of poverty and superstition and the vulgarising taint of Big Money, happy in unity and in the pride of achievement, and active in the tasks of world peace and well being.

Let us pledge ourselves that if revivalism and reaction try to exploit his no longer being at the helm, we shall spare no effort to defeat them.

His successors have a difficult task, for his sceptre was the bow of *Ulysses* which could not be drawn by any weaker hand. We shall all help if Shri Nanda and his colleagues implement the policies for which Jawaharlalji had an unceasing passion—advance towards socialism, dynamic non-alignment, friendship with countries that have suffered like ourselves so that India could find her rightful place in a world without war.

We have lost a gem of a man, a man who never stopped to pettiness, who brought more than the breath of poetry and of historic vision to the tasks of politics, a lover of children, of animals, of light and laughter, a gentle Colossus who no longer strides the Indian scene.

Jawaharlalji is dead, but he will live as long as our India endures.

Balwantrai Mehta*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was a shock, as the Prime Minister has said, for us to learn this morning of the passing away of Shri Balwantrai Mehta. If you will permit me to say so, it was an even greater shock to learn from the Prime Minister the suspected circumstances of his death. If it is true—and I fear, it

*L.S. *Deb.*, 20 September 1965.

is true—that an unidentified plane, which means an enemy plane, shot down the plane in which Shri Mehta, his wife and his companions were travelling, this is an instance of barbaric, dastardly desperation which is almost without parallel in the annals of international relations.

Shri Balwantrai Mehta has died, as the Prime Minister said, in harness and the circumstances of his death make us say that it has been a martyr's death. Greater love than this hath no man that he lays down his life for his country and Shri Balwantrai Mehta along with his companions has laid down his life for his country. That was in keeping with the story of his career with which the Prime Minister is more familiar than I am. But I have known sufficiently of the character of Shri Balwantrai Mehta to be able to tell you what I feel about him.

He was a leader of the struggle of our States' peoples at a time when it was a terribly difficult job to carry on the democratic movement in the so-called Indian states. But he kept up the banner of freedom in those States and he shared with the rest of our people the glory of having achieved the freedom of our country in the so-called Indian States as well as in, what we would call to our shame, British India.

We have seen him in this House as a member from 1952 onwards and perhaps a most distinguished period in the history of the Estimates Committee was the period when Shri Balwantrai Mehta was its Chairman. I saw him at about the time when the Kutch disturbances were going on and I noticed in him again that quality which struck me most and to which the Prime Minister also made reference—an equanimity of temper which nothing could ruffle. I am sure that it was in that kind of equanimity of mind and soul that he faced the death which was so brutally imposed upon him.

I do not want to go into any elaboration of the contribution which he has made to Indian politics. But I am sure that if India has any contribution to make, originally speaking, to the solution of problems of social development, the concept of Panchayati Raj surely is one of those ideas and it was in order to popularize and to implement successfully the concepts of Panchayati Raj and democratic decentralization that Shri Balwantrai Mehta devoted most of his endeavours and perhaps for that he would be remembered for very long in India's history.

I associate myself with the sentiments and condolences which have already been expressed and I request you to convey, on behalf of our Party as well as others, our feelings of profound sorrow at the passing away of a great patriot.

Lal Bahadur Shastri*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I associate my party and myself with the sentiments of sorrow which have fallen from you, the Prime Minister and Prof. Ranga. We have had a dismal recess, to which testimony is furnished by this long obituary list. We have lost friends and colleagues, the first among them being Lal Bahadur Shastri. When I think of the manner of his death, I feel like saying that it was a lovely way of dying at the height of one's achievement, and in a blaze of glory. A quiet and self-effacing man, perhaps the most undramatic of men on the world political state, passed away into history at Tashkent in a moment of high drama.

We have seen Lal Bahadur Shastri in this House and outside and the impression he produced on us from the very first was that of a good man and true, whose strength lay in his quietness and his humility. Something of his mettle was seen, as you have said, when he resigned his office of Railway Minister. It was an elevating act, almost an anachronism, when the normal failing is to try to stick anyhow to office.

His real mettle came out when he became Prime Minister. Following upon Jawaharlal Nehru was no easy job, but after a shaky beginning, he attained a stature, which was the most enviable.

He was a member of the 'Servants of the People Society', founded by the illustrious Lala Lajpat Rai, and he was a servant of the people in every sense of the term. He emerged out of the people and he remained one with them. Devoid of the hereditary and other advantages which even today mean a great deal in public life he showed what character could achieve in our country.

During the Indo-Pakistan confrontation his character shone at its best and the world saw the massive reserves of strength that lay behind his mild exterior and also his insight and his understanding. He did not flinch when it became necessary for this country to fight, but this House perhaps will never forget how on one occasion in this House, in the last session, for a moment his voice broke when he referred to the people having to suffer deeply. He recovered himself, but that one moment showed his humanity. It is difficult also to forget that a perverse foreign publicity agency stooped so low as to make a monstrous caricature of that great moment in parliamentary history.

At Tashkent, with the Soviet Prime Minister's memorable good offices, Lal Bahadur Shastri gave along with President Ayub of Pakistan, a pledge to

*L.S. *Deb.*, 14 February 1966.

peace and good neighbourliness, a pledge which I am sure a grateful and sorrowing country will redeem.

This House will never cease to miss him, and the country will remember him as one who in his humility and his quiet strength embodied the qualities described in the Gita as *Stitha Prajna*. I am sure you will be conveying to his family the feelings of deep sorrow and sympathy on behalf of all sections of us in this House.

Din Dayal Upadhyaya*

Mr. Speaker, Sir .... Death will come when it will come and we can put in no caveats in regard to that, but insofar as the death of Din Dayal Upadhyaya is concerned, I am afraid the whole country would feel deeply perturbed, particularly because of the circumstances in which his death appears to have occurred. I did not know him too well, but I had occasion to meet him and I could see something of the man, his simplicity and the utter dedication with which he had espoused the cause that he had taken up. He has died in circumstances which are extremely disturbing and I support the plea which has been already put forward by my friends that there should be a thorough-investigation into the circumstance in which he met with his death. In his death, we have lost a front rank figure in the political life of the country and it is a thousand pities that our country's condition appears to be that the death of such a man could take place in the conditions which have been reported to us.

C. N. Annadurai**

You will permit me, Mr. Speaker, to associate my party and myself with the sentiments of deep sorrow which we all share at the passing away of three distinguished colleagues of ours.

We have felt with a particular shock the death of Shri C.N. Annadurai who was, if I may be permitted to put it that way, a very unique figure among the politicians of our country, speaking for myself, I have a feeling that much of the politics of our country has something trivial but it is only a few people who can raise politics out of the rut of triviality and I think Shri Annadurai was one of those exceptional people who succeeded in lending a certain stamp to our public life.

He was a vital and versatile man, sensitive as a writer alone can be and a journalist for sometime because in conditions of unfreedom a writer in any

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* *L.S. Deb.*, 12 February 1968.

***L.S. Deb.*, 17 February 1969.

country gravitates generally towards journalism. But the uniqueness about him was something to which my friend Prof. Ranga has already made a reference. I sometimes wonder how it is that in the deep South, generally known outside that region to be a citadel of orthodoxy and conservatism, a movement could be started by such extraordinary man as the Periyar and then carried on by such a very distinguished figure as Shri Annadurai. Blessed is a man who earns the love of millions of his people and we all know how when Shri Annadurai passed away, there were scenes of such genuine sorrow. One felt as if the hearts of his people were broken and I think the fulfilment of politics can only be in such phenomena as could be seen of Shri Annadurai, who is no longer there.

I think we owe it to ourselves to try and understand the fundamental motive force which works behind the movement of which Shri Annadurai was such a very distinguished representative. If in the South, we could bring about a condition of affairs where orthodoxy and the rigidities of caste, let alone the practice of such abominable things as untouchability, were thrown overboard by the assertion of the people's own self-respect, it is something whose essence we ought to discover in order to be able to inject it all over the country and bring about the kind of transformation, the social revolution as Prof. Ranga has put it, of which Shri Annadurai was the representative.

We have differed on many occasions, but we know how it was that Shri Annadurai always took a patriotic attitude we have seen how at a certain point of time, he had felt it necessary for the Tamil people to remind themselves of their own particular heritage in the larger context of Indian civilisation. We have seen how at a particular point of time, in order to redress the balance of Indian politics, he was championing a certain demand which even amounted to something like a request for the right to secede from the rest of India. But we saw also how he could rise to the height of the situation and in a statesman like fashion, he got his own people roused as they had never been before, to associate themselves entirely with the mainstream of Indian life. This is why, even though we have sometimes missed certain ideological aspects in the kind of thought and action to which Shri Annadurai permitted himself, we have admired him a great deal. We know that the grassroots of his contacts with his people were so genuine and true that that alone is the only thing which matters in a creative kind of politics. Here was a person, therefore, who belonged to a very different category. He was not a politician of the usual type. He was a leader of the people, one who own the affection of the masses. He was a master of words, but he was not a peddler of phrases. He had won the heart of his people and no better achievement can ever come to a person in public life. We are all shocked that so prematurely he has passed away and the country has been deprived of a talent, which was of such an effulgent character.

I wish you to convey to the families of the three deceased persons the sympathy of the House and particularly of the party to which I belong.

Humayun Kabir*

Mr. Speaker, I was stunned last night, as so many of us were, when I got the shocking news of the sudden passing away of Prof. Humayun Kabir. It was only last Saturday that he and I met and talked in the Central Hall of Parliament, and it is difficult to believe that he is no longer with us.

Prof. Humayun Kabir and I had known each other nearly all our lives and, in spite of our having followed different ways and having many political differences, which particularly got rather acute in the last few years, the friendship that we had for each other had never waned.

As everyone knows, he had a brilliant and glittering academic career in Calcutta and Oxford, and it was only by a very short margin that in a difficult period for Indians abroad he missed being elected the first Indian President of the Oxford Union. He was one of the most versatile men in our country, and he switched over from literature to philosophy without the slightest lessening of his academic excellence in those subjects.

We know the rest of his career. But I am glad the Prime Minister as well as Professor Ranga have referred to Professor Kabir's work in connection with the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary. It is a very happy accident that at that point of time Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister and Prof. Kabir was in charge of the celebrations in regard to that centenary.

I do not have very much to say, and there is no need either, in regard to his political life. It is an open book. We have all seen him as a most highly talented person, as a remarkable man on any computation, and his loss is something which the country will find extremely hard to make up.

On my own behalf as well as on behalf of the party which I represent in this House, I wish you, Sir, to convey to the bereaved family our heartiest condolences.

President G. A. Nasser**

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of my party, I associate myself with the sentiments of grief that have already been expressed in this House at the passing away of President Nasser of United Arab Republic.

**L.S. Deb.*, 19 August 1969.

***L.S. Deb.*, 9 November 1970.

In regard to President Nasser, I am glad our Parliament is performing the duty of recording its appreciation of the life of a great man who has passed into history. He was the leader of the resurgent Arab world. He was the leader in the fight against imperialism in an area which the imperialists of several generations have looked upon as strategically the most important in the globe. He had to encounter difficulties of a sort which would have beaten down the most formidable patriots and freedom fighters, but he over-came all odds. That job which he did with tremendous courage—*the nationalisation of the Suez Canal* at a point of time when other people thought that it would be much too fool hardy an operation—shows what courage and character could achieve even in the face of the most tremendous odds. *He was possibly the greatest Arab* in modern times, a great friend of India, a great friend of freedom and a great friend of social revolution. And, that is why I am glad our Parliament is using this opportunity of expressing our appreciation of a man whose life had come to such an untimely end. But as I said, he has passed into history and his name would be remembered for all time.

Dr. K. M. Munshi*

Sir, in the beginning of every session, we have to place on record our sense of loss at the passing away of our erstwhile colleagues. And we know death will come when it will come. On every occasion, there is not much point in mourning because the human span is limited. But there are occasions when death takes away from our midst people who should have been with us a great deal longer than they were permitted to remain with us. I do not think there is much need to say a great deal about people who have died full of years and honours like Dr. K.M. Munshi whose devouring passion in life was an interest in the resuscitation of the values of Indian culture and which is a variegated one. I think, he will be remembered almost entirely through the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* which has conducted such magnificent work and which remains a memorial to a son of India who deserves to be cherished in the memory of his death.

Bimla Prasad Chaliha**

When we learnt of the death of Shri Bimla Prasad Chaliha—we knew he was ailing for a long enough time—we were not quite ready for his death, because he was a type of person who should have been spared a great deal longer in the interests of our country. I remember him very vividly as a member of the First Lok Sabha. His very presence was an influence. As the Prime Minister said, there was about him a sense of calm and poise which nothing could disturb and his qualities came into the picture when the politics

L.S. Deb., 23 March 1971.
**L.S. Deb.*, 23 March 1971.

of Assam, which is a paradise of ethnologists and a sort of laboratory for political experimentation, came into the limelight; when the problems of Assam pushed themselves into prominence, it was a man only of the type of Shri Bimla Prasad Chaliha who could tackle them.

I remember when some of us went to Nagaland, we met him in Shillong and on other occasions also. We could see how he had earned the respect and confidence of the people belonging to the multitudinous tribes we have in that emerald area of our country. It was his being at the helm of affairs which at one time had meant the safeguarding of the interests of Assam as well as of India. I think he is one of the very few people in the recent political history of the country who will be regarded as a person endowed with the qualities of statesmanship, and it is a very great pity that he has gone away.

Nath Pai*

But the pity of all pities is the passing away of Shri Nath Pai who will ever be missed by whoever came in contact with him. And it is not only members of Parliament who came in contact with him but the whole country, because his name was a name to conjure with not only in Maharashtra but in the rest of India.

He should have gone hereafter. So many of us stay behind, but he went away, and in a manner which, in some ways, is, of course, most desirable. He made a speech, I think it was somewhere near Belgaum. He spoke longer than he should have, because of the condition of his health, I remember on so many occasions in this House. We would try to restrain him, because we knew he had a heart ailment and it was wrong of him to put himself to any avoidable strain; but he just could not avoid the strain because he thought that was part of his duty to his country. No greater love than this that he laid down his life for his country, and Nath Pai's speaking in Belgaum or somewhere else in Maharashtra and dying a few hours after he made that important speech, would remain cherished in the memory of our people.

But we in this House who miss him, who have watched him in action, who have heard his mellifluous phrases, who have noticed his appropriately youthful exuberance in regard to certain matters, who have appreciated his dexterity not only with words and phrases but with all the subtleties of constitutional and parliamentary technicalities, who have known him as a human individual with a warmth of heart and sensitivity of feeling—for us the loss is so big and so great that it can never be compensated. It is the pity of pities that he has gone. He is gone, and that is all there is to it, and all that we can say is that our hearts are heavy with sorrow, particularly at the passing away of a man who died in his prime, who should have been spared

* *L.S. Deb.*, 23 March 1971.

a great deal longer for the sake of this country, but who was not. Those whom the Gods love die young, but between Gods and man there is a sort of tussle going on, which is the definition of civilisation. And men would never be reconciled to the kind of thing which has at once taken away from our midst and the midst of the Indian people a person of the calibre of Shri Nath Pai.

Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was a terrible shock when yesterday we learnt suddenly of the death of Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq. Many of us in this House had the privilege of personal friendship with Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq. His passing away is not only a grievous personal loss to so many of us but a loss which the country could very ill afford at this particular point of time. As the Prime Minister pointed out, Sadiq was a politician of a very different dye and I think of him as perhaps the most shining symbol in Kashmir of that spirit of democracy, secularism and socialism, which today is our greatest weapon in the fight into which India has had to embark. His leadership of the State at so many critical junctures shows how a man, who was the very pink of courtesy, was at the same time indomitable in his convictions and was capable of performing those task which fell to his destiny.

Today there is taking place something like a fulfilment of the basic principles of India's policy, particularly in the sphere of international affairs. Today our country is engaged in a struggle which is merged with the struggle for liberation of areas in our region, which have been crying for that liberation for so long. Today is the point of time when Kashmir, which is the shining luminous symbol of India's attachment to democracy, secularism and socialism, needed the leadership of which Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq was capable in a most pre-eminent measure he has been wrenched away from us, There is nothing you can do about it at this point of time except to offer our condolences and our heart-felt sympathy to his family, to the people of Kashmir and to the people of India, who have lost a leader of a stature which is not very easy to find. I associate my party and myself with the sentiments of sorrow at the passing away of Shri Sadiq and also of our former colleague from Uttar Pradesh and I would request you to convey our condolences to the bereaved families.

*L.S. *Deb.*, 13 December 1971.

PART IV
TRIBUTES TO PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE

Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Speaker, Lok Sabha* :

Hon. members, I have to inform the House of the sad demise of..... Shri Hirendra Nath Mukerjee.

Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee was a member of the First to Fifth Lok Sabhas. He represented the Calcutta North-East Parliamentary Constituency of West Bengal in the First, Fourth and Fifth Lok Sabhas from 1952 to 1957 and again from 1967 to 1977; and the Calcutta Central Parliamentary Constituency in the Second and Third Lok Sabhas from -1957 to 1967. He was the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party of India in the Lok Sabha from 1952 to 1964 and 1967 to 1971 and was its Leader from 1964 to 1967.

Prof. Mukerjee was educated at the Presidency College, Calcutta and St. Catherine's College at Oxford University and Lincoln's Inn, London from where he became a Barrister. He had a uniformly outstanding record as student. He stood first in the Intermediate Arts Examination, stood First Class in B.A. History Honours, in his M.A. Examination he stood First Class First from Calcutta University.

He was the winner of Duff, Ishan, Gwalior, Burdwan and many other scholarships, medals and prizes. He was the Government of Bengal Scholar at St. Catherine's College at Oxford. Prof. Mukerjee was a Lecturer of History and Political Philosophy at Andhra University during 1934-35 and later at the University of Calcutta from 1940 to 1944. He was Head of the Department of History at Surendranath College, Calcutta from 1936 to 1962. He joined the Calcutta High Court as a Barrister but did not continue there long. While in England, he was drawn to Communism and joined the Communist Party of India in 1936. Following the 'popular front' policy of the party, he was elected member of All-India Congress Committee in 1938-1939. He was an elected member of the National Council of the Communist Party of India in 1958. He was arrested twice for political reasons in 1940 and 1941 again detained without trial in 1948 and 1949.

A versatile genius, Shri Mukerjee belonged to a genre of people who revered parliamentary democracy. One of the most distinguished

*L.S. Deb., 16 August 2004

parliamentarians of India, Shri Mukerjee was highly respected in parliamentary circles for his enlightening contributions to the deliberations of the House. He was known for his respect for and mastery over the rules of procedure and also for his vast knowledge, brilliant and spell-binding speeches, incisive and logical arguments and legendary oratorical skills. The gamut of issues raised by Shri Mukerjee within and outside the House had a holistic perspective. Through his speeches, he unfailingly articulated a national vision.

During his long parliamentary career, he served on various parliamentary committees. He guided the deliberations of the Public Accounts Committee, as its Chairman, during 1976-77.

He also served with distinction as the First Honorary Advisor to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies and Training of the Lok Sabha Secretariat.

His indefatigable zeal for public service led him also to serve causes other than political. An ardent social activist and educationist, he was associated with various organisations in different capacities. He served as the President, Bengal Provincial Students' Conference; All-India Students' Conference, Nagpur; and Bengal Motion Pictures Employees' Union; and as the Vice-President, Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress. He was the Founder Member of the All-India Progressive Writers' Association and of the Friends of Soviet Union.

He was also a member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology from 1952 to 1955; 1957 to 1960 and 1972 to 1975. He was member, Education Panel, Planning Commission; National Integration Council, 1962; and Central Advisory Board of Education from 1972 to 1975. He served as a member of the Senate of Calcutta University from 1953 to 1961; and *Samsad* (Court) of the Visva Bharati from 1972 to 1975. He was Executive member of the National Committee for Gandhi Centenary; he was a Trustee, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trust and Lal Bahadur Shastri Memorial Trust. He took keen interest in sports and was the member of All India Council of Sports from 1953 to 1971.

A prolific writer, Shri Mukerjee was the author of many books in English and Bengali. He has written extensively on historical, literary and political themes. He edited an anthology of modern Bengali poetry and was the author of *"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)"* and some of his works in English are: *"An Introduction to Socialism"*; *"India Struggles for Freedom"*; *"India and Parliament"*; *"The Gentle Colossus : A Study of Nehru"* and *"Portrait of Parliament"*. He was the author of studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Swami Vivekananda and Raja Rammohan Roy. His books in Bengali include *"National Movement in India"*; *"A History of India"* in two volumes, and *"Modern Bengali Poetry"*.

He was the Editor of *"Indo-Soviet Journal"*, Calcutta, from 1941 to 1945; and Joint Editor, *"Calcutta Weekly Notes"*, a law journal, from 1945 to 1952.

Shri Mukerjee was conferred many honours in recognition of his exceptional erudition and achievements. He was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Calcutta, Andhra, North Bengal, Rabindra Bharati, Kalyani and Vidyasagar. He was awarded the "Padma Bhushan" in 1990 and "Padma Vibhushan" in 1991 for his contribution to public life. He received the "Vidyasagar Award" in 1992 and "Nazrul Award" in 2000 for his literary work from the Government of West Bengal.

He received the 'Soviet Award' for his book on the Second World War and 'Dimitrov Memorial Award' from Bulgaria in the 1980s. He was also conferred 'Maulana Azad Award' by the Muslim Cultural Association in 1994 and the 'Muzaffir Ahmed Award' by the CPI (M) in 2000. He also received the "Soviet Land Nehru Award" in 1977.

Since its formation in 1987, Shri Mukerjee had been the Honorary Chairman of the Mass Media Centre of the Government of West Bengal and was also the Honorary Advisor to the Bureau of Parliamentary Studies of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly till his death.

A widely travelled person, Shri Mukerjee was a member of the Indian Delegation to Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Canberra, Australia in 1959 and the Indian Parliamentary Delegation which visited the erstwhile USSR and Hungary in 1968. He also attended the Inter-Parliamentary union Meeting at Yaounde, Cameroon in 1972 and the 60th Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Paris, France in 1972.

His humility endeared him to all those who came into his contact. However, beneath his gentle demeanour lay a steely determination to optimally utilize the forum of Parliament of redressal of grievances of the people. His contributions to the Indian Parliamentary System were exemplary and would serve as a guiding light for legislators.

Shri Mukerjee's life was dedicated to the cause of the downtrodden, the deprived and the exploited sections of the people. He steadfastly fought for a society where there will be no discrimination between person and person and for a classless society where the people irrespective of differences of caste, creed, language, religion etc. will have equal rights and for a society where there will be no exploitation of men by men. Till the last breath of his life, Shri Mukerjee fought for the working class, the common people and for the establishment of a society free from hunger and privation and for a strong, progressive and resurgent India. In his passing away, the country has lost an outstanding Parliamentarian, a leader of the masses and champion of the down-trodden and of the working class and a multifaceted personality.

Shri Hirendra Nath Mukerjee passed away on 30th July, 2004 at Kolkata, West Bengal, at the age of 97, after a brief illness.

2. Tributes paid by Eminent Leaders

Dr. Manmohan Singh, ***Prime Minister of India*** ... "He was one of the most distinguished parliamentarians of our time whose oratorical skills not only influenced the course of many debates in Parliament, but were also appreciated by Pandit Nehru. He was a national leader of great standing and whose qualities are worthy of emulation today".

Smt. Sonia Gandhi, ***President of All India Congress Committee*** ... "Prof. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee was a legendary Communist leader and a remarkably gifted parliamentarian. His parliamentary debates were marked by his intellectual thinking and oratory. In his demise, the country has lost one of its veteran leaders and a writer of repute. Our countrymen will remember Prof. Mukerjee's contribution to parliamentary democracy for many years to come".

Shri Hashim Abdul Halim, ***Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly*** ... "Hirendra Nath Mukerjee was a rare politician who always fought for socialism and never allowed dogmatism to dominate his liberal outlook. As Hirendra Nath Mukerjee himself confessed in one of his writings: "I hesitate to judge people too sternly: one of my favourites is the Somerset Maugham character who said he did not fancy one particular job, namely, "God's, on Judgment Day."

Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, ***Chief Minister of West Bengal***... "Until the last day he believed in the need to change society, and despite the existing problems in the rebuilding of a new one... Jawaharlal Nehru was well aware that Hiren Mukerjee was the conscience of the Left. This is true, going by what Hiren Mukerjee wrote in an article: "India's ordeal [and the world's also] continues, more acutely than ever and History's latest 'ironies' have to be faced. In his death, we have lost 'a guardian'...".

Shri I.K. Gujral, ***former Prime Minister of India***..."I met Prof. Hiren Mukerjee for the first time as a student when he came to Lahore to preside over the All India Students' Federation Conference. His eloquence and thoughts left a deep impact on my generation. It was my privilege that in the subsequent years we were together in Parliament. He impressed both sides of the House. Late Jawaharlal Nehru appreciated his intellect on several occasions".

Shri Rabi Ray, ***former Speaker, Lok Sabha***.... "Whenever Hiren Babu rose to speak in Lok Sabha on various issues including subjects like literature, arts

and culture he was heard with rapt attention in the House. His oratorical skill was such that it had an instant impact on the minds of his listeners. in his death, India has lost one of the outstanding parliamentarians of our time, and an intellectual of high calibre and a fine human being. Now he belongs to the ages"[2].

Prof. Madhu Dandavate, ***Former Union Minister***... "I had the opportunity to have association with Hiren Mukerjee in the Lok Sabha for some years. I was often surprised to find the learned Professor expounding his proletarian ideology in chaste 'Oxford English'. Those members of Parliament, who were conversant with the English language wondered whether even Englishmen could speak such chaste English. Those who did not follow Professor Hiren Mukerjee's high-flown English, were allured by his silver tongue and golden voice. I recollect the moving speech of Hiren Mukerjee in Lok Sabha on the occasion of Sikkim's integration in India. He traced in his characteristic style the legacy of the cultural roots and the spiritual splendour of the Himalayas. In an emotional strain he observed that this heritage symbolised by Sikkim now beautifully blended with India".

> "During my association with Hiren Mukerjee in the Lok Sabha, I had profound respect for his intellectual as well as humane qualities, which he reciprocated with warm affection for me. These reminiscences, I can never afford to forget".

Shri Jyoti Basu, ***former Chief Minister of West Bengal***... "Through his speeches in Parliament, the Communist Party of India (CPI) gained the respect of the people. He was successful in drawing many bourgeois intellectuals to the fold. Nehru was particularly attracted to his speeches... the two got intimate as a result.

Thiru M. Karunanidhi ***President, D.M.K. and former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.*** "Even though I had no opportunity to move with him closely, what I have known about him has made me have great regard for him. As former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's favourite Parliamentarian, Hiren Mukerjee's participation in Parliamentary debates drew admiration from members of all parties. It is said that every time Hiren Mukerjee participated in a debate, Nehru would rush to the House from his South Block Office. His diction, both in English and Bengali and also in Urdu, were remarkably rich and attractive. Hiren Mukerjee's loyalty to the cause of the exploited millions was much more than cerebral. Hiren Mukerjee was equally vibrant in his Trade Union acitivities. As an ardent Communist, and a senior leader of CPI he was said to have remained a bridge between the CPI and CPI(M). My request to his followers is to carry on his mantle and fulfil his wishes."

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[2]*Mainstream*, 14 August, 2004

Shri Gopal Gandhi, ***Ambassador of India in Norway***..."My generation of students at University was stirred by... Prof. Hiren Mukerjee's unsparing criticism of government and of the social organisations that held India in their vice-like grip. The veteran of debate received the most undivided attention of the Treasury benches headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Hiren Babu's study of Nehru, *The Gentle Colossus*, is as much a tribute to the objectivity and receptivity of the politics of those times as it is a critique of India's first Prime Ministership."

Other Dignitaries

Shri Ashok Mitra, ***CPI(M) Leader***... "It is pointless to recollect that, half a century ago, Mukerjee was Jawaharlal Nehru's favourite parliamentarian. Every time the Communist Member of Parliament would participate in a debate, Nehru would remove himself from his South Block office and scamper into Parliament House; he could not possibly miss-Hiren's speech. What particularly drew the admiration of Nehru and others was the splendour of Hiren Mukerjee's vocabulary and his total command over the manner in which he deployed it. His accent was impeccably Oxonian. That was the least part of it though, it was Mukerjee's passion, welded into his ideology, which mattered. To have passion, he was determined to prove, does not harm the cause of ideology; it enhances it. This not subscribing to the ideology would still salute the integrity of this most passionate man".

Shri Mrinal Sen, ***Veteran Filmmaker***... "He was an outstanding individual, the rarest of rare. I remember him helping me with notes that I made use of while writing the script of my documentary on a moving perspective of the history of India in 1966."

Shri Narahari Kabiraj, ***Historian***... "He wasn't India's first Prime Minister's friend in Parliament, though he wrote the *'Gentle Colossus : A Study on Nehru'*. I don't agree that he has been rather soft about his criticism, on Nehru."

3. Tributes paid by Political Parties

Communist Party of India ... "Prof. Hiren Da remained an active figure in politics and literature. Participating and speaking in meetings almost till his last year, he strode the scene all through the 20th century.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India and all Indian Communists pay their respectful homage to the memory of this legendary figure in the Indian Freedom and Communist Movement. The Party dips its banner to his memory".

Communist Party of India (Marxist)... "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep grief over the death of Comrade Hiren Mukerjee ... His versatile talent and his grasp of scientific socialism found expression in his books. He was a powerful orator, a parliamentarian, and a history teacher.... He worked and wrote with tireless energy despite his old age and failing health. His large number of books and articles in popularizing Marxist ideas earned him all-round appreciation.

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) pays its respectful homage to the memory of Comrade Hiren Mukerjee, who devoted his entire life to the cause of the toiling people and the advance of the forces of socialism".

All India Forward Bloc... "The All India Forward Bloc deeply mourns the death of Comrade Hiren Mukerjee, the veteran and one of the founder members of the CPI. He was one of the dedicated Communists and undaunted fighters for the cause of toilers of our country.

He was an outstanding parliamentarian and represented the left and progressive movement in Parliament for a long time since 1952. He became the synonym of the voice of the working class in Parliament".

Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)... "We deeply mourn the demise of Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, a great parliamentarian and a senior most thinker of the Communist Party of India. Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was not only a seasoned thinker but also a great historian. He was firmly committed to the principle dear to him till he breathed his last.

He had a very high opinion about Periyar E.V.R. and respected him much. Whenever we requested, he used to send promptly, messages of best wishes for the Periyar's Birthday Special issues of *Viduthalai*, the Tamil Rationalist daily.

Hiren Babu, as he was known to all leaders and public servants, led a perfect life. His death is not only a great loss to the Communist parties of India but also to public life in general. Educated at Oxford, the Professor dedicated his life and work for the welfare of the poor and the downtrodden."

Socialist Unity Centre of India... "We are deeply shocked to learn the news of demise of Comrade Hiren Mukerjee, who for a long period had been a distinguished leader of the C.P.I. and played a crucial role both within Parliament and outside in strengthening the cause of toiling people, for communal harmony, and above all, for strengthening the cause of left democratic movement throughout the country".

4. Tributes paid by Other Countries

Communist Party of Bangladesh... "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh is deeply grieved by the news of the death of the veteran revolutionary Communist leader of the Communist Party of India and the outstanding Marxist theoretician of our subcontinent and a great friend of the Communist Party of Bangladesh Comrade Hiren Mukerjee.

Comrade Hiren Mukerjee has lived an illustrious revolutionary life, which will illuminate the path of revolutionary movement of our subcontinent for long years ahead. His contributions to the struggle for freedom, democracy, social progress and for the emancipation of mankind has placed him among the leading personalities of the International Communist Movement and of the Communist Movement of India and our subcontinent. He will be remembered with great gratitude for his creative contributions to the teachings of Karl Marx and his staunch effort to ensure that the Communist movement remains in the right track after the fall of "Soviet Union."

Shri Tran Trong Khanh, ***Ambassador of Socialist Republic of Vietnam...*** "We are deeply grieved to learn of the Comrade Hirendra Nath Mukerjee's death, an irreparable loss to his family and the CPI. His death has removed from us a brave fighter, a veteran Communist and a parliamentarian who devoted his whole life for the people and nation of India.

We wish to send our deep condolences to the family members and comrade of the comrades Hirendra Nath Mukerjee with deepest sympathies and regards".

LIST OF SPEECHES DELIVERED BY PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE IN PARLIAMENT (1952—1977)

LIST OF SPEECHES DELIVERED BY PROF. HIREN MUKERJEE IN PARLIAMENT (1952—1977)

Sl.No.	Date	Column No. (s)	Title
1	2	3	4
		1952	
1.	22-May-52	0340-50	Motion of Thanks on the Address by the President
2.	23-May-52	0451-53	Displaced Persons (Claims) Amendment Bill
3.	27-May-52	0646-52	Railways Budget—General Discussion
4.	03-Jun.-52	1047	General Budget—General Discussion
5.	04-Jun.-52	1089-95	General Budget—General Discussion
6.	05-Jun.-52	1150	Flying of British Flag over Parliament House
7.	12-Jun.-52	1604, 1613-21	General Budget : Demands for Grants
8.	25-Jun.-52	2433	Motion for Adjournment Procedure of
9.	28-Jun.-52	2717-24	General Budget : Demands for Grants
10.	04-Jul.-52	322, 3224-25, 3230-34, 3264	Appropriation (Railways) No. 2 Bill
11.	08-Jul.-52	3436-40	Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill
12.	09-Jul.-52	3451-57	Constitution (Second Amendment) Bill
13.	09-Jul.-52	4083-88, 4160-75	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
14.	11-Jul.-52	3624, 3627-30	Code of Criminal Procedure (Second Amendment) Bill
15.	11-Jul.-52	3945-46	Indian Tariff (Third Amendment) Bill
16.	17-Jul.-52	4003	Papers Laid on the Table
17.	17-Jul.-52	4041-45	Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill

1	2	3	4
18.	01-Aug.-52	5020-22, 5024-25, 5134-42	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
19.	04-Aug.-52	5403-04	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
20.	05-Aug.-52	5458, 5508-14	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
21.	06-Aug.-52	5613, 5676-77	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
22.	07-Aug.-52	5876-85	Motion *re* : Kashmir State
23.	05-Nov.-52	4	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Rise in Food Prices
24.	10-Nov.-52	248-59	Estate Duty Bill
25.	14-Nov.-52	514	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Promulgation of Section 144 in and around Agartala
26.	15-Nov.-52	592, 630-40, 679	Motions *re* : Migration between Pakistan and India
27.	18-Nov.-52	842-44	Motion *re* : Food Situation
28.	19-Nov.-52	851-52	Commonwealth Economic Conference
29.	19-Nov.-52	902-05	Additional Excise Duty Bill
30.	27-Nov.-52	1267-68	Food Adulteration Bill
31.	27-Nov.-52	1272	Statement by PM *re*: Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill
32.	02-Dec.-52	1427, 1485	Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill
33.	03-Dec.-52	1502	Business of the House
34.	03-Dec.-52	1505-06, 1509-21	Industrial Finance Corporation (Amendment) Bill
35.	04-Dec.-52	1726	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Condition of Refugees
36.	06-Dec.-52	1760-69	Influx from Pakistan (Control) Repealing Bill
37.	08-Dec.-52	1822, 1825-26	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Condition of Refugees

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38.	08-Dec.-52	1853-56, 1886	Iron and Steel Companies Amalgamation Bill, 1952
39.	09-Dec.-52	1928-38	Iron and Steel Companies Amalgamation Bill, 1952
40.	10-Dec.-52	1977-78	Question of Privileges
41.	15-Dec.-52	2379-83	Resolution *re* : Five Year Plan
42.	16-Dec.-52	2442	Motion for Adjournment *re* : death of Potti Sriramulu for the cause of separate Andhra Pradesh
43.	16-Dec.-52	2461-73	Resolution *re* : Five Year Plan
44.	17-Dec.-52	2561	Statement *re* : Loans sanctioned by Industrial Finance Corporation
45.	17-Dec.-52	2589-90	Resolution *re* : Five Year Plan
46.	18-Dec.-52	2652	Resolution *re* : Five Year Plan
47.	19-Dec.-52	2810	Resolution *re* : Five Year Plan
		1953	
48.	13-Feb.-53	0056-65	Motion of Thanks on the Address by the President
49.	19-Feb.-53	0545-46	Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1952-53
50.	25-Feb.-53	0884-90	Railway Budget—General Discussion
51.	26-Feb.-53	1011	Railway Budget—Demands for Grants
52.	03-Mar.-53	1261-66	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Visit of US destroyers to Calcutta
53.	04-Mar.-53	1405-17	General Budget—General Discussion
54.	04-Mar.-53	1448-49	Eviction of some MPs from Windsor Place
55.	05-Mar.-53	1471-75, 1478-80	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Eviction of some MPs from Winds or Place
56.	09-Mar.-53	1574-75, 1586-88	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Firing on refugees at Yole Camp
57.	12-Mar.-53	1890, 1900-01, 1938-43	Resolution *re* : President's Proclamation on PEPSU
58.	13-Mar.-53	1989-90	Privilege Issue *re* : Firing on refugees at Yole Camp in Dharmasala, Kangra

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59-60.	16-Mar.-53	2078-87, 2145-46	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
61.	18-Mar.-53	2255	Govt. Premises (Eviction) Amendment Bill
62.	25-Mar.-53	2883-88, 2145-46	Situation in Jammu
63.	28-Mar.-53	3133-42	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Communication
64.	08-Apr.-53	3926-32	Appropriation Bill—Provision for the payment of Rs. 10,20,000 to the United Kingdom towards expenses of an organization called "Commonwealth Relations Office"
65.	17-Apr.-53	4061	Resolution *re* : Investigation into Wealth & Property of Govt.
66.	17-Apr.-53	4422-29	Resolution *re* : Safeguarding of National Security Rules
67.	22-Apr.-53	4818-27	Industries (Development & Regulation) Amendment Bill
68.	27-Apr.-53	5152-53	Business of the House
69.	27-Apr.-53	5166-68	Indian Merchant Shipping (Amend.) Bill
70.	27-Apr.-53	5184-85	Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament Bill
71.	28-Apr.-53	5233-46	Salaries and Allowances of Officers of Parliament Bill
72.	29-Apr.-53	5395-97	Comptroller and Auditor-General (Conditions of Service) Bill
73.	05-May-53	5853-59	Industries (Development & Regulation) Amendment Bill
74.	06-May-53	5884-85	Indian Income Tax (Amendment) Bill
75.	06-May-53	5965-66	Business of the House

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76.	07-May-53	6037-42	Discussions *re* : Restrictions on Trade with China
77.	08-May-53	6120-26	Air Corporations Bill
78.	08-May-53	6183	Tea Bill, 1953
79.	09-May-53	6283, 6289-91, 6337	Vindhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly (Prevention of Disqualification) Bill
80.	12-May-53	6404-05	Public Accounts Committee
81.	12-May-53	6425-34	Vindhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly (Prevention of Disqualification) Bill
82.	13-May-53	6554-55	Business of the House
83.	13-May-53	6580-85	Public Accounts Committee
84.	15-May-53	6688	Retrenchment in Ordnance Depots
85.	06-Aug.-53	243-49	Collection of Statistics Bill
86.	07-Aug.-53	414-21	Calling of Troops in Calcutta
87.	12-Aug.-53	650-60	Estate Duty Bill
88.	01-Sep.-53	1923-29	Sugarcane Prices
89.	05-Sep.-53	2524-28	Future of Automobile Industry
90.	09-Sep.-53	2946, 2948, 2960, 2974-76	Estate Duty Bill
91.	12-Sep.-53	3824, 3957-59	President's Proclamation on PEPSU
92.	15-Sep.-53	3691, 3697-3700, 3719-22	Project for a new Steel Plant
93.	16-Sep.-53	0076-84	Rehabilitation Finance Admn. (Amendment) Bill
94.	16-Sep.-53	3963-66	Business of the House
95.	17-Sep.-53	00198-201	Sea Customs (Amend.) Bill
96.	17-Sep.-53	4003, 4015-30, 4052, 4156, 4159	Motion *re* : International Situation

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97.	18-Sep.-53	4215-19	Detention and Death of S.P. Mookerjee
98.	17-Nov.-53	0195	Sea Customs (Amend.) Bill
99.	18-Nov.-53	261-62	Coir Industry Bill
100.	19-Nov.-53	347-57, 395, 1393-95	Ancient and Historical Monuments & Archaeological Sites & Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Bill
101.	21-Nov.-53	437-39	Unemployment
102.	23-Nov.-53	509	Business of the House
103.	25-Nov.-53	0721-32	Dhoties (Addl.) Excise Duty Bill
104.	30-Nov.-53	1030-32	Parliamentary Propriety
105.	01-Dec.-53	1160-70, 1228	Banking Companies (Amendment) Bill
106.	04-Dec.-53	1488-89	Resolution *re* : Unemployment
107.	9-Dec.-53	3963-66	Business of the House
108.	18-Dec.-53	2430	Special Marriage Bill
109.	18-Dec.-53	2518-31	Resolution *re* : Unemployment
110.	18-Dec.-53	2573-74	Resolution *re* : Application of Industrial Disputes Act to Journalists
111.	23-Dec.-53	2995-3011	Motion *re* : International Situation
		1954	
112.	15-Feb.-54	0020	Motion for Adjournment *re* : death of Railway Passengers during Kumbh Mela
113.	16-Feb.-54	0033	Papers laid on the Table
114.	16-Feb.-54	0101-05	Issues of Ordinances
115.	17-Feb.-54	0139-41	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Law & order situation in Calcutta
116-117.	18-Feb.-54	0239-40, 0243, 0297, 302	Motion for Adjournment—Procedure
118.	18-Feb.-54	0254	Statement *re* : Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference held in Sydney

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119.	18-Feb.-54	0265-78	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
120.	22-Feb.-54	0372-73	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
121.	23-Feb.-54	0459-60	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Violent attack on Shri A.K. Gopalan, MP
122-124.	26-Feb.-54	0830-32, 0835-36	Motion *re* : First Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bill
125.	27-Feb.-54	0898-912	Control of Shipping (Amendment) Bill
126.	02-Mar.-54	1058	Business of the House
127.	05-Mar.-54	1292-99	Railways Budget
128.	05-Mar.-54	1306-07	Railways Budget
129.	06-Mar.-54	1386-87, 1400, 1541, 1638-39	Demands for Grants—Railways
130.	10-Mar.-54	1725, 1732	Press (Objectionable Matter) Amendment Bill
131-132.	11-Mar.-54	1834-35, 1838, 1840-41, 1845-60	Press (Objectionable Matter) Amendment Bill
133.	16-Mar.-54	2338-49	General Budget—General Discussion
134.	23-Mar.-54	2769	General Budget—General Discussion
135-137.	23-Mar.-54	2786, 2805-18 2867-70	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
138.	07-Apr.-54	4310	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Information & Broadcasting
139.	10-Apr.-54	5057-75	The Finance Bill
140.	12-Apr.-54	4588-89	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Health
141.	15-Apr.-54	4810	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance Procedure

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142.	24-Apr.-54	5682-86	High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Bill
143.	27-Apr.-54	5901-06, 5907-11	Factories (Amendment) Bill
144.	28-Apr.-54	5914-15	Motion for Adjournment
145.	30-Apr.-54	6144-45	Companies Bill
146.	30-Apr.-54	6174-79	Motion *re* : Seventh Report of Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions
147.	02-May-54	7990-91	Statements *re* : Purchase of Tractors for Central Tractor Organization
148.	03-May-54	6363-70, 6371-74, 6421	Companies Bill
149.	10-May-54	7018-23, 7027	Peaceful uses of Atomic Energy
150.	14-May-54	7405, 7441-46	Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament Bill
151.	15-May-54	7522-34, 7550	Motion *re* : International Situation
152.	18-May-54	7677-78	High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Bill
153.	19-May-54	7794-95	Special Marriage Bill
154.	30-Aug.-54	0567-77, 0605-608, 0616	Govt. Order Modifying Decision of Labour Appellate Tribunal on Bank Disputes
155.	01-Sep.-54	0788-94, 0895, 1209-12	Special Marriage Bill
156-157.	11-Sep.-54	1538-39, 1581-90	Motion *re* : Food Situation in India
158.	13-Sep.-54	1635-38, 1654-55	Business of the House
159.	13-Sep.-54	1659	Motion *re* : Food Situation in India
160.	13-Sep.-54	1661	Constitution (Third Amendment) Bill
161.	15-Sep.-54	2035, 2039-40	Sale of Soviet Publications on Railway Platforms

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162.	16-Sep.-54	2145, 2166, 2201-10	Special Marriage Bill
163.	23-Sep.-54	2969-74	Constitution (Third Amendment) Bill
164.	24-Sep.-54	2997-98	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Appointment of the Rajadhyaksha Tribunal
165.	24-Sep.-54	3127-40	Resolution *re* : Security of Service to Govt. Employees
166.	28-Sep.-54	3650-56	Allegations of Corruption against the Deputy Shipping Master, Calcutta Port
167.	29-Sep.-54	3728-40	Motion *re* : International Situation
168.	02-Dec.-54	1743-47	Andhra State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill
169.	08-Dec.-54	2177-86	Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill
170.	09-Dec.-54	2373-76, 2395	Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill
171.	11-Dec.-54	2676	Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill
172.	13-Dec.-54	2686-87	Alleged Association of Minister with a Bank
173.	13-Dec.-54	2692-2706, 2708-09	Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill
174.	15-Dec.-54	2957-67	Resolution *re* : Report of Railway Convention Committee
175.	20-Dec.-54	3488-3503	Motion *re* : Economic Situation
		1955	
176.	22-Feb.-55	0030	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Conducting free and fair elections
177.	23-Feb.-55	0170-17, 0173-88	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
178.	03-Mar.-55	1002-11	Railways Budget for 1955-56
179.	07-Mar.-55	1327-29	Demands for Grants for 1955-56—Railways
180.	10-Mar.-55	1636-40	Working Journalists (Industrial Disputes) Bill

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181.	11-Mar.-55	1777-82	Resolution *re* : Separation of Posts and Telegraphs Finance
182.	12-Mar.-55	1935-39	Sea Customs (Amend.) Bill
183.	14-Mar.-55	1975-87	Constitution (4th Amendment) Bill
184.	19-Mar.-55	2657-67	General Budget for 1955-56
185.	31-Mar.-55	3912-27, 3994-96	Demands for Grants for 1955-56
186.	04-Apr.-55	4278-86	Demands for Grants for 1955-56
187.	12-Apr.-55	5104-10	Constitution (4th Amendment) Bill
188.	18-Apr.-55	5560	Finance Bill
189.	22-Apr.-55	6012-18	Finance Bill
190.	23-Apr.-55	6136-48	State Bank of India Bill (Nationalisation of Imperial Bank)
191.	30-Apr.-55	6160, 7169, 7173-74, 7176, 7213-14	State Bank of India Bill (Nationalisation of Imperial Bank)
192.	05-May-55	7968-76	Hindu Marriage Bill, 1955
193.	07-May-55	8165-76	Hindu Succession Bill, 1954
194.	29-Jul.-55	8828-35, 8839	Indian Coinage (Amendment) Bill
195.	12-Aug.-55	9995-10000	Resolution *re* : Appointment of a Pay Commission
196.	18-Aug.-55	10368-70	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Demonstrations against Portuguese atrocities
197.	19-Aug.-55	10538-39	Motion *re* : Report of Press Commission
198.	20-Aug.-55	10652-67	Motion *re* : Report of Press Commission
199.	31-Aug.-55	11747-53	Regrouping of Railways
200.	02-Sep.-55	11971	Companies Bill
201.	05-Sep.-55	12193-94	Business of the House

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202.	09-Sep.-55	13077-85	Resolution *re*: Appointment of Commission for Development of Indian Shipping
203.	10-Sep.-55	13190-201	Companies Bill
204.	12-Sep.-55	13265-267	Business of the House
205.	13-Sep.-55	13409, 13516-25	Motion *re*: Displaced Persons Compensation and Rehabilitation Rules
206.	15-Sep.-55	14040-44	Pondicherry Assembly
207.	16-Sep.-55	14076-87	Motion *re*: Reports of Commissioner for SCs and STs for 1953 and 1954
208.	17-Sep.-55	14277	Motion regarding International Situation — Mass Satyagrah in Goa
209.	26-Sep.-55	15241-42	Prize Competitions Bill
210.	27-Sep.-55	15524	All India Council of Sports
211.	29-Sep.-55	15709-15	Motion *re:* Flood Control Projects in Second Five Year Plan
212.	21-Nov.-55	25-28	Press and Registration of Books (Amendment) Bill
213.	23-Nov.-55	272-84	University Grants Commission Bill
214.	25-Nov.-55	561-62, 690-94	University Grants Commission Bill
215.	30-Nov.-55	869-71	Constitution (7th Amendment) Bill
216.	03-Dec.-55	1086-92, 1157-64, 1206-07	Citizenship Bill
217.	05-Dec.-55	1286, 1292-93, 1341, 1389-90	Citizenship Bill
218.	06-Dec.-55	1427-33, 1475-76	Citizenship Bill
219.	08-Dec.-55	1751, 1761, 1805-07	Constitution (8th Amendment) Bill
220.	09-Dec.-55	1931-32	Motion *re*: Suspension of Rule 321
221-222.	23-Dec.-55	3932-43, 3983	Motion *re*: Report of the States Reorganization Commission

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		1956	
223.	20-Feb.-56	00330-46	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
224.	20-Feb.-56	0288-89	Death of Acharya Narendra Deva
225.	23-Feb.-56	00822	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
226.	27-Feb.-56	00959-60	Death of Shri G.V. Mavalankar
227.	01-Mar.-56	1244-45, 1250	Demands for Supplementary Grants : 1955-56
228.	03-Mar.-56	1478-85	Life Insurance (Emergency Provision) Bill
229.	06-Mar.-56	01697-98, 1703	Leakage of Budget Proposals
230.	07-Mar.-56	01816-19, 1821-22	Question of Privileges
231.	07-Mar.-56	01942-43	Demands for Grants—Railways
232.	08-Mar.-56	01958-60	Election of Speaker
233.	09-Mar.-56	02092-95	Demands for Grants—Railways
234.	13-Mar.-56	02408-19	General Budget—General Discussion
235.	28-Mar.-56	03598-99, 03710-11	Business of the House
236-238.	28-Mar.-56	03620-22, 03686-89, 04697	Demands for Grants—External Affairs Ministry
239.	23-Apr.-56	06051, 6054-58	Motion *re* : Suspension of First Provision to Rule 92
240.	29-Apr.-56	06092-6104	States Reorganization Bill
241.	09-May-56	07723-25	Business of the House
242.	14-May-56	08139	States Reorganization Bill
243.	15-May-56	08426-35, 8822-23	Representation of the People (Second Amendment) Bill
244.	18-May-56	08902	Life Insurance Corporation Bill
245.	18-May-56	08910-12	Mines Amendment Bill

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246.	21-May-56	09044-5, 9081	Life Insurance Corporation Bill
247.	23-May-56	09249	Motion for Adjournment and Calling Attention to Matter of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Strike of Railway Employees
248.	25-May-56	09505-11	Resolution *re* : ceilling of income of an Individual
249.	28-May-56	09777	Travancore-Cochin State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill
250.	28-May-56	09814-19, 9850-52	Strike Situation in Kharagpur
251.	30-May-56	10133-38	Discussion *re* : Exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan to India
252.	20-Jul.-56	0362	Business of the House
253.	20-Jul.-56	0397-403	Reserve Bank of India (Amendment) Bill
254.	25-Jul.-56	0846-58	Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Bill
255.	27-Jul.-56	1205-06	Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions
256.	31-Jul.-56	1563, 1566-67	Situation in Naga Hills
257.	06-Aug.-56	2235-36	States Reorganization Bill
258.	07-Aug.-56	2389-95	States Reorganization Bill
259.	10-Aug.-56	2783-89	States Reorganization Bill
260.	13-Aug.-56	3086	Committee on Subordinate Legislation
261.	13-Aug.-56	3088	*Re* : Expunction from Debates
262.	16-Aug.-56	3437-52	Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Bill
263.	31-Aug.-56	5116	Resolution *re*: Appointment of Committee on working of DPSP
264.	01-Sep.-56	5179-80	Motion for Adjournment (Bomb explosions in Delhi)

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265.	01-Sep.-56	5187	Representation of the People (Third Amendment) Bill
266.	01-Sep.-56	5195-5200	Resolution *re* : President's Proclamation in Travancore-Cochin
267.	03-Sep.-56	5380-86	Central Excises and Salt (Amendment) Bill
268.	05-Sep.-56	5652, 5689-91, 5759-64	Constitution (9th Amendment) Bill
269.	05-Sep.-56	5779, 5783-84	Train Accident between Jadcherla and Mahbubnagar
270.	08-Sep.-56	6313-33	Resolution *re* : Second Five Year Plan
271.	10-Sep.-56	6570-78	Resolution *re* : Dr. Appleby's Report on re-examination of India's Administrative System
272.	11-Sep.-56	6614	Netaji Enquiry Committee Report
273.	20-Nov.-56	511-27	Motion *re* : International Situation
274.	30-Nov.-56	1615-22	Motion *re* : Nationalisation of Collieries
275.	08-Dec.-56	2205-22	Standards of Weight and Measures Bill
276.	14-Dec.-56	3060-64	Resolution *re* : Scholarships for Children of Political Sufferers
277-278.	18-Dec.-56	3335-36, 3351-53, 3378, 3406-09	Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1956-57 and Demands for Excess Grants (Railways) 1953-54
279.	21-Dec.-56	3839-95	Ariyalur Train Disaster
280.	21-Dec.-56	4049-52	Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill
		1957	
281.	17-Jul.-57	3844-54	Expenditure Tax Bill

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282-283.	23-Jul.-57	4734, 4749-64	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
284.	05-Aug.-57	7034	Essential Services Maintenance Bill
285.	06-Aug.-57	7405-7413	Essential Services Maintenance Bill
286.	28-Aug.-57	10451-10463	Finance (No. 2) Bill
287.	31-Aug.-57	11195-11209	Expenditure Tax Bill
288.	02-Sep.-57	11331-11342	Motion *re* : International Situation
289.	05-Sep.-57	12075-12076, 12078-12079	Legislative Councils Bill
290.	09-Sep.-57	12753-54	Business Advisory Committee
291.	25-Nov.-57	2121-26	Naga Hills Tuensang Area Bill
292.	05-Dec.-57	3764-65	Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill
293.	05-Dec.-57	3771	Parliament (Prevention of Disqualification) Bill
294.	16-Dec.-57	5613-5614	Motion for Adjournment *re* : electrification of the suburban railway system of Calcutta
295.	18-Dec.-57	6162	Motion for Adjournment *re* : electrification of the suburban railway system of Calcutta
296.	18-Dec.-57	6164	Papers Laid on the Table
		1958	
297.	12-Feb.-58	0368	Motion for Adjournment *re* : the concept of contempt of Parliament
298.	12-Feb.-58	0374, 0378	Business of the House
299.	14-Feb.-58	0895	Resolution *re* : Appointment of a Committee to review the working of Banks for the purpose of Nationalisation
300.	17-Feb.-58	1091	Motion of Thanks on the Address by the President
301.	20-Feb.-58	1759-69	Motion *re* : Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of the Life Insurance Corporation

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302.	20-Feb.-58	1773	Personal Explanation by a Member
303.	09-Apr.-58	9071-83	Demands for Grants *re* : Capital outlay of the M/o External Affairs
304.	28-Apr.-58	12021	Annual Report of Hindustan Shipyard Private Ltd.
305.	14-Aug.-58	0904	Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Ordinance and BHU (Amendment) Bill
306.	30-Aug.-58	3700-01	Twenty-eighth report—Business Advisory Committee
307.	08-Sep.-58	5226-27, 5229, 5231-33, 5238, 5240-41	Motion for Adjournment *re* : food problem
308.	10-Sep.-58	5721-22	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Abstention by opposition Members from U.P. Assembly session
309.	15-Sep.-58	6436-39, 6442, 6445	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Statement by Finance Minister in Washington *re* : Quemoy and Matsu Islands
310.	17-Sep.-58	7036-37, 7045-48, 7059-63	Merchant Shipping Bill
311.	23-Sep.-58	8055-56	*Re* : Question of Privilege
312.	24-Sep.-58	8381-87, 8456-58	International Finance Corporation (Status, Immunities and Privileges) Bill
313.	27-Sep.-58	8995-99, 9031	Motion of Privilege
314.	19-Nov.-58	598-607	Discussion *re* : Ganga Barrage Project
315.	27-Nov.-58	1688, 1693	Motion of Privilege
316.	20-Dec.-58	6716-17	Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill
		1959	
317.	10-Feb.59	151-156	Motion *re* : Breach of Privileges:- *re* : Press Statement of Shri M.O. Mathai, employed in Prime Minister's Secretariat

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318.	12-Mar.-59	5844-45, 6016-22	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Firing by the Pakistani Armed forces on Bengal Border
319.	18-Mar.-59	6944-56	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Law
320.	19-Mar.-59	7191-202	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Home Affairs
321.	22-Mar.-59	6149	Statement *re* : Agreement for Military Aid between U.S.A. and Turkey, Iran and Pakistan
322.	20-Mar.-59	7533-37	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Home Affairs
323.	01-Apr.-59	9017-20	Motion for Adjournment—Impact of Activities in Kalimpong in regard to Tibet-China
324.	01-Apr.-59	9037-38	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Allegations against Members having connection with foreign embassies
325.	02-Apr.-59	9264-67	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Release by Chinese Embassy of Article in People's Daily
326.	04-May-59	14818-28	Motion *re* : Report of the UGC
327.	05-May-59	15053	Motion *re* : Report of the UGC
328.	05-May-59	15104-112	Motion *re* Report of Sanskrit Commission
329.	06-May-59	15312-323	Companies (Amendment) Bill
330.	08-May-59	15960-970	Resolution *re* : Inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution
331.	02-Sep.-59	5863-64	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Resignation of the Chief of the Army Staff
332.	02-Sep.-59	5886-87	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance
333.	04-Sep.-59	6413-15	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Misuse of the Preventive Detention Act

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334.	19-Nov.-59	780-85	Motion *re* : Report of Damodar Valley Corporation
335.	26-Nov.-59	2049-56	Motion *re* : India-China Relations
336.	30-Nov.-59	2455-60	Constitution (8th Amendment) Bill
337.	01-Dec.-59	2670-71	*Re*: Explosion in Asansol
338.	14-Dec.-59	4886-95	Indian Statistical Institute Bill
339.	16-Dec.-59	5382-84	*Re*: Order in the House
340.	22-Dec.-59	6669-71	Discussion *re* : Sino-Indian Relations
		1960	
341.	10-Feb.-60	0320, 0325-26	Termination of Suspension of Member
342.	03-Mar.-60	4079-4086	Motion *re* : Dandakaranya Development Authority
343.	10-Mar.-60	5172	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Firing on some displaced persons in Mikir Hills
344.	14-Mar.-60	5692-94	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Suspension of sentence on Commander Nanavati
345.	16-Mar.-60	6251-63, 6320-26, 6329	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
346.	25-Apr.-60	13570-71, 13576-77	Statement *re* : Finance Minister's Reply to General Discussion on Budget (General)
347.	29-Apr.-60	14789-95	Motion *re* : Talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China
348.	01-Aug.-60	0106-07, 0126-27	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Strike of Central Government Employees
349-350.	04-Aug.-60	0905, 1128	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance
351.	08-Aug.-60	1546-47	Discussion *re* : Rise of price of cloth
352.	10-Aug.-60	1907	*Re* : Motion for Adjournment (*re* : Preventive Detention Act)

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353.	11-Aug.-60	2239-49	Motion *re*: Report of University Grants Commission
354.	23-Aug.-60	4280-90	Motion *re*: Draft outline of Third Five Year Plan
355.	01-Sep.-60	6207	Motion *re*: International Situation
356.	01-Sep.-60	6254-68, 6727, 6732-33, 6737	Motion *re*: Situation in Assam
357.	17-Nov.-60	0857-58	*Re*: Question of Privilege
358.	21-Nov.-60	1356-59	Motion for Adjournment *re:* Explosion in Bombay
359.	21-Nov.-60	1374-78	Maharaja Pratap Singh Estates (Repeal) Bill
360.	22-Nov.-60	1623-26	Motion *re*: International Situation
361.	25-Nov.-60	2358-62	Companies (Amendment) Bill
362.	29-Nov.-60	2893-97	Companies (Amendment) Bill
363.	30-Nov.-60	3087-88	Statements *re*: Incidents in Congo
364.	01-Dec.-60	3361-67	Companies (Amendment) Bill
365.	01-Dec.-60	3403	Preventive Detention (Continuance) Bill
366.	02-Dec.-60	3587-88	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Transfer of Berubari to Pakistan
367-368.	05-Dec.-60	3861, 3873-74	Statement *re*: Transfer of Berubari to Pakistan
369.	07-Dec.-60	4474-79	Funds for West Bengal
370.	08-Dec.-60	4657-74	Motion *re*: Sports in India
371.	09-Dec.-60	4916-20	Indian Institute of Archaeology Bill
372.	16-Dec.-60	5982	*Re*: Point of Order
373.	16-Dec.-60	5984-88, 5994-97	Acquired Territories (Merger) Bill
374.	16-Dec.-60	6008-10	Constitution (9th Amend.) Bill
375.	19-Dec.-60	6267-79	Acquired Territories (Merger) Bill & Constitution (9th Amendment) Bill

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		1961	
376.	06-Mar.-61	2931-32	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Need for a Parliamentary Committee to monitor disbursement of funds during President Rule in a State
377.	06-Mar.-61	3236	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance
378.	08-Mar.-61	3667-74	Resolution *re:* Proclamation in respect of Orissa
379.	15-Mar.-61	5170	General Budget—General Discussion
380.	17-Mar.-61	5781-84	Resolution *re:* Devanagari as Common Script for all regional languages
381.	21-Mar.-61	6331-42	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
382.	07-Aug.-61	0172	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Situation in Assam
383.	07-Aug.-61	197-210	Motion *re:* Report of University Grants Commission
384.	11-Aug.-61	1648-49	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance
385.	16-Aug.-61	2390-91	Motions for Adjournment (Fast unto death by Master Tara Singh)
386.	17-Aug.-61	2847-57	Extradition Bill
387-388.	18-Aug.-61	3048-49, 3059-60, 3066	Motion *re* : 13th Report of Committee of Privileges
389.	19-Aug.-61	3365-74	Committee of Privileges
390.	28-Aug.-61	5317-19	Motion *re:* Privileges
391.	29-Aug.-61	5584-94	Discussion *re:* Statement made by Prime Minister regarding Punjabi Suba
392.	30-Aug.-61	5905-16	Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill
393.	31-Aug.-61	6183	Motion of No-Confidence

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394.	05-Sep.-61	7113	Business of the House
395.	13-Sep.-61	4453	Motion for Adjournment
		1962	
396.	06-Aug.-62	0113	*Re:* Point of Order
397.	06-Aug.-62	0129	Statement *re:* Situation in Ladakh
398.	06-Aug.-62	142-43	Statement *re:* Railway Accident at Dumraon
399-400.	07-Aug.-62	0470-81, 0526-31	Extradition Bill
401.	10-Aug.-62	1181, 1189	Motion for Adjournment and Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Allocation of work between various departments or ministries of the Central Govt.
402.	10-Aug.-62	1293-95	Motion for Adjournment—Procedure
403.	13-Aug.-62	1506-15	Motion *re:* Indo-China Border Situation
404.	21-Aug.-62	3191	*Re:* Point of Order
405.	31-Aug.-62	3548-51	Cartoon published in a Bengali Newspaper (C.A.)
406.	08-Nov.-62	143-52	Resolution *re:* Proclamation of Emergency and Aggression by China
407.	22-Nov.-62	2983-93	Defence of India Bill
408.	28-Nov.-62	3719-20, 3723-24, 3728-33	Defence of India Bill
409.	04-Dec.-62	4307-15	Motion *re:* Report on Indian and State Administrative Services
410.	05-Dec.-62	4486-95	Working Journalists (Amendment) Bill
411.	10-Dec.-62	5101-08	Motion *re:* Border Situation resulting from the invasion of India by China
		1963	
412.	18-Mar.-63	4444-62	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs

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413.	19-Mar.-63	4757-62	Regarding Conduct of Certain Members during President's Address
414.	22-Mar.-63	5482-92	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Education
415.	22-Mar.-63	5556-59	Working Journalists (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions (Amendment) Bill
416.	23-Mar.-63	5769-75	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
417.	25-Mar.-63	5904-06, 5907-08	Regarding Remarks made by Shri Bagri
418.	13-Apr.-63	09436	Business of the House
419.	15-Apr.-63	09766-80	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Economic Affairs & Defence Coordination
420.	16-Apr.-63	10026-34	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Finance
421.	22-Apr.-63	11093-94	Business Advisory Committee
422.	22-Apr.-63	11237	Compulsory Deposit Scheme Bill
423.	23-Apr.-63	11400-414	Official Languages Bill
424.	26-Apr.-63	12234-40	Official Languages Bill
425.	26-Apr.-63	12300-01	Compulsory Deposit Scheme Bill
426.	27-Apr.-63	12409-10, 12432-33, 2470-72	Official Languages Bill
427.	27-Apr.-63	12528	Compulsory Deposit Scheme Bill
428.	29-Apr.-63	12623-26	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Failure of Government to increase food production in the country
429.	30-Apr.-63	12873-875	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
430.	01-May-63	13139	Motion regarding Termination of Suspension of Member
431.	02-May-63	13413-22	Constitution (16th Amendment) Bill

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432.	04-May-63	13916	*Re* : Alleged Leakage of Report of Attorney-General on Bose Commission Inquiry
433.	19-Aug.-63	1242-59	Motion of No-confidence in the Council of Ministers
434.	06-Sep.-63	4888-96	Discussion regarding Distribution of National Income
435.	12-Sep.-63	5787-88	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance (*re* : right of congress Party)
436.	13-Sep.-63	6028	Business of the House *re* : Alleged contempt of the House
437.	16-Sep.-63	6281-6300	Motion *re:* International Situation
438.	19-Nov.-63	0380-87	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
439.	19-Nov.-63	0391	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
440.	19-Nov.-63	0409	Statement Regarding Rice Position in the Country
441.	20-Nov.-63	0667-68	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
442.	03-Dec.-63	2741-42	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
443.	06-Dec.-63	3428	Regarding Procedure about Calling Attention Notices
444.	06-Dec.-63	3509-10, 3513	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
445.	12-Dec.-63	4431-33	Arrest of Shri B.P. Maurya
446.	12-Dec.-63	4439-40	Point of Clarification
447.	12-Dec.-63	4461-62	Regarding Quorum
448.	20-Dec.-63	6009-15, 6032	Disclosure of Assets of Ministers Bill

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		1964	
449.	12-Feb.-64	0306-07, 0310-28	Motion regarding Communal Disturbances in East Pakistan and West Bengal
450.	24-Feb.-64	2147	Papers Laid on the Table
451.	24-Feb.-64	2254	Motion for Adjournment *re*: Mischievious activities of Pakistan
452.	05-Mar.-64	4155	Statement regarding certain observations made by Shri Swell about Assam Police
453.	09-Mar.-64	4415	Motions for Adjournment and Calling Attention Notices *re* : Violation of air regulations by Pakistan
454.	09-Mar.-64	4444-50	General Budget—General Discussion
455.	10-Mar.-64	4646	Papers Laid on the Table
456.	10-Mar.-64	4651, 4684	General Budget—General Discussion
457.	12-Mar.-64	5219-28	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Education
458.	20-Mar.-64	6621-27	Resolution regarding Minorities in East Pakistan
459.	10-Apr.-64	10331-48	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
460.	10-Apr.-64	9531	Demands for Grants *re* : Refugee problem
461.	24-Apr.-64	12507-12509	Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Bill
462.	01-May-64	13869	Business of the House
463.	04-May-64	14083-84	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Hike in bus fare in Delhi
464.	06-May-64	14505	Regarding Discussion on Kashmir
465.	06-May-64	14529-31	Durgah Khawaja Saheb (Amendment) Bill

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466.	29-May-64	85-86	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance
467.	29-May-64	146-48	Obituary Reference (Jawaharlal Nehru)
468.	05-Jun-64	1407-11	Resolution *re* : National Policy on Education
469.	07-Sep.-64	111	Retirement of Shri Kaul and Appointment of Shri Shakdher as Secretary, Lok Sabha
470.	07-Sep.-64	151-68	Motion regarding Food Situation
471.	07-Sep.-64	243-44	Statement regarding Communique' of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference
472.	08-Sep.-64	401-02	Motion for Adjournment *re* : No Confidence Motion
473.	09-Sep.-64	766	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Law & Order in the Country
474.	10-Sep.-64	904	Suspension of IAC Services
475.	11-Sep.-64	1221-22	Business of the House *re* : Performance at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.
476.	14-Sep.-64	1457-78	No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers
477.	18-Sep.-64	2541-43	No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers
478.	23-Sep.-64	3285-86	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Rehabilitation of the Refugees
479. 480.	24-Sep.-64	3538-44, 3578-80	High Court Judges (Conditions of Service)
481.	25-Sep.-64	3867-70	Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill

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482.	01-Oct.-64	4886-87	Calling Attention to Matters of Urgent Public Importance—Procedure
483.	01-Oct.-64	4928-30	Supreme Court Judgement relating to Nationalization of Bus Routes
484.	17-Nov.-64	0156-58, 0161-62, 0266-74, 0338-40	Motions for Adjournment *re* : Failure of the Administrative mechanism in Orissa
485.	18-Nov.-64	0455	Regarding Motions for Adjournment *re* : Procedure
486.	18-Nov.-64	0533-43	Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) Bill
487.	26-Nov.-64	1903	Hunger-Strike in the Lobbies of the House
488.	27-Nov.-64	2230-32	Resolution *re* : National Integration
489.	27-Nov.-64	2241-42	Resolution *re* : Goa
490.	27-Nov.-64	2279-82, 2289	Resolution regarding manufacture of Nuclear Weapons
491.	30-Nov.-64	2413	Calling Attention to a Matter of Urgent Public Importance *re* : Death in Jail
492.	30-Nov.-64	2430-33, 2446-48	Demands for Supplementary Grants (General)
493.	01-Dec.-64	2708-18	Wealth Tax (Amendment) Bill
494.	02-Dec.-64	2968-70	Wealth Tax (Amendment) Bill
495.	02-Dec.-64	2980-84	Standards of Weights and Measures (Amendment) Bill
496.	03-Dec.-64	3178-89	Foreign Exchange Regulation (Amendment) Bill
497.	08-Dec.-64	3835-41	Demands for Supplementary Grants (Kerala)
498.	21-Dec.-64	5922	Suspension of Members
499.	23-Dec.-64	6444-45	Regarding Calling Attention Notice *re* : Ministers in due influence in the working of Lok Sabha

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500.	23-Dec.-64	6500-01, 6566-67	Gold (Control) Bill
501.	24-Dec.-64	6807	Discussion on Matters of Public Importance *re* : Setting up of Treasury Benches
		1965	
502.	18-Feb.-65	0120	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Failure of Govt. in handling language issue
503.	18-Feb.-65	0124-25	Papers Laid on the Table
504.-505.	18-Feb.-65	0239-47, 330-34	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Language Issue
506.	22-Feb.-65	0445	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Arrest under D.I.R.
507.	22-Feb.-65	0713-25	Motion of Thanks on Address by the President
508.	22-Feb.-65	0810, 0817-18	Allegations against States' C.Ms.
509.	24-Feb.-65	1192	Regarding Regulation of Question Hour
510.	25-Feb.-65	1447-49, 1456	Language Issue
511.	03-Mar.-65	2237-41	CBI Report *re* : Summary of the final findings of the Cabinet Sub-Committee
512.	05-Mar.-65	2750-54, 2756	CBI Report *re* : Summary of the final findings of the Cabinet Sub-Committee
513.	09-Mar.-65	3212, 3270-71	No-confidence Motion in the Council of Ministers
514.	10-Mar.-65	3466-73, 3480	Detention of Left Communist Leaders (CA)
515.	11-Mar.-65	3830-38	Anti-National activities of Communists
516.	12-Mar.-65	4053, 4058	Anti-National activities of Communists
517.	15-Mar.-65	4302, 4308	Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers
518.	24-Mar.-65	5700-03	President's Rule in Kerala
519.	25-Mar.-65	5827, 5831-35, 5842	Regarding Calling Attention Notices and Adjournment Motions

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520.	26-Mar.-65	6121	Election to Committees
521.	26-Mar.-65	6126-27	Kerala Budget
522.	26-Mar.-65	6248	Use of Gas by U.S. in Vietnam
523.	26-Mar.-65	6617-18	Development of Calcutta Metropolitan Area
524.	30-Mar.-65	6682	Pakistan Rifles firing on West Bengal Border
525.	01-Apr.-65	7211-23	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
526.	02-Apr.-65	7431-32	Meeting between Sheikh Abdullah and Chinese Premier
527.	02-Apr.-65	7467	Business of the House *re* : Kerala proclamation
528.	06-Apr.-65	7906	Indian Ambassador at Nepalese banquet to Chinese Foreign Minister
529.	08-Apr.-65	8444-45, 8450	Suspension of Member
530.	09-Apr.-65	8792-8806, 8845-48	Resolution regarding Development of Calcutta Metropolitan Area
531.	09-Apr.-65	8859-60	Obituary Reference (Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh)
532.	12-Apr.-65	8960-61	Leave of Absence
533.	12-Apr.-65	9016	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Rehabilitation
534.	12-Apr.-65	9100-01	Situation on Kutch-Sind Border
535.	14-Apr.-65	9198	South African Doctor's visit to A.I.I.M.S. (C.A.)
536.	15-Apr.-65	9464-65	Business of the House *re* : Allocation of fund for Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha
537.	19-Apr.-65	9728-29	Question of Privilege
538.	19-Apr.-65	9741-42	Business of the House *re* : Quorum of House
539.	26-Apr.-65	10978	U.S. and U.K. Nuclear bases in Indian Ocean

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540.	26-Apr.-65	10984-87, 11603-12	Pakistan attack on Kutch border
541.	05-May-65	13287, 13345-48	Finance Bill, 1965
542.	05-May-65	13334	Situation on Kutch Border
543.	06-May-65	13494-95	Question of Privilege
544.	06-May-65	13498	Motion for Adjournment *re* : Latest situation is Indo-Pak war
545.	06-May-65	13539-50	Proclamation regarding: Kerala State Legislature
546.	07-May-65	13806-07	Writ Petition by a Member
547.	11-May-65	14281-82	Death due to bomb dropped from a plane in a Ludhiana Village
548.	11-May-65	14301	Pakistani force in Lathitilla Border
549.	11-May-65	14412-13	Statement by Prime Minister
550.	16-Aug.-65	0118	Regarding President's Assent to Bills
551.	16-Aug.-65	379	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Assistance from Centre to State
552.	17-Aug.-65	395-96	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Arrest of Mr. Maurya
553-554.	18-Aug.-65	715-16, 0732	Indo-Pak Agreement on Gujarat—West Pakistan Border
555.	23-Aug.-65	1248-54	Situation in Jammu & Kashmir
556.	24-Aug.-65	1518-20	Question of Privilege
557.	26-Aug.-65	2666-67	No-Confidence Motion in the Council of Ministers
558.	6-Sep.-65	3977-82	Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill
559.	8-Sep.-65	4477-78	Timing of the House *re* : Extention of the duration of the House
560.	17-Sep.-65	6216-17	Business of the House *re* : Continuation of House inspite of worrying situation with Pakistan and China

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561.	20-Sep.-65	6340-42	Obituary Reference (Sh. Balwantrai Mehta)
562.	21-Sep.-65	6793-6801	Judges (Inquiry) Bill
563.	22-Sep.-65	7016-18	Goa, Daman and Diu (Extension of the Code of Civil Procedure etc.) Bill
564.	23-Sep.-65	7169-70	Regarding Point of Privilege
565.	23-Sep.-65	7192-93	Demand for Punjabi Suba
566.	23-Sep.-65	7305	Circular Railway in Calcutta
567.	24-Sep.-65	7460-70	Cease-fire and India Quitting Commonwealth
568.	3-Nov.-65	79-99	Motion of Adjournment *re* : setting up of Committee regarding Punjabi Suba
569.	4-Nov.-65	375-84	Proclamation regarding Kerala
570.	8-Nov.-65	893-909	Proclamation regarding Kerala
571.	12-Nov.-65	1590	Retrenchment in Heavy Engineering Corporation
572.	12-Nov.-65	1664-65	India Quitting Commonwealth
573.	12-Nov.-65	1672-31, 1725-31	Resolution regarding Import of Foodgrains Under PL 480
574.	18-Nov.-65	2640-48	Taxation Laws etc., Bill
575.	18-Nov.-65	2760	Appropriation (No. 5) Bill
576.	19-Nov.-65	2876	Business of the House (*re* : food situation in country)
577.	19-Nov.-65	2883, 2887-93	Appropriation (No. 5) Bill
578.	22-Nov.-65	3108, 3368-69	Calling Attention Motion *re* : States under President's Rule
579.	24-Nov.-65	3645-55	Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill
580.	25-Nov.-65	3868-69	Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill

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581.	3-Dec.-65	5535-38	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
582.	6-Dec.-65	5729	Food Situation and Drought Conditions
583.	10-Dec.-65	6958-61	Tashkent Talks etc.
		1966	
584.	14-Feb.-66	27-28	Obituary References (Lal Bahadur Shashtri)
585.	16-Feb.-66	634-35, 639-40, 661-73	Tashkent Declaration
586.	16-Feb.-66	586	Statement *re:* Indo-China Border
587.	17-Feb.-66	906-07	Reported letter from President of North Vietnam to the President of India and the reply thereto
588.	17-Feb.-66	917	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Food Situation in West Bengal
589.	21-Feb.-66	1216	Incidents in Banaras Hindu University Campus
590.	21-Feb.-66	1236-37	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Food Situation and Kerosene Supply
591.	21-Feb.-66	1246	Tashkent Declaration
592.	24-Feb.-66	2089	Talks between Prime Minister of India and President of Ghana
593.	28-Feb.-66	2497-98	*Re:* Absence of Ministers
594.	28-Feb.-66	2768-71	Demise of Veer Savarkar
595.	28-Feb.-66	2839, 2844-49	Supreme Court judgment in D.I.R. cases
596.	01-Mar.-66	3049-3050	Release of Members on Parole
597.	01-Mar.-66	3065, 3074	Motion of thanks on the President's address
598.	02-Mar.-66	3353-54	Statement *re:* Right of Member on Parole to attend House

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599.	03-Mar.-66	3588, 3597	Calling Attention *re:* Textile Workers' Strike
600.	03-Mar.-66	3697-3704	Motion for Adjournment: Situation in Mizo District, Assam
601.	04-Mar.-66	3933-34	Statement *re:* Indo-Pakistan Ministerial meeting at Rawalpindi
602.	08-Mar.-66	4241-47, 4274-81	Statement *re:* Situation in West Bengal
603.	09-Mar.-66	4522-24, 4757-59	*Re:* Parole of Shri Umanath
604.	10-Mar.-66	4788-4802	General Budget—General Discussion
605.	10-Mar.-66	4879	Resignation by Shri A.P. Jain as Governor of Kerala
606.	11-Mar.-66	5030-32, 5037-38, 5041-42	Situation in West Bengal
607.	14-Mar.-66	5338-40, 5344, 5347-48	*Re:* Parole of Shri Umanath
608.	15-Mar.-66	5680-86	Disturbances in Delhi (Adjournment Motion)
609.	16-Mar.-66	5876-77	General Budget (General Discussion) West Bengal (C.A.)
610.	16-Mar-66	6146	*Re:* Question of Privilege
611.	16-Mar.-66	6157-58	*Re:* Point of Order *re* : Burning alive of some Congressmen in Punjab
612.	16-Mar.-66	6164-65	Orissa Legislative Assembly (Extension of Duration) Bill
613.	17-Mar.-66	6276-79	Statement *re:* Incident at Panipat
614.	18-Mar.-66	6437, 6442	Business of the House
615.	18-Mar.-66	6451-52	Extension of Time for Presentation of Report of Joint Committee
616.	18-Mar.-66	6458, 6466-67	Demands for Grants on Account 1966-67

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617.	18-Mar.-66	6646-48	Constitution (Amendment) Bill (Omission of Articles 152, 170 etc.)
618.	21-Mar.-66	6782-86	Armed Forces (Special Powers) Amendment Bill
619.	22-Mar.-66	7054-55	Point *re:* proceedings
620.	25-Mar.-66	7899	Situation in Mizo Hills
621.	28-Mar.-66	8162-64	*Re:* Bastar Incident
622.	28-Mar.-66	8200-208	Demands for Grants (1966-67) Ministry of Information & Broadcasting
623.	30-Mar.-66	8723	Starvation deaths in Orissa
624.	30-Mar.-66	8734	*Re:* Food situation in West Bengal
625.	30-Mar.-66	8836-37	Adjournment Motion and Calling Attention on Bastar Incident
626.	01-Apr.-66	8968	Calling Attention *re* : health of certain Members in Detention
627.	01-Apr.-66	8975-76	Business of the House
628.	01-Apr.-66	9000-07	Demands for Grants, 1966-67 Ministry of Law
629.	01-Apr.-66	9066-70	Constitution (Amendment) Bill (Omission of Articles 152, 370 etc.)
630.	15-Apr.-66	10812-13	*Re:* Report of Privileges Committee
631.	15-Apr.-66	11104-05	Release of a Member on Parole
632.	15-Apr.-66	11196, 11207-212	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
633.	18-Apr.-66	11381-82	Statement *re:* Reorganisation of Punjab State
634.	18-Apr.-66	11354-55, 11360	Calling attention: *re:* Attack on Indian Border Police Patrol by East Pakistan (Privilege Motion)
635.	18-Apr.-66	11370	*Re:* Leave of absence from Members detained by Police

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636.	19-Apr.-66	11618-19	Calling attention on Reported communication from World Bank *re:* foreign participation in Fertilizer deal
637.	19-Apr.-66	11634	Order of discussion of Demands for Grants
638.	21-Apr.-66	12283, 12291	Motion of adjournment and Calling Attention *re* : Explosion in Railway Train at Lumding
639.	22-Apr.-66	12576-92	Demands for Grants—External Affairs Ministry
640.	22-Apr.-66	12553-56	Business Advisory Committee's Report
641.	22-Apr.-66	12652-57	Resolution *re:* Pacific Concord against Communist Chinese Expansionism
642.	25-Apr.-66	12781-82, 12786	Regarding Calling Attention—Lifting of Emergency and Release of DIR
643.	25-Apr.-66	12891-96	Motion *re:* Situation arising out of recent explosions at Lumding and Dipnu railway station
644.	26-Apr.-66	13102-04, 13115	Demands for Grants—External Affairs Ministry
645.	05-May-66	14902-03, 14906-07	Finance Bill, 1966
646.	06-May-66	15066	Question of Privilege
647.	06-May-66	15069	*Re:* Portrait of Pt. Nehru
648.	06-May-66	15076-78, 15082	Business of the House
649.	06-May-66	15099, 15104	*Re:* Inaccuracy in statement
650.	06-May-66	15203-04	Expulsion of Rajasthan M.L.A.s from Vidhan Sabha
651.	10-May-66	15610-11	Public Accounts Committee
652.	11-May-66	15990-91	*Re:* Planning Minister's statement
653.	12-May-66	16331	Entry of Armed Naga Hostiles into Mizo district

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654.	12-May-66	16356-58	Press Reports on Planning Minister's visit to U.S.A.
655.	13-May-66	16656-57	Press Reports on Planning Minister's visit to U.S.A.
656.	14-May-66	16807-68	Business of the House
657.	14-May-66	16848-53	Reorganization of Punjab
658.	14-May-66	16956-67	Urbanisation of Areas
659.	16-May-66	17104	Statements showing Action Taken by Government on Assurance etc.
660.	17-May-66	17290-91	Calling Attention Motion (Proposed Tripartite Summit Meeting between India, Yugosland and UAR)
661.	17-May-66	17311	Statement *Re:* Area of India as published by UNO, and the survey of India in 1952 and 1964
662.	18-May-66	17640-48	Statement *re:* Defence of India and Defence of India Rules
663.	25-Jul.-66	138-40, 0177-78	*Re:* Motion for Adjournment and Calling Attention Notices
664.	25-Jul.-66	195-98, 0209-212	Motion of No-confidence in the Council of Ministers
665.	25-Jul.-66	236-37	Motion *re:* Present Economic situation in the country
666.	26-Jul.-66	449-50	Decorum in the House
667.	28-Jul.-66	1017	Extension of time for presentation of Report of Joint Committee
668.	02-Aug.-66	1949-53	Motion *re:* paragraphs 4:39 to 4:52 of 50th (Third Lok Sabha) Report of Public Accounts Committee
669-670.	03-Aug.-66	2276, 2430	Calling Attention Notice *re* : arrest of Shri Indulal Yajnik, MP and others at Ahmedabad
671.	04-Aug.-66	2717-28	Motion of No-confidence in the Council of Ministers

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672.	05-Aug.-66	3040-5, 3100-3104	Resolution *re*: Indo-US Foundation
673.	10-Aug.-66	3899-3900	Calling attention *re* : certain charges made against CPI
674.	10-Aug.-66	3920	Question of Privilege
675.	10-Aug.-66	3939-42	Constitution (20th Amendment) Bill
676.	10-Aug.-66	4041-42	Employment of Ex-Servicemen
677.	11-Aug.-66	4208-09	Strategy of Sabotage by Left Communist Party
678.	11-Aug.-66	4236	*Re*: Question of Privilege
679.	12-Aug.-66	4541-42	*Re*: Question of Privilege
680.	12-Aug.-66	4546-47, 4557	Business of the House *re* : allegations against Minister
681.	12-Aug.-66	4605	Adjournment Motion *re* : situation in Assam
682.	16-Aug.-66	4959	Help to Mizo & Naga Hostiles by Pakistan and China
683.	17-Aug.-66	5176, 5180-81	Question of Privilege against Subramanium
684.	17-Aug.-66	5196-97	*Re*: Question of Privileges against Bihar Chief Minister
685.	19-Aug.-66	5907-08	Punjab Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill
686.	19-Aug.-66	5777-78	Question of Breach of Privilege
687.	19-Aug.-66	5792	Business of the House
688.	19-Aug.-66	5856-61	Resignation of Council of Ministers prior to General Election
689.	22-Aug.-66	6084-86, 6228-29	Public Accounts Committee's 55th Report
690.	31-Aug.-66	8120	Arrest of Member

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691.	31-Aug.-66	8122	Leave of Absence from the sittings of the House
692.	01-Sep.-66	8471	Petition *re*: measures to check rise in prices etc.
693.	02-Sep.-66	8822	Regarding disturbances in Tripura
694.	03-Sep.-66	8995	Seating arrangement of group leaders
695.	05-Sep.-66	9237	Committee on Government Assurances (Minutes)
696.	05-Sep.-66	9259-60	Detention of Members (Shri Dasaratha Deb and Shri Biren Dutta)
697-698.	06-Sep.-66	9411-12, 9421-22	Statement by Member under Direction 115 *re*: Pakistan spies and Minister's reply thereto
699.	07-Sep.-66	9750, 9756-57, 9768	*Re*: Question of Privileges
700.	07-Sep.-66	9798-99, 9809	Statement by Finance Minister *re*: Messers Orr Dignam & Co.
701.	07-Sep.-66	9822-23	Statement by Member under Direction 115 and reply by Minister thereto *re*: Cochin Shipyard
702.	01-Nov.-66	146-47	Motions for Adjournment and Calling Attention Notices *re* : Focus on the most issues of the country
703.	03-Nov.-66	820	Papers Laid on the Table
704.	03-Nov.-66	839	Finance Minister's visit to Canada and U.S.A.
705.	03-Nov.-66	849-51	Business Advisory Committee (50th Report)
706.	04-Nov.-66	1212-13	Business of the House *re* : Provisions of the Constitution
707.	04-Nov.-66	1306-07	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
708.	05-Nov.-66	1376	Statement *re*: location of steel plant

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709.	15-Nov.-66	3024-25	Motion under Rule 109 *re*: Debate on Representation of People (Amendment) Bill and Constitution (Twenty First) Amendment Bill
710.	16-Nov.-66	3363-64	Proposed Students National Manch in Delhi
711.	17-Nov.-66	3660-61	Reported Protest by the Defence Authorities of Eastern Zone against Mismanagement of the Railways in that area
712.	18-Nov.-66	4060-61	Arrest of Member
713.	18-Nov.-66	4079	Suspension of Member
714.	25-Nov.-66	5649	Business of the House
715.	29-Nov.-66	5928	No-day-yet-named Motion
716.	30-Nov.-66	6446-47	Goa, Daman and Diu (Opinion Poll) Bill
717.	01-Dec.-66	6701-05	Goa, Daman and Diu (Opinion Poll) Bill
718.	02-Dec.-66	6968	Eviction etc. of Government Employees at Port Blair
719.	02-Dec.-66	6973	Resignation of Members
720.	02-Dec.-66	6990-91	Point of Personal Explanation
		1967	
721.	18-Mar.-67	107	Motion for Adjournment and Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers
722.	21-Mar.-67	516	Departure of Mrs. Swetlana Allelueva from India to the West
723.	21-Mar.-67	571-576, 628-641	Motion of Thanks on President's Address
724.	23-Mar.-67	757-758	Regarding Writ Petition against Speaker etc.
725.	28-Mar.-67	1279-80	Clarification by Minister

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726.	28-Mar.-67	1284-85	Election of Deputy Speaker
727.	05-Apr.-67	2910-11	Seminar on Asian Defence in New Delhi (Calling Attention)
728.	05-Apr.-67	2938, 2965-67	Motion of Privilege
729.	06-Apr.-67	3214-15	Proposed Purchase of Islands by U.K. in Indian Ocean
730.	08-Apr.-67	3726-27	Question of Privileges
731.	22-May-67	151, 158-60	Statement *re* : External Affairs Minister's visit to Kuwait, Iran, Geneva, Malaysia and Singapore
732.	25-May-67	887-88	Situation in West Asia
733.	29-May-67	1415-16	Alleged Interference by Union Home Minister in regard to 'Gheraos' in West Bengal
734.	29-May-67	1430-31	Matter Under Rule 377 *re* : Allegations against Ministers being on the pay-roll of the Birlas
735.	30-May-67	1752-54	Matter Under Rule 377 *re* : Allegations against Ministers being on the pay-roll of the Birlas
736.	30-May-67	1786-87	Foodgrain Supplies to Kerala
737.	31-May-67	2071-73	Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Bill
738.	5-Jun.-67	2922-23	Calling Attention Motion on Air violation by Pakistan
739.	8-Jun.-67	3827-28	Reported refusal of Central Govt. to make available to Orissa Govt. C.B.I. Report on Shri J.B. Patnaik
740.	8-Jun.-67	3937-40	Development in West Asia Situation
741.	13-Jun.-67	4781-84	Situation in Naxalbari and Kharibari
742.	14-Jun.-67	5078-82	Mis-treatment of Indian Diplomat in China
743.	15-Jun.-67	5317-18, 5420-23	Use of Foreign Funds in General Elections

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744.	16-June-67	5664-65	Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) Bill
745.	16-June-67	5731	Behaviour of Chinese Embassy Staff
746.	19-June-67	5914-16	Statement under Direction 115(1) *re* : situation in Naxalbari
747.	07-July-67	10446-47	"Son Et Lumiere" spectacle at the Red Fort, Delhi
748.	10-July-67	10725	On Vietnam
749.	13-July-67	11687-91	Abolition of Privy Purses
750.	15-July-67	12179-91	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
751.	17-July-67	12449-54	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Attacks by Naga Hostiles
752.	20-July-67	13464-69	Prorogation of Madhya Pradesh Assembly
753.	21-July-67	13712-13	Selection of Speakers—Procedure
754.	22-July-67	13797	Demands for Grants—Min. of Works, Housing and Supply
755.	01-Dec.-67	4247	Obituary References
756.	01-Dec.-67	4266-74, 4559-67	Situation in West Bengal
757.	06-Dec.-67	5150-58	Report of Education Commission and M.Ps. Commission on Education
758.	07-Dec.-67	5441-42, 5458-60	Official Languages (Amendment) Bill
759.	12-Dec.-67	6308-9	Reported U.S. interference in General Election (Calling Attention)
760.	13-Dec.-67	6639-45	Official Languages (Amendment) Bill
761.	20-Dec.-67	8568-71	Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Bill
762.	22-Dec.-67	9486-91	President's Rule etc. for West Bengal
		1968	
763.	12-Feb.-68	42	Obituary References (Sh. Charanjit Rai, Sh. Rupnath Brahma and other Members)
764.	14-Feb.-68	752-57	Motion of Adjournment *re* : Disturbances in Assam

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765.	27-Feb.-68	246-53	Motion of No-Confidence in the Council of Ministers
766.	29-Feb.-68	806-07	Delhi School Teachers Agitation
767.	06-Mar.-68	2028-32	Commonwealth Immigrants Bill
768.	14-Mar.-68	852-55	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
769.	22-Mar.-68	2701-02	Activities of Left Communist Party
770.	25-Mar.-68	2998	Deportation of Kenya Asians
771.	25-Mar.-68	3010-11	Regarding Question of Privilege
772.	25-Mar.-68	3020-21	Sale of Cars by M.P.s
773.	29-Mar.-68	839	Matter Under Rule 377 regarding AIR's "Today in Parliament"
774.	29-Mar.-68	841	Demands for Grants—Ministry of Defence
775.	02-Apr.-68	1620-22	Governor's Assent to Punjab Appropriation Bills
776.	04-Apr.-68	2331-40	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
777.	04-Apr.-68	2389-93	Incidents regarding Harijans
778.	19-Apr.-68	1904	Recognition of German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
779.	03-May-68	1851-60, 1903-05	Recognition of East Germany
780.	06-May-68	2153	Estate Duty (Amendment) Bill
781.	06-May-68	2186-89	Demands for Grants (West Bengal)
782.	08-May-68	2815-20	Central Laws (Extension to Jammu and Kashmir) Bill
783.	09-May-68	3171-73	*Re:* Question of Privilege
784.	10-May-68	3553-54, 3567-68	Judgement on Punjab Appropriation Acts
785.	22-July-68	38145	Obituary References (Sh. Nesamony, Sh. Mariyapa and Harish Chandra Mathur)
786.	26-July-68	1957-58	Business of the House

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787.	30-July-68	2892	Enemy Property Bill
788.	30-July-68	2929-32	Strike by Newspaper Employees
789.	31-July-68	3169-74	Inter-State Water Disputes (Amendment) Bill
790.	02-Aug.-68	3906-07	Banking Laws (Amendment) Bill
791.	07-Aug.-68	989-91	Advocate (Amendment) Bill
792.	09-Aug.-68	1322-25	Constitution (Amendment) Bill
793.	14-Aug.-68	2307	Business of the House
794.	14-Aug.-68	2397-2401	Liberalisation Movement in Czechoslovakia
795.	19-Aug.-68	2674-77	Judges (Inquiry) Bill
796.	29-Aug.-68	2979	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Personal Explanation
797.	13-Nov.-68	162	No-Confidence Motion in the Council of Ministers
798.	14-Nov.-68	246	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Prime Minister's Meeting with Opposition Leaders on Central Govt. Employees Strike
799.	18-Nov.-68	184-85	Petrol Shortage in Calcutta
800.	18-Nov.-68	260, 305-13	Statement on Flood Situation
801.	19-Nov.-68	203-04	Calling Attention Motion *re* : Centre's order and Kerala Govt.
802.	22-Nov.-68	225-27	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Motion on Flood Situation
803.	22-Nov.-68	233-36	Madras State (Alteration of Name) Bill
804.	22-Nov.-68	348-49	Status of Jammu and Kashmir
805.	27-Nov.-68	168	*Re:* L.I.C. Employees Strike
806.	05-Dec.-68	285-88	Essential Services Maintenance Bill
807.	06-Dec.-68	241-47	Status of Jammu and Kashmir

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808.	17-Feb.-69	34-35	Obituary Reference (Sh. Annadurai)
809.	18-Feb.-69	279-88	No-confidence Motion
810.	21-Feb.-69	282-283	Committee on Private Members' Bill and Resolutions (43rd Report)
811.	03-Mar.-69	220	Calling Attentaion Motion *re* : Recall of Governor of West Bengal
812.	03-Mar.-69	246-249	Question of Privilege
813.	06-Mar.-69	206, 217-218	Calling Attention Motion *re* : Sheikh Abdulla's Pro-Pak Speech
814.	10-Mar.-69	243-254	General Budget 1969—General Discussion
815.	10-Mar.-69	281-282, 322-329	Governor's Address to West Bengal Legislature—Statement
816.	12-Mar.-69	211, 224, 251-256, 0274	Governor's Action and Ministry formation in Madhya Pradesh
817.	17-Mar.-69	190-191	Presidential Order of 1954 regarding J.&K.
818.	20-Mar.-69	196, 208	Oath-taking in U.P. Assembly (Calling Attention)
819.	24-Mar.-69	293-96	Armed Forces (Spl. Powers) Continuance Bill
820.	25-Mar.-69	222-25	*Re*: Calling Attention Notices
821.	10-Apr.-69	173-74	Statement regarding Strike by Doctors of Delhi Hospitals (Motion under Rule 388)
822.	23-Apr.-69	147-49	Kashmir Bye-elections (C.A.)
823.	25-Apr.-69	321-25	Investigation Commission for Birlas Group Concerns
824.	13-May-69	252-53	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : withholding of Result of Bye-election
825.	25-July-69	253	Business of the House

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826.	04-Aug.-69	236	Police Vandalism in West Bengal Assembly (Calling Attention)
827.	05-Aug.-69	259-63	Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill
828.	08-Aug.-69	216-17	Election of the Speaker
829.	13-Aug.-69	191-94	Calling Attention Motion *re* : Reported Dispute between the Staff and the Administration of National Library, Calcutta
830.	19-Aug.-69	5	Obituary Reference
831.	26-Aug.-69	251-53	Burning of Al-Aqsa Mosque
832.	29-Aug.-69	283-84	Regarding Incidents in U.P. Legislature
833.	17-Nov.-69	34, 78	Obituary Reference (Dr. Ram Subhag Singh)
834.	19-Nov.-69	195-96	Mid-term Parliamentary Elections (Calling Attention)
835.	20-Nov.-69	6	Obituary Reference (Smt. Violet Alva)
836.	24-Nov.-69	199-200	Regarding Business of the House
837.	24-Nov.-69	204-205	Reported Massacre in South Vietnam
838.	24-Nov.-69	218-20	Eighth Report of Privileges Committee
839.	03-Dec.-69	195-96, 205	Hunger Strike by West Bengal C.M. (Calling Attention)
840.	03-Dec.-69	219-220	Regarding Meetings between Government Officials and T.T. Krishnamachari
841.	05-Dec.-69	254-60	Motion Regarding Communal Situation in the country
842.	09-Dec.-69	213-15	Election of Deputy Speaker
843.	23-Dec.-69	6-7	Obituary Reference (Prof. D.C. Sharma)
		1970	
844.	20-Feb.-70	36-37	Obituary References (Sh. Jinachandran and Sh. Bhatkar

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845.	26-Feb.-70	239-40	Calling Attention: regarding Closure of Cultural and Information Centres of United States
846.	26-Feb.-70	323-33	Motion of Thanks on the President's Address
847.	08-Mar.-70	259-63	British Arms Supply to South Africa (Calling Attention)
848.	31-Mar.-70	214-15	Statutary resolution and Calcutta Port (Amdt.) Bill
849.	31-Mar.-70	279	Attack on Shri Jyoti Basu
850.	02-Apr.-70	310-11	Gajendragadkar Commission's Recommendation regarding Jammu and Kashmir
851.	06-Apr.-70	235-37, 314-15	Motion of Adjournment on beating of M.Ps. by Police
852.	07-Apr.-70	199-200	Regarding Medical Attention to Persons injured in Lathi Charges
853.	07-Apr.-70	226-28, 309-16	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
854.	08-Apr.-70	250-51	Demands for Grants—Ministry of External Affairs
855.	08-Apr.-70	270-74	Motion of Adjournment *re* : beating of M.Ps. by Police
856.	08-Apr.-70	301-094	Demand for Steel Plant for Orissa
857.	22-Apr.-70	253-54	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Relations between Parliament and the judiciary
858.	23-Apr.-70	360-65	West Bengal State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill
859.	24-Apr.-70	211-12	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Third Pay Commission
860.	28-Apr.-70	176-77	Launching of Earth Satellite by China
861.	14-May-70	237-38	Matter under Rule 377 *re* : Facilities to the Leader of the Opposition

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862.	15-May-70	204-05	Business of the House
863.	15-May-70	297-303	Economic and Social Problems of West Bengal
864.	19-May-70	285-91	Motion regarding Commission of Inquiry (CSIR)
865.	08-Jun-70	254-58	Reported Refusal to grant of Statehood to Manipur (Calling Attention)
866.	27-July-70	02	Obituary References (Sh. Govinda Menon, Sh Mehr Chand Khanna, Smt. Leela Roy and other members)
867.	27-Aug.-70	221	Closure of B.B.C. Writ (Calling Attention)
868.	28-Aug.-70	238-39	Business of the House
869.	29-Aug.-70	45-50	Patents Bill
870.	09-Nov.-70	09-10	Obituary Reference (President Nasser)
871.	09-Nov.-70	225-26	*re* : Motion of Adjournment
872.	16-Nov.-70	204	Cyclone in East Pakistan
873.	18-Nov.-70	242	Question of Privilege
874.	18-Nov.-70	279-86	Subversive Activities in the Country
875.	20-Nov.-70	228	*re* : Maharashtra Government Servant's Strike
876.	23-Nov.-70	203-204, 216	Regarding Motion for Adjournment
877.	23-Nov.-70	291-94	Statement regarding Murder in 24 Parganas Distt. of West Bengal
878.	25-Nov.-70	214-15	Regarding Unemployment Situation in the Country
879.	08-Dec.-70	196	Escape of two Pakistani women with Documents (Calling Attention)
880.	08-Dec.-70	352-55,	Sports Policy
881.	09-Dec.-70	205-8	Calling Attention Motion *re*: Representation by Jute Workers in West Bengal

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882.	10-Dec.-70	186-187	Calling Attention Motion *re* : reported closure of the daily Basumati and its allied publication
883.	12-Dec.-70	270-73	Conferment on Decorations—on Persons (Abolition) Bill
884.	14-Dec.-70	215-17	Calling Attention Motion *re* : former revolutionaries and freedom fighters
885.	14-Dec.-70	234-35	Calling Attention Motion *re* : Mid term poll
886.	14-Dec.-70	274-75	Calling Attention Motion *re* : Report of the Commission in Maharashtra—Mysore-Kerala Boundary Disputes
887.	14-Dec.-70	274-82	Statutory Resolution *re* : Prevention of Violent Activities Act and West Bengal Maintenance of Public Order Act
888.	14-Dec.-70	202-3	Judgement on Derecognition of Princes Order
889.	18-Dec.-70	229	Calling Attention Motion *re*: procedure for dealing with allegations against outsiders
890.	18-Dec.-70	236-37	*Re:* Strike of jute workers
		1971	
891.	23-Mar.-71	24-26	Obituary References (Dr. K.M. Munshi, Sh. Bimla Prasad Chaliha and Sh. Nath Pai)
892.	27-Mar.-71	18-21	Developments in East Bengal State
893.	29-Mar.-71	258-63	West Bengal Budget, Demands and Resolutions *re*: proclamation
894.	25-May-71	228-235	Discussion on influx of refugees from East Bengal
895.	26-May-71	162	Misappropriation of Rs. sixty lakhs from the State Bank of India, New Delhi
896.	26-May-71	170	Business of the House

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897.	28-June-71	134-140	Shipment of American arms to Pakistan
898.	14-July-71	155-58	Calling Attention Motion on Killing of political prisoners in Alipore Special Jail
899.	19-July-71	232-239	Demands for Grants Ministries of Agriculture and External Affairs
900.	22-July-71	163	*Re:* Question of Privilege
901.	23-July-71	151	*Re:* Calling Attention Motion
902.	26-July-71	144-50	West Bengal Budget, Demands, Resolutions etc.
903.	28-July-71	275	*Re:* Question of Privilege
904.	29-July-71	145-46	Shelling by Pakistanis into Assam and Tripura
905.	04-Aug.-71	189	Pakistan military regime's threat to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rehman
906.	04-Aug.-71	403-406	The Constitution (Twenty Fourth Amendment) Bill
907.	09-Aug.-71	292-299	Demands for Grants (General) relating to Bangladesh Refugees
908.	09-Aug.-71	331-335	Accidents on Eastern Rly.
909.	15-Nov.-71	5-7	Obituary References (Sh. Yashpal Singh, Sh. Madhava Menon and other members)
910.	29-Nov.-71	266-75	Visva-Bharati (Amendment) Bill
911.	30-Nov.-71	186-92	Reported killings of Political Prisoners in Alipore Central Jail
912.	04-Dec.-71	86-87, 109-11	Defence of India Bill
913.	06-Dec.-71	34	Recognition to Bangladesh
914.	10-Dec.-71	7	Business of the House
915.	13-Dec.-71	4-5	Obituary References (Sh. Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq)
916.	15-Dec.-71	9-10	*Re:* Movement of Seventh Fleet of U.S.

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917.	20-Dec.-71	76-81	Diplomatic Relations (Vienna Convention) Bill
918.	22-Dec.-71	4-5	*Re:* Question of Privilege
919.	22-Dec.-71	22-24	Constitution (28th Amendment) Bill
920.	22-Dec.-71	156-58	Supreme Court and High Court Judges (Conditions of Service) Amendment Bills
		1972	
921.	14-Mar.-72	260-70	Motion of Thanks on the President's Address
922.	24-Mar.-72	143-47	*Re:* Calling Attention Notice
923.	14-Apr.-72	249-252	Film Industry Workers Bill
924.	17-Apr.-72	247-252	Situation arising out of escalation of U.S. Bombing of Hanoi
925.	25-Apr.-72	191	Matter under rule 377: Reported token strike by LIC employees
926.	25-Apr.-72	228-235	Demands for Grants (1972-73)—Ministry of External Affairs
927.	05-May-72	248	Resolution regarding Nationalisation of leading industrial houses
928.	05-May-72	158	Submission *re* : Breach of Parliamentary Convention
929.	17-May-72	155	Calling Attention Notice—Procedure
930.	18-May-72	152-153	Alleged donation made by a company to the ruling Congress for election compaign
931.	19-May-72	265-270	Nationalisation of leading industrial houses
932.	26-May-72	188	Question of Privilege against alleged misleading of Committee on Public Undertakings by Managing Director of National Development Corporation
933.	30-May-72	231-232	Motion Under Rule 388 *re* : suspension of Rule 74 in respect of General Insurance Business (Nationalisation) Bill
934.	30-May-72	253-57	University Grants Commission (Amendment) Bill

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935.	30-May-72	284-288	Discussion regarding: alleged payment of Rs. 60 lakhs to Shri Nagarwala by Chief Cashier of State Bank of India, Delhi
936.	01-June-72	139-144	Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill
937.	31-July-72	006-08	Obituary references (Sh. Indulal Yajnik, Shri Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Sh. Ramanand Das and the Maharaja of Bhutan)
938.	03-Aug.-72	0199	Matter under Rule 377 on Press report *re* : Newspaper Companies Bill, 1972
939.	04-Aug.-72	0229	Re. Proceedings of the House
940.	04-Aug.-72	285-289	Diplomatic Relations (Vienna Convention) Bill—Amendment of Ninth Schedule
941.	04-Aug.-72	292-293	Constitution (Amdt.) Bill—Amendment of Ninth Schedule
942.	08-Aug.-72	350-355	Regarding expunctions from proceedings
943.	08-Aug.-72	358-364	Diplomatic Relations (Vienna Convention) Bill
944.	21-Aug.-72	247-252	The Wild Life (Protection) Bill
945.	25-Aug.-72	176	Demands of employees of Reserve Bank of India, Calcutta and Government's reaction *re*: decorum of the House
946.	25-Aug.-72	246-250	Resolution *re*: Urgent problems of Economic stagnation in West Bengal
947.	28-Aug.-72	319-326, 330-331	General Insurance Business (Nationalisation) Bill—Practice & Procedure
948.	02-Sept.-72	30-31	Delhi School Education Bill
949.	02-Sept.-72	96-98	Meeting of the representatives of India and Pakistan in New Delhi
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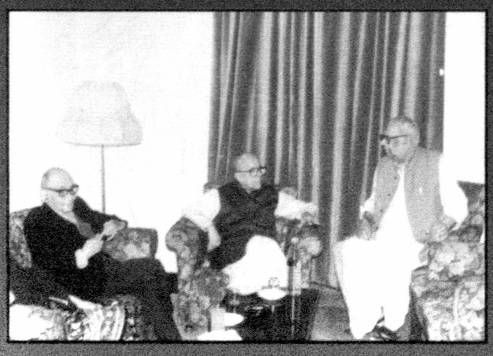
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